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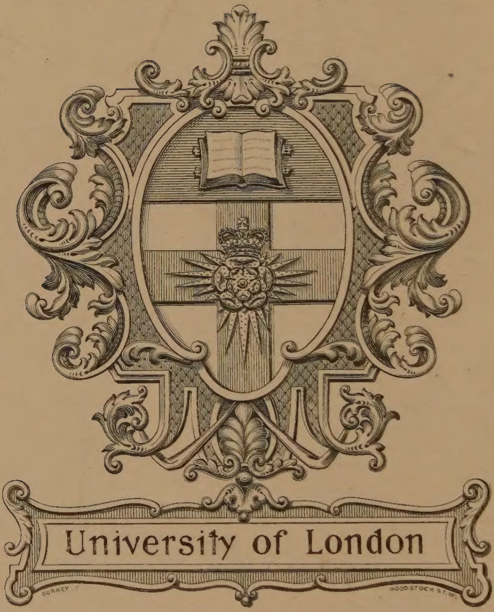
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THE

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES

THIRD SESSION OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

8 EDWARD VII.

## VOLUME CLXXXVIII.

COMPRISING PERIOD FROM MONDAY, FIFTH DAY OF MAY, 1908,
TO MONDAY, EIGHTEENTH DAY OF MAY, 1908.

SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

1908.

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**ochdale Corporation Bill.**—Report from His Majesty's Attorney-General received, and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... 3

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The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Cambrian Railways [H.L.]; Lincoln Corporation; Dartford Gas; Hull and Barnsley Railway; Bromley and Crays Gas

Also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with :—Honourable Artillery Company—(Petition for Bill); Sligo and Arigna Railway—(Petition for additional Provision).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 3

**Finchley Urban District Council Bill.**—Read $2^{a}$, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... ... 3

**Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill.**—Read $2^{a}$, and committed ... 3

**Great Western Railway Bill** [H.L.].—Read $3^{a}$, and passed, and sent to the Commons ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 3

**London Motor Roadways Bill** [H.L.].—The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES informed the House that the Promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill. Order for the Second Reading To-morrow discharged. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with ... ... ... ... ... 3

**King's College, London (Transfer) Bill** [H.L.].—The King's consent signified and Bill reported, with Amendments... ... ... ... ... ...

**Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) Bill**; Draycott Gas Bill; Gosport Gas Bill; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill; Leeds Corporation Bill; Leicester Corporation Bill; Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc., Bill; North-Eastern Railway Bill; Wishaw Burgh Electricity, etc., Bill; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill; Knott End Railway Bill; Louth and East Coast Railway (Transfer) Bill; Dundalk Urban District Council Bill; Margate Corporation Bill; Swinton and Mexborough Gas Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read $1^{a}$, and referred to the Examiners ... ... 3

**London and District Electricity Supply Bill** [H.L.]; London Electric Supply Bill [H.L.]; London (Westminster and Kensington) Electric Supply Companies Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Sanderson be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Viscount Cobham; read, and agreed to ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 4

**Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill** [H.L.] (No. 50); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (No. 51); Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (No. 52); Gas Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 53); Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 54); Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (No. 55); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (No. 56).

Were presented by the Lord Granard (*E. Granard*). Read $1^{a}$; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners ... ... ... ... ... 5

**Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Cornwall, etc.) Bill** [H.L.] (No. 57); and Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.] (No. 58).

Were presented by the Earl of Crewe. Read $1^{a}$; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill** [H.L.].—Was presented by the Lord Denman; read $1^{a}$; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 59) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 5

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**Dublin and South Eastern Railway Bill**; City of Glasgow Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed for Thursday next ... ... ... ... ... ... 6

PETITIONS.

**Education (School Attendance) Bill** [H.L.].—Petition in favour; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 6

Parliamentary Papers (Recess).—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by His Majesty had been so presented by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments:—

Education (Scotland).—I.—Regulations as to Grants to Secondary Schools, 1908. II.—General Report by the Chief Inspector of the Western Division of Scotland, for the year 1907.

Cyprus.—Correspondence relating to the affairs of Cyprus.

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—No. 3971. France (New Caledonia). No. 3972. France (Nantes and St. Nazaire). No. 3973. France (Réunion). No. 3974. Turkey (Palestine). No. 3977. Portugal (the Azores).

Prisons (Scotland) Act, 1877.—Thirtieth Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland.

Irish Land Commission.—I.—Return of proceedings. II.—Return of advances.

Irish Universities Bill (1908).—Preliminary drafts of the Articles of Charters: I.—For the University to have its seat in Dublin. II.—For the University to have its seat in Belfast.

Mines and Quarries.—I.—Reports of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines. II.—(Explosion at Dynas Main Colliery).—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by William Atkinson and J. Dyer Lewis.

Miscellaneous, No. 3 (1908).—Correspondence with His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin respecting a declaration by the Governments of Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, on the subject of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the territories bordering upon the North Sea.

Treaty Series, No. 10 (1908).—Agreement between the United Kingdom and France respecting death duties.

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887.—Return of the number of eviction notices filed.

Intermediate Education Board (Ireland).—Annual Report for the year 1907.

Army.—I.—Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps. II.—Report on the discipline and management of the military prisons and detention barracks.

Egypt No. 1. (1908).—Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General.

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Memorandum explanatory of the provisions of the Bill.

Reformatory and Industrial Schools.—Fifty-first Report, for the year 1907. Part I.—List of Schools and Detailed Reports.

Vice-Regal Commission on Irish Railways.—I.—Third Report of the Commissioners. II.—Appendix.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 6

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## RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Act, 1907.**—Regulations made by the Treasury 8

**Bankruptcy Act, 1883 (Proceedings).**—Accounts ... ... ... ... 8

**Companies (Winding-up) Act, 1890.**—Account.
Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 8

**Thames Conservancy.**—General Report of the proceedings of the Conservators of the River Thames.
Delivered and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 8

**Education (Scotland).**—General Report by the Chief Inspector of the Southern Division of Scotland ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 9

**Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.**—Annual report of proceedings under the Acts relating to Sea Fisheries ... ... ... ... ... ... 9

**Treaty Series, No. 11 (1908).**—Accession of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago to the Industrial Property Convention of 1883, as modified by the Additional Act of 1900. 14th May 1908 ... ... ... ... ... 9

**Public Records.**—Sixty-eighth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 9

**Railway Servants (Hours of Labour).**—Return in pursuance of Section 4 of the Regulation of Railways Act, 1889 ... ... ... ... ... 9

**Irish Land Commission.**—Return of proceedings ... ... ... ... 9

**Trade Reports: Annual Series.**—No. 3978 to No. 3986.
Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie upon the Table ... 9

**Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, (1907).**—Orders in Council, transferring: Certain units of the Volunteer Army Medical Corps to the Territorial Force; certain battalions of the Militia to the Army Reserve... 10

**Naval and Marine Pay and Pensions Act, 1865.**—Orders in Council ... 10

**Metropolitan Police.**—Accounts showing the sums received and expended for the purposes of the Metropolitan Police and Police Pension Funds between 1st April, 1907, and 31st March 1908 ... ... ... ... ... 10

**Light Railways Act, 1896.**—Report of the proceedings of the Board of Trade up to 31st December, 1907, and of the proceedings of the Light Railway Commissioners up to the same date ... ... ... ... ... ... 10

**Sheriff Courts (Scotland) Act, 1907.**—Act of sederunt anent procedure in appeals under Sections 5 and 30 of the Sheriff Courts (Scotland) Act, 1907; Act of sederunt regulating the fees of agents and others in the Sheriff Court ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 10

**Shop Hours Act, 1904.**—Order made by the council of the County Borough of Croydon, order made by the municipal council of the City of Dublin; order made by the council of the Borough of Dewsbury ... ... ... 10

**Arklow Harbour.**—Report ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 11

## NEW BILL.

**Importation of Plumage Prohibition Bill** [H.L.]—Presented by the Lord Avebury; read 1$^a$; and to be printed. [No. 60] ... ... ... ... 11

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THE LATE PRIME MINISTER.

*The Secretary of State for the Colonies (The Earl of Crewe)* ... ... 11
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... 13

ARMY RETURNS.

*The Duke of Bedford* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 15
*The Under-Secretary of State for War (Lord Lucas)* ... ... ... 16

House adjourned at ten minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 5TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time ... ... ... ... 17

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow ... ... 17

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow ... ... 17

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Sligo and Arigna Railway Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 18

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Honourable Artillery Company Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 18

**Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill** [LORDS].—As amended considered; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... 18

**Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, &c.) Order Confirmation Bill.**—Read a second time; and ordered to be considered To-morrow ... ... 18

**Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.**—Read a second time and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 18

**Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill.**—Presented by Mr. Sinclair; and ordered (under Section 7 of the Act) to be considered upon Thursday ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 18

**Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill.**—Presented by Sir Edward Strachey; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 211] ... ... ... ... 19

**Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill.**—Presented by Mr. Sinclair; read the first time; and ordered (under Section 9 of the Act) to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th May, and to be printed. [Bill 212] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 19

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**Tyne Improvement Bill.**—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 19

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—Resolutions agreed to ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 19

## PETITIONS.

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—53 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 20

**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... .. 20

**Licensing Bill.**—58 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 20

**Licensing Bill.**—7 Petitions for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... ... 20

**Licensing Bill.**—243 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... 21

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—4 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 22

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—7 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 22

**Public-Houses (Exclusion of Children) (Scotland) Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table... ... ... ... ... ... ... 22

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill.**—5 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 22

## RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Trade Reports (Annual Series).**—Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3978 to 3986; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 22

**Treaty Series (No. 11, 1908).**—Accession of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago to the Industrial Property Convention of 1883, as modified by the Additional Act of 1900; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 22

**Naval and Marine Pay and Pension Act, 1865.**—Orders in Council; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 22

**Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907.**—Orders in Council; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 23

**Shop Hours Act, 1904.**—Order made by the Council of the Borough of Dewsbury; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 23

**Board of Education.**—Regulations for the Preliminary Education of Elementary School Teachers: (1) Pupil Teachers Regulations; (2) Bursary Regulations; (3) Student Teacher Regulations; in force from 1st August, 1908, in Wales and Monmouthshire [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ... 23

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South African War Debt ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 25

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South Kensington Museum—Advisory Committee ... ... ... ... 34
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## QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

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| Boy Clerks in the Civil Service ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 69 |
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Carrickfergus Harbour ... 75

NEW BILLS.

**Corporal Punishment (Restriction) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Friday 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 213] ... 76

**Education of Afflicted Children (Ireland) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th May, and to be printed. [Bill 214] ... 76

**Cruelty to Animals (No. 2) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 215] ... 76

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Ordered, "That Sir Charles McLaren be discharged from the Select Committee on Imprisonment for Debt."

Ordered, "That Mr. Stephen Collins be added to the Committee"—(*Mr. Whiteley*) ... 76

**Education (Scotland) Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*Sir Henry Craik (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities)* ... 77
*The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddington)* ... 91
*Sir William Anson (Oxford University)* ... 102
*Mr. Esslemont (Aberdeen, S.)* ... 105
*Sir John Tuke (Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities)* ... 109
*Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs)* ... 110
*Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.)* ... 117
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*Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland)* ... 152
*Mr. R. Duncan (Lanarkshire, Govan)* ... 115
*Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.)* ... 545
*Mr. Dundas White (Dumbartonshire)* ... 157
*Mr. Walsh (Lancashire, Ince)* ... 159
*Mr. Morton (Sutherland)* ... 162
*The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire)* ... 163

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

CHILDREN [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

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Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament of any expenses that may be incurred and of any contributions that may be made under the provisions of any Act, of the present Session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury*),—put, and agreed to 176

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after Eleven o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS: WEDNESDAY, 6TH MAY, 1908.

Baron Hotham.—Ordered, That the Report of the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, made to the House of Lords on Tuesday last, that the right of the Baron Hotham to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to his satisfaction, be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, together with a certificate stating that such report has been made, and that the House has ordered it to be sent to the said Clerk of of the Crown in Ireland ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 177

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Glyncorrwg Urban District Council.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 177

**Rochdale Corporation Bill**; Seaham Harbour Dock Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 177

**Cambrian Railway Bill** [H.L.].—Read $2^a$ (according to Order) ... .. 177

**Highgate Hill Tramways Bill** [H.L.].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read, and discharged. Ordered, that the Bill be not further proceeded with ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 177

**Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill** [H.L.]; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^a$, and passed, and sent to the Commons ... ... 177

**Derby Gas Bill.**—Read $3^a$, with the Amendments; and passed, and returned to the Commons ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 177

### RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Fee Fund of the House of Lords.**—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid on the Table the Annual Account of the Fee Fund of the House of Lords. The same was ordered to lie on the Table, and to be referred to the Select Committee on the House of Lords Offices... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 178

**Board of Education.**—Regulations for the preliminary education of elementary school teachers ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 178

**Bankruptcy Law Amendment.**—Report of the Committee—Vol. I.—Report; Vol. II.—Minutes of Evidence and Appendix ... ... ... ... 178

**Irish Universities Bill, 1908.**—Preliminary draft of the articles of:—A charter for the college to have its seat in Dublin; a new charter for the constituent college at Cork; a new charter for the constituent college at Galway 178

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**Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).**—Return of proceedings. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... 178

**Army.**—Rules for military prisons in the field. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 178

**Official Directory of Nurses Bill** [H.L.] [SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 178

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

*Lord Ampthill* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 188

Amendment moved—

"To leave out the word 'now' and to add at the end of the Motion the words, 'this day six months.'"—(*Lord Ampthill.*)

*Lord Ashbourne* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 196
*The Lord President of the Council* (*Lord Tweedmouth*) ... ... ... 198
*Viscount Goschen* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 200
*Lord Monkwell* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 202
*Earl Russell* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 203
*The Secretary of State for the Colonies* (*The Earl of Crewe*) ... ... 204
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 206
*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 209

On Question, whether the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion.

The House divided:—Contents, 20; Not-Contents, 53.

Bill to be read 2ª this day six months.

TERRITORIAL HORSE ARTILLERY.

*The Earl of Denbigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 213
*The Under-Secretary of State for War* (*Lord Lucas*) ... ... ... 213
*The Earl of Denbigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 215

INDIANS IN NATAL.

*Lord Ampthill* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 215
*The Earl of Crewe* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 216

**Companies (Consolidation) Bill** [H.L.]; Post Office (Consolidation) Bill [H.L.].—Moved to resolve, "That after the Companies (Consolidation) Bill [H.L.] has been read 2ª it is desirable that the said Bill together with the Post Office (Consolidation) Bill [H.L] be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament"—(The Lord Granard (*E. Granard*));—agreed to ... 218

House adjourned at five minutes before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, 6TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, [Great Western Railway Bill] [Lords].

**Great Western Railway Bill** [LORDS].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... ... ... ... ... 218

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## PETITIONS.

**Children Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 218

**Children Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 218

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—11 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 218

**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—5 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 219

**Licensed Premises (Exclusion of Children).**—Petition for legislation; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 219

**Licensing Bill.**—28 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 219

**Licensing Bill.**—3 Petitions for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... ... 219

**Licensing Bill.**—218 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... 219

**Lights on Vehicles (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 220

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—4 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 220

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**New Born Children (Protection) Bill.**—Order for Second Reading upon Monday next read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn ... ... ... 262

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**Dogs (Exemption) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 216] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 263

**Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 217] ... ... ... ... 263

**Port of London Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Kearley, Devonport)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 263

Motion made, and Question proposed, ‘ That the Bill be now read a second time.”

*Sir F. Dixon-Hartland (Middlesex, Uxbridge)* ... ... ... ... 276
*Mr. Carr Gomm (Southwark, Rotherhithe)*... ... ... ... ... 279
*Mr. Barnard (Kidderminster)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 281
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*Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth)* ... ... ... ... 335
*Mr. Morton (Sutherland)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 336

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Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 183; Noes, 18. (Division List No. 78.)

Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Bill committed to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons.—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

*Mr. W. Johnson (Warwickshire, Nuneaton)* ... ... ... ... 339

*Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)* ... ... ... ... 345

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, having regard to its Resolution unanimously adopted on 30th May, 1906, that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, welcomes the action of His Majesty's Government in diminishing the sale of opium for export and thus responding to the action of the Chinese Government in their arrangements for the suppression of the consumption of the drug in that Empire; and this House also urges His Majesty's Government to take steps to bring to a speedy close the system of licensing opium-dens now prevailing in some of our Crown Colonies, more particularly Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon."—(*Mr. W. Johnson.*) ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

*The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Seely, Liverpool, Abercromby)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 353

*Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square)* ... ... ... ... 353

*The Earl of Ronaldshay (Middlesex, Hornsey)* ... ... ... ... 360

*Mr. Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe)* ... ... ... ... ... 364

*Mr. Meysey-Thompson (Staffordshire, Handsworth)* ... ... ... 366

*Sir H. Cotton (Nottingham, E.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 368

*Sir John Kennaway (Devonshire, Honiton)* ... ... ... ... 369

*Mr. Bennett (Oxfordshire, Woodstock)* ... ... ... ... ... 369

*The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Edward Grey, Northumberland, Berwick)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 373

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, "That this House, having regard to its Resolution unanimously adopted on 30th May, 1906, that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, welcomes the action of His Majesty's Government in diminishing the sale of opium for export, and thus responding to the action of the Chinese Government in their arrangements for the suppression of the consumption of the drug in that Empire; and this House urges His Majesty's Government to take steps to bring to a speedy close the system of licensing opium dens now prevailing in some of our Crown Colonies, more particularly Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon."

Adjourned at two minutes after Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS, THURSDAY, 7TH MAY, 1908.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) [H.L.]. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 4) [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 381

**Dublin and South-Eastern Railway Bill**; City of Glasgow Bill.—Reported, without amendment ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 381

**Bromley and Crays Gas Bill**; Hull and Barnsley Railway Bill; Dartford Gas Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... 381

**Lincoln Corporation Bill.**—Read 2ª, and committed: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... ... ... ... 381

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill** [H.L.].—Committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 381

**Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill** [H.L.].—House to be in Committee on Monday next ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 381

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**Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill** [H.L.].—Petition in favour of; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 381

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**Aliens Act, 1905.**—Return of the alien passenger traffic between the United Kingdom and ports in Europe. Presented and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 381

**Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund (Ireland) (Non-Congested Districts).**—Account for the year ended 31st December, 1907, ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 382

**Port of London Bill.**—Message from the Commons that they have committed the said Bill to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons ... ... 382

**Companies (Consolidation) Bill** [H.L.]; Post Office (Consolidation) Bill [H.L.].—A message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them that this House has come to the following Resolution to which they desire their concurrence, viz., "That it is desirable that the said Bills be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament." ... ... ... ... 382

**Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill** [H.L.].—Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

*Lord Avebury* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 382

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*Lord Avebury*).

On Question, Bill read 3ª.

Amendment moved—

"Schedule 1, page 3, line 16, to leave out the words 'of refreshments including sweetmeats.'"—(*Lord Avebury*).

*Earl Beauchamp* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 383
*Lord Avebury* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 384

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In Schedule 1, page 3, lines 16 and 17, after the word 'consumption' to insert the words 'and in the course of the trade of supplying refreshments, of bread, fish, vegetables, cooked meat, sweetmeats, and such other articles as are usually dealt in the course of their trade.'"—(*Lord Avebury*).

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Bill passed and sent to the Commons.

**Companies Consolidation Bill** [H.L.]. [SECOND READING.]—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*The Earl of Granard* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 385

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Granard.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS, THURSDAY, 7TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

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**Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill.**—Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next ... ... ... ... ... 385

**Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill** [BY ORDER]—Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next ... 385

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill** [by Order]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [by Order].—Read a second time, and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 385

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**Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Bill** [LORDS].—Reported, with an Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... 386

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That they have passed a Bill, intituled, Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords].

**Companies (Consolidation) Bill and Post Office (Consolidation) Bill.**—That they communicate that they have come to the following Resolution, viz.:—"That it is desirable that the Companies (Consolidation) Bill and the Post Office (Consolidation) Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament." ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 386

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Selection (Standing Committees).—Sir William Brampton Gurdon reported from the Committee of Selection, that they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Education (Local Authorities) and Coroners' Inquests Bills): Colonel Seely; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Education (Local Authorities) Bill), Mr. Mallet (and in respect of the Coroners' Inquests Bill), Mr. Cooper

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Business of the House (Ways and Means).—Ordered, "That the Committees of Ways and Means have precedence this day of the Business of Supply."—(*Mr. Asquith*) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 445

Business of the House (Ways and Means).—Ordered, "That the proceedings of the Committee of Ways and Means, if under consideration at eleven o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)."—(*Mr. Asquith*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 445

Ways and Means.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Emmott (Oldham) in the Chair].

The Budget Statement.

*The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 445

TEA.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed. "That the Customs duty now charged on tea shall continue to be charged until the first day of July, nineteen hundred and nine, that is to say—Tea, the pound, fivepence.—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E.)* ... ... ... ... 480
*Mr. Richardson (Nottingham, S.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 491
*Sir F. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.)* ... ... ... ... ... 492
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*The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs)* 548
*Mr. Morton (Sutherland)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 549

Question put, and agreed to.

SUGAR.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Customs duties imposed and the drawbacks allowed under section two of The Finance Act, 1901 (being duties and drawbacks in respect of sugar, molasses, glucose, and saccharin), and the excise duties imposed and the drawbacks allowed on glucose and saccharin under section five of the same Act, and the allowance in respect of molasses used for food for stock under sub-section two of section one of The Revenue Act, 1903, be reduced in each case by fifty-six per cent., or as near thereto as the Treasury may determine, the reduction to take effect on and after the eighteenth day of May, nineteen hundred and eight. Provided that, as respects the duty charged on manufactured or prepared goods under section seven of The Finance Act, 1901, and the drawback allowed on any such goods in respect of which it is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs that the duty was paid on the sugar, molasses, glucose, or saccharin used in the manufacture or preparation at the rates now charged, the reduction shall not take effect until the first day of July, nineteen hundred and eight."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 550
*Mr. Charles McArthur* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 550

Question put, and agreed to.

IRISH TOBACCO.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That there shall be charged on and after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and nine, on Tobacco grown in Ireland, the following excise duties, namely—

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upon tobacco, manufactured, namely— | | | |
| Cavendish or negro head manufactured in bond | the lb. | 3 | 10 |
| Upon tobacco, unmanufactured, namely— | | | |
| Tobacco containing 10lbs. or more of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof | the lb. | 2 | 10 |
| Tobacco containing less than 10lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof | the lb. | 3 | 2 |

and there shall be charged, on and after the same date, on a licence to be taken out annually by every person growing, cultivating, or curing tobacco in Ireland, an excise duty of five shillings."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 551

Question put, and agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF LAW.— Resolved, "That it is expedient to amend the law relating to the National Dbet, Customs, and Inland Revenue.—(*Mr. Asquith.*) Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

Adjourned at Twelve minutes after Eleven o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 8TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at Twelve noon of the Clock.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

**Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill** [LORDS].—Read the third time and passed ... 553

**Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.**—As amended, considered; to be read the third time ... 553

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.**—Read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 218] ... 553

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.**—Read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 219] ... 553

### PETITIONS.

**Children Bill.**—8 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 553

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No 2) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... 554

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—16 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 554

**Education (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table... 554

**Licensing Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 554

**Licensing Bill.**—13 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... 554

**Licensing Bill.**—3 Petitions for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... 554

**Licensing Bill.**—128 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 554

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... 555

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—11 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 555

**Old Age Pensions.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 555

**Women's Enfranchisement Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 555

### RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Natal.**—Further Correspondence relating to Native Affairs in Natal; to lie upon the Table ... 555

**Education (Ireland).**—Annual Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland; to lie upon the Table ... 556

**National Physical Laboratory.**—Return presented relative thereto; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 138] ... 556

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Guaranteed Irish Land Stock ... 556
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Accommodation and Attendance in Council and Voluntary Schools ... 563
Education Loans ... 563
Appointment of Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland ... 564
Irish Intermediate Education—Algebra ... 564
Irish Clubs ... 565

HOP INDUSTRY.—Ordered, "That a Message be sent to the Lords, to request that their Lordships will be pleased to give leave to the Lord Eversley to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee on the Hop Industry."—(*Sir William Collins.*)

**Criminal Law and Procedure Ireland Act** (1887) **Repeal Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*Mr. Haviland Burke* (*King's County, Tullamore*) ... 565

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Mr. Lonsdale* (*Armagh, Mid.*) ... 574
*Mr. Charles Craig* (*Antrim, S.*) ... 585

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the question to add the words "upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. Lonsdale.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*Mr. John O'Connor* (*Kildare, N.*) ... 592
*Mr. Byles* (*Salford, N.*) ... 601
*Mr. Butcher* (*Cambridge University*) ... 604
*The Chief Secretary for Ireland* (*Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.*) ... 611
*Mr. Walter Long* (*Dublin, S.*) ... 621
*Mr. J. Devlin* (*Belfast, W.*) ... 629
*Mr. Moore* (*Armagh, N.*) ... 638

Mr. JOHN REDMOND rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 209; Noes, 76. (Division List No. 79.)

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House divided :—Ayes, 201; Noes 77. (Division List No. 80).

Main Question put, and agreed to. Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House."—(*Mr. Long*).

The House divided :—Ayes, 74; Noes 190. (Division List No. 81).

Bill committed to a Standing Committee.

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at twenty-six minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 11TH MAY, 1908.

## PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE FURTHER STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Great Eastern Railway (General Powers); Humber Commercial Railway and Dock; North Eastern Railway; Draycott Gas; Gosport Gas; Leicester Corporation; Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc.; Wishaw Burgh Electricity, etc.; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer); Louth and East Coast Railway (Transfer).

ALSO THE STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) [H.L.].

AND ALSO THE STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with:—Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway—(Petition for Bill).
The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 649

**Honourable Artillery Company.**—(Petition for Bill); Sligo and Arigna Railway Bill—(Petition for additional Provision).—Examiner's Certificates of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Monday next ... ... ... ... ... ... 649

**Thames River Steamboat Service Act, 1904, Amendment Bill** [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments ... ... ... 649

**Bristol Tramways Bill** [H.L.].—The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn; The Orders made 10th March and 1st April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... 649

**Wath-upon-Dearne Urban District Council Gas Bill** [H.L.].—THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The Orders made on 19th February and 1st April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... ... ... ... 649

**Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway Bill** [H.L.].—THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES informed the House that the opposition to the bill was withdrawn. The Orders made on 20th February and 1st April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... ... ... ... 650

**Glyncorrwg Urban District Council Bill.**—Read 2$^a$, and committed ... 650

**King's College, London (Transfer) Bill** [H.L.].—Read 3$^a$, and passed, and sent to the Commons ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 650

**Aire and Calder Navigation Bill** [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]; Rochester Bridge Bill [H.L.]; Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway, Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway, and East and West Junction Railway (Amalgamation) Bill [H.L.]; Barry Railway Bill [H.L.]; Monmouthshire County Council Bill [H.L.]; Stockport Corporation Bill—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Sinclair be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl of Hardwicke; read, and agreed to ... ... ... ... ... 650

**Manchester Corporation Bill.**—Brought from the Commons; read 1$^a$, and referred to the Examiners ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 650

**Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill** [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments ... ... ... ... 650

**Metropolitan District Railway Bill** [H.L.].—Report by the Board of Trade respecting the above Bill and the objects thereof- Laid before the House (pursuant to Standing Order 158B), and ordered to lie on the Table ... 650

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**Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill** [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order). The Amendments proposed by the Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 650

**Hurly's Divorce Bill** [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clauses 1 to 4 agreed to.

Clause 5.

*The Lord Chancellor* (*Lord Loreburn*) ... ... ... ... ... 651

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 9, after the word 'minorities,' to add the words 'The said Maurice Randall Hurly may from time to time have reasonable access to the said children and in the event of any dispute as to what constitutes reasonable access the question of access shall be determined by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland or the High Court of Justice in England as the case may require.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, at the beginning of the clause, to insert the words, 'Whereas the said Maurice Randall Hurly and the said Honoria Hurly have agreed as to the future maintenance of the said children and whereas it is expedient to give effect to the said agreement: 'Be it therefore enacted that.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In line 22, to leave out the word 'marry' and to insert the words 'attain twenty-one years of age or marry under that age.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out Clause 7."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 8.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out Clause 8."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow.

## RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Colonies: Miscellaneous.**—No. 50. British Cotton Cultivation.—Reports on the quality of cotton grown in British Possessions.

No 51. Southern Nigeria.—Report on the Forest Administration of Southern Nigeria ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 652

**Natal.**—Further correspondence relating to native affairs in Natal ... ... 652

**Turkey (No. 3) (1908).**—Further correspondence respecting the affairs of South-eastern Europe ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 652

**Treaty Series, No. 12 (1908).**—Additional Act to the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902 ... ... ... ... ... ... 652

**Irish Universities Bill, 1908.**—Lists of persons to be proposed for nomination to be members—Of the first governing body of the college to have its seat in Dublin; Of the first governing body under a new charter for the constituent college at Galway... ... ... ... ... ... ... 653

**Education Commissioners (Ireland).**—Annual Report for the year 1907. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... 623

**Lunacy.**—Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made ... 653

**India.**—Home Accounts of the Government of India ... ... ... ... 653

**National Debt Act, 1883 (Terminable Annuities).**—Treasury Warrants, dated 6th May, 1908, for the adjustment of the terminable annuities created under the Finance Act ... ... ... ... ... ... 653

**Polling Districts (County of Durham).**—Order made by the council of the County of Durham altering the polling place for the Morton Grange polling district in the Houghton-le-Spring Parliamentary Division ... ... 653

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

HOP INDUSTRY.—Message from the Commons for leave for the Lord Eversley to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee of that House: Leave given for His Lordship to attend, if he think fit, and his Lordship consenting thereto, a message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 654

## NEW BILL.

**Registration Bill** [H.L.].—Read $1^a$; to be printed; and to be read $2^a$ on Thursday, the 14th instant. [No. 61] ... ... ... ... ... 654

THE HOP INDUSTRY.

*Lord Addington* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 654

Moved, to resolve, "That the continued cultivation of the hop gardens of England is a matter of national concern, and that the present critical condition of the hop industry deserves the immediate attention of His Majesty's Government."—(*Lord Addington.*)

*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* ... ... ... ... ... 657
*Lord Harris* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 658
*Lord Eversley* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 662
*The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Earl Carrington)* 666
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... 671

On Question, Motion agreed to.

**Official Secrets Bill.** [H.L.]

*Lord James of Hereford* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 673
*The Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn)* ... ... ... ... ... 673

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 11TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Great Western Railway Bill [Lords]; Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [Lords]; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time... ... ... ... 674

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH.—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill: Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow ... ... 675

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH),—Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 675

**Huddersfield Water Bill** [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed without Amendment ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 675

**Garw and Ogmore Gas Bill.**—Order for consideration, as amended, read and discharged. Bill re-committed to the former Committee.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 675

**Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill.** [LORDS].—Not amended, considered; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... ... ... 675

**Southwell District Gas Bill.**—As amended, considered; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 676

**Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill.**—Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill.—Read the third time and passed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 676

### PETITIONS.

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—5 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 676

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—4 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 676

**Licensed Premises (Exclusion of Children).**—Petition for legislation; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 676

**Licensing Bill.**—3 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 676

**Licensing Bill.**—80 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... 676

**Old Age Pensions.**—Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... 676

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—5 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 677

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—10 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 677

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## RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Polling Districts (County of Durham).**—Order made by the Council of the County of Durham; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 677

**National Debt Act, 1883 (Terminable Annuities).**—Treasury Warrants, dated 6th May, 1908, for the Adjustment of the Terminable Annuities; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 677

**Treaty Series (No. 12, 1908).**—Protocol recording Accession of Russia to the International Sugar Convention; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 677

**Turkey (No. 3, 1908.)**—Further correspondence respecting the Affairs of South-Eastern Europe; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... 677

**East India Estimate.**—Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 139] ... ... ... ... ... 678

**East India (Finance and Revenue Accounts).**—Finance and Revenue Accounts; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... 678

**East India Home Accounts.**—Home Accounts to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 140]... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 678

**East Indian Railway Finance.**—Report of Committee on East Indian Railway Finance and Administration; to lie upon the Table ... ... 678

**Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous).**—Report No. 50 (British Cotton Cultivation. Reports on the Quality of Cotton grown in British Possessions); to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 678

**Colonial Report (Miscellaneous).**—Report No. 51 (Southern Nigeria. Report on the Forest Administration of Southern Nigeria; to lie upon the Table 678

**Post Office (Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post).**—Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 18) Warrant, 1908; to lie upon the Table... 678

**Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.**—Lunacy—Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of Visits made ... ... 678

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

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NEW MEMBER SWORN.—The Right Hon. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, for the Parliamentary Burgh of Dundee ... 741

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B. (in respect of the Children Bill): Mr. Kennedy; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Children Bill): Mr. Lardner.

Report to lie upon the Table ... 742

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—Hop Industry.—That they give leave to the Lord Eversley to attend in order to his being examined as a Witness before the Select Committee appointed by this House on the Hop Industry as desired by this House, his Lordship consenting ... 742

NEW BILLS.

**Infant Life Protection (No. 2) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 220] ... 742

**University of Durham Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Monday, 25th May, and to be printed. [Bill 221] ... 742

**Cheap Trains Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Monday, 25th May, and to be printed. [Bill 222] ... 742

CHILDREN (EXPENSES).

Considered in Committee.

[In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question again proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of money sprovided by Parliament of any Expenses that may be incurred and of any contributions that may be made under the provisions of any Act of the present session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

*Sir F. Banbury* (*City of London*) ... 743

Amendment proposed—

"In line 3, to leave out from the word 'incurred,' to the word 'under'"—(*Sir F. Banbury*).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department* (*Mr. Herbert Samuel, Yorkshire, Cleveland*) ... ... ... ... ... 745
*Mr. Ashley* (*Lancashire, Blackpool*) ... ... ... ... ... 747
*Captain Craig* (*Down, E.*)... ... ... ... ... ... ... 747
*Sir F. Banbury* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 748
*Mr. Rawlinson* (*Cambridge University*) ... ... ... ... ... 749
*Mr. Bowles* (*Lambeth, Norwood*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 750

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 264 ; Noes, 48. (Division List No. 82.)

Main Question again proposed.

*Captain Craig* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 753

Amendment proposed—

"In line 4 to leave out from the first word 'of' to the word 'to," in line 4, and insert the words 'the Bill now in Committee,'"—(*Captain Craig*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*Mr. Herbert Samuel* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 754
*Sir F. Banbury* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 755

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 266 ; Noes, 56. (Division List No. 83.)

Mr. Herbert Samuel rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 268 ; Noes, 52. (Division List No. 84.)

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 266 ; Noes, 35. (Division List No. 85.)

Resolved, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament of any expenses that may be incurred and of any contributions that may be made under the provisions of any Act of the present session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons."

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

**Irish Universities Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Mr. Hutton* (*Yorkshire, W.R., Morley*) ... ... ... ... ... 765
*Dr. Hazel* (*West Bromwich*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 774

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all after the word 'that' and insert the words 'this House refuses to take any step which would tend to increase the strength of denominational interests in any branch of education in Ireland, believing that the interests of truth and the welfare of the nation demand the maintenance of an entirely free atmosphere, particularly in the region of higher education, and that this cannot be secured on a denominational basis, and therefore declines to proceed further with the measure.'"—(*Mr. Alfred Hutton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question,"

*Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)* ... ... ... ... ... 784
*The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddington)* ... ... 791
*Mr. James Campbell (Dublin University)* ... ... ... ... ... 802
*Mr. McKean (Monaghan, N.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 813
*Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 818
*Lord Edmund Talbot (Sussex, Chichester)* ... ... ... ... ... 822
*Mr. Kettle (Tyrone, E.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 825
*Mr. C. J. O'Donnell (Newington, Walworth)* ... ... ... ... 832
*Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 835
*Mr. Gordon* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 840
*Sir E. Carson (Dublin University)* ... ... ... ... ... 845
*The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N)* ... ... 847
*Mr. Moore (Armagh, N.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 855

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 352; Noes, 38. (Division List No. 86).

Main Question again proposed.

And, it being after Eleven of the clock, and objection being taken to further Proceeding, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded to interrupt the Business.

Whereupon Mr. ASQUITH rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided —Ayes, 328; Noes, 49. (Division List No. 87.)

Question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 344; Noes, 31. (Division List No. 88.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House."—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 50; Noes, 311. (Division List No. 89.)

Bill committed to a Standing Committee.

And, it being after half-past Eleven of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at seven minutes before Twelve o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 12TH MAY, 1908.

VISCOUNT GORMANSTON.—Petition of Jenico Edward Joseph, Viscount Gormanston in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House ... ... 873

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE FURTHER STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Dundalk Urban District Council; Knott End Railway; Swinton and Mexborough Gas.

ALSO THE STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) [H.L.]. The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 873

*Page*

**Conway and Colwyn Bay Joint Water Board Bill.**—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The Orders made on the 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 873

**Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill** [H.L.]—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to ... ... ... ... ... 873

**London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill** [H.L.].—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons ... ... ... ... ... ... 873

**Dublin and South Eastern Railway Bill**; City of Glasgow Bill.—Read 3ª, and passed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 873

**Huddersfield Water Bill** [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to ... 873

**Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill (No. 62)**; Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill (No. 63).—Brought from the Commons and read 1ª,; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899), deemed to have been read 2ª (The Lord Herschell), and reported from the Committee ... 873

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill** [H.L.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

**Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill** [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª to-morrow ... ... ... 874

**Hurly's Divorce Bill** [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Education Bill, 1908.**—Statement illustrating Memorandum on the financial proposals in connection with the Education Bill, 1908 ... ... ... 874

**Education (Scotland).**—Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

**Trade Reports (Annual Series).**

No. 3989. Greece (The Morea and Provinces of Aetolia and Heamania).

No. 3990. Greece (The Cyclades).

No. 3991. Netherlands (Java) ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

**Commercial, No. 3 (1908).**—Report of the British delegate to the International Sugar Commission ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

**Congestion in Ireland (Royal Commission).**—Eleventh Report of the Commissioners ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

**Ireland Development Grant Act, 1903.**—Report of all proceedings under the Act ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 874

**Congested District (Scotland) Act, 1897.**—Tenth Annual Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... 874

**Naval and Marine Pay and Pensions Act, 1865.**—Order in Council ... 875

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**Post Office (Kiautschou Protectorate).**—The Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 18) Warrant, 1908.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... — ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 875

**Small Holdings and Allotments (Scotland) Bill** [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment: The Report of the Amendment made in Committee of the Whole House to be received To-morrow ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 875

**Education School Attendance Bill** [H.L.] [SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*Lord Stanley of Alderley* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 875

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a."—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley*.)

*Viscount Knutsford*... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 880
*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* ... ... ... ... ... 881
*The Lord President of the Council* (*Lord Tweedmouth*) ... ... ... 886
*The Marquess of Londonderry* ... ... ... ... ... ... 888
*The Secretary of State for the Colonies* (*The Earl of Crewe*) ... ... 890
*Lord Stanley of Alderley* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 894

On Question, That the Bill be now read 2a.

Their Lordships divided. Contents, 7; Non-Contents, 41.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 12TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the clock.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

**Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.**—Read the third time, and passed ... ... 895

**Taff Vale Railway Bill** [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read a second time and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 895

**Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.**—Read a second time and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 895

**Local Government Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill**; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed ... 895

**Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order Bill.**—Presented by Sir Edward Strachey; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 223] ... ... ... ... 895

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, [King's College, London (Transfer) Bill [Lords] ... ... ... ... ... 896

**King's College, London, Transfer Bill** [LORDS].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... ... ... 896

### PETITIONS.

**Children Bill.**—8 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 896

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—7 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 896

**Dairies (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... 897

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**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 897

**Licensing Bill.**—4 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table. 8 Petitions for alteration; to lie upon the Table. 83 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 897

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—9 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table. 2 Petitions against; to lie upon Table ... ... ... 897

**Public-Houses (Exclusion of Children, Scotland) Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 898

## RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Railways Abandonment.**—Report respecting the Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords]; referred to the Committee on the Bill ... ... ... 898

**Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897.**—Tenth Annual Report; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 898

**Education Scotland.**—Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... 898

**Irish Development Grant Act, 1903.**—Report of all Proceedings under the Act; to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 898

**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—Statement in illustration of the Memorandum on the Financial Proposals in connection with the Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill; to lie upon the Table ... 898

**Naval and Marine Pay and Pensions Act, 1865.**—Order in Council; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 898

**Congestion in Ireland (Royal Commission).**—Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland; to lie upon the Table ... ... 899

**Civil Services (Supplementary Estimates, 1908–9).**—Estimate presented referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 141] ... 899

**International Sugar Commission (Commercial, No. 3, 1908).**—Report of the British Delegate to the International Sugar Commission; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 899

**Trade Reports (Annual Series).**—Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3989 to 3991; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 899

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

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## NEW BILL.

**House Letting (Scotland) No. 2) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 224] ... 944

**Business of the House (Housing, Town Planning, etc., Bill).**—Motion made, and Question put, "That the proceedings on the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Bill, if under discussion at Eleven o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)."—(*Mr. Asquith*).

The House divided:—Ayes, 272; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 90) ... 945

**Housing, Town Planning, Etc., Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*The President of the Local Government Board* (*Mr. John Burns, Battersea*) 947

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Mr. Walter Long* (*Dublin, S.*) ... 968
*Sir William Foster* (*Derbyshire, Ilkeston*) ... 977
*Mr. Jowett, Bradford, W*). ... 983
*Sir J. Dickson-Poynder* (*Wiltshire, Chippenham*)... ... 988
*Earl Winterton* (*Sussex, Horsham*) ... 1000

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*Mr. Adkins (Lancashire, Middleton)* ... ... ... ... ... 1005
*Sir Francis Powell (Wigan)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1011
*Sir J. Brunner (Cheshire, Northwich)* ... ... ... ... ... 1015
*Mr. Abel Smith (Hertfordshire, Hertford)* ... ... ... ... 1015
*Mr. Vivian (Birkenhead)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1020
*Mr. Guinness (Bury St. Edmunds)* ... ... ... ... ... 1026
*Mr. Mackarness (Berkshire, Newbury)* ... ... ... ... ... 1030
*Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square)* ... ... ... ... 1033
*The Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Masterman, West Ham, N.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1039
*Mr. Hart Davies (Hackney, N.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1053
*Mr. Wedgwood (Newcastle-under-Lyme)* ... ... ... ... ... 1054

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all after the word 'That' and insert the words 'this House is of opinion that no measure dealing with the housing question can be carried out satisfactorily which does not as a preliminary provide for the valuation of land apart from buildings, and until power is given to the local authorities to purchase land compulsorily at such ascertained value."—(*Mr. Hart Davies.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1058

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

*Mr. Rowlands (Kent, Dartford)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1058
*Mr. Brodie (Surrey, Reigate)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1059
*Sir F. Banbury (City of London)* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1060

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed to a Standing Committee.

**Companies (Consolidation) Bill and Post Office (Consolidation) Bill.**—Ordered, That the Lords Message [7th May], "That they communicate that they have come to the following Resolution, viz., 'That it is desirable that the Companies (Consolidation) Bill and Post Office (Consolidation) Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, " be now considered.

Lords Message considered accordingly.

Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Resolution. Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

COMMONS.—Ordered that a Select Committee be appointed to consider every Report made by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the enclosure or regulation of a Common, and presented to the House during the last or present Sessions, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power in respect of each such Provisional Order to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament; and, if so, whether with or without modification, and in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Twelve Members, Seven to be nominated by the House and Five by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered that Five be the quorum.—(*Mr. Whiteley*) ... ... ... 1064

And, it being half-past Eleven of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at a quarter before Twelve o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS, WEDNESDAY, 13TH MAY, 1908.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

**Ammanford Urban District Council Water Bill** [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee ... ... ... ... ... ... 1065

**Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway**—(Petition for Bill).—Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Wednesday next ... ... ... ... 1065

**London and District Electricity Supply Bill** [H.L.]; London Electric Supply Bill [H.L.]; London (Westminster and Kensington) Electric Supply Companies Bill [H.L.].—Leave given to the Select Committee not to sit again till Friday next ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1065

**Rochdale Corporation Bill.**—Reported, with Amendments ... ... ... 1065

**Cambrian Railways Bill** [H.L.].—Committed: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... ... ... ... ... 1065

**Metropolitan District Railway Bill** [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The Orders made on the 20th of February and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... ... 1065

**Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) Bill**; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed ... ... ... ... 1065

**North Eastern Railway Bill**; Draycott Gas Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed: The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... 1055

**Gosport Gas Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed ... ... ... ... ... 1065

**Leicester Corporation Bill**; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed: The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1065

**Louth and East Coast Railway (Transfer) Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed 1065

**Tollemache Estate.**—Moved, That the Order made on 25th day of March last, "That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after Thursday the 7th day of May next," be dispensed with; agreed to; Judges report received accordingly ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1066

**Tollemache Estate Bill** [H.L.].—Presented, and read $1^a$ ... ... ... 1066

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**Tollemache Estate Bill** [H.L.].—The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, that in pursuance of Standing Order No. 163A, relating to Private Bills, he had, on the requisition of the Chairman of Committees, appointed Samuel Howard Whitbread, a Member of the House of Commons, as guardian or protector of the infants: Douglas Tollemache Anstruther, Joyce Anstruther, Prudence Sergison, Cynthia Sergison, Beatrice Whitbread, Peter Whitbread, Marguerite Evelyn Keppel, Judith Iris Keppel, Jocelyn Abel Smith, and Veronica Mary Smith named in the Bill, to represent such infants before the Committee on the Bill ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1066

**Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.**—Brought from the Commons, read $1^a$, and referred to the Examiners ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1066

**Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill** [H.L.].—Read $2^a$ (according to order) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1066

**Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill** [H.L.]; Hurly's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^a$ (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 1066

PETITION.

**Land Values (Scotland) Bill**—Petition against; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1066

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Education (Scotland).**—Code of regulations for continuation classes ... ... 1067

**Trade Reports: Annual Series.**

No. 3975. Turkey (Adrianople).
No. 3976. Chile (Coquimbo).
No. 3979. United States (Hawaii).
No. 3988. Russia (Poland and Lithuania).
No. 3993. Mexico (Salina Cruz).
No. 3994. Mexico (Progreso).
No. 3995. Honduras.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... 1067

**Shop Hours Act, 1904 (Urban District of Llanelly).**—Order made by the council of the urban district of Llanelly ... ... ... ... ... 1067

**Local Government Board (Ireland).**—Order with respect to the urban county district of Larne

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1067

**Land Values (Scotland) Bill.**—Order of the day read for the House being put into Committee.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*Lord Herschell.*)

*Viscount St. Aldwyn* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1067
*The Lord Chancellor* (*Lord Loreburn*) ... ... ... ... ... 1071
*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1073
*The Secretary of State for the Colonies* (*The Earl of Crewe*) ... ... 1075
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1076
*Lord Stanley of Alderley* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1078

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House in Committee.

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clause 1:

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1080

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, to leave out the words 'each country and,' and to insert the words 'any country or.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

*Lord Herschell* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1083
*Viscount St. Aldwyn* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1084
*The Lord Chancellor* (*Lord Loreburn*) ... ... ... ... ... 1085
*The Earl of Camperdown* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1086
*The Lord President of the Council* (*Lord Tweedmouth*) ... ... ... 1087
*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1087
*Lord Saltoun* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1087
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1088

On Question, That the words proposed to be left out stand part—

Their Lordships divided:—Contents, 32; Non-Contents, 119.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1089

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Scotland,' to insert the words 'which has adopted this Act in the manner hereinafter provided.'"—*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1091

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 9, to leave out the word 'capital' and to insert the word 'yearly.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1092
*Viscount Milner* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1092
*Viscount St. Aldwyn* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1094
*Lord Zouche of Haryngworth* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1095
*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1096
*The Earl of Camperdown* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1098
*Lord Barrymore* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1098
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1098

On Question, That the words proposed to be left out stand part—

Their Lordships divided:—Contents, 22; Non-Contents, 84.

House resumed, and to be again in Committee To-morrow. The Committee to have precedence of other business.

**Small Holdings and Allotments (Scotland) Bill** [H.L.].—Amendment reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ᵃ To-morrow ... ... 1101

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 13TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) BILL (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH.—London County Council (Money) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time ... ... ... ... 1101

**Derby Gas Bill.**—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to ... ... 1101

**Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Bill** [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... ... 1101

**Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill.**—Read a second time; and ordered to be considered upon Friday ... ... ... ... 1101

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.**—Read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 225] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1101

**Local Government Provisional Order (No. 8) Bill.**—Read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 226] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1102

**London County Council (General Powers) Bill**; Blackburn Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... ... ... 1102

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to:—Dublin and South Eastern Railway Bill; City of Glasgow Bill without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill intituled, Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill intituled, London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [Lords] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1102

**Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill** [LORDS].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions and Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 227] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1102

**London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill** [LORDS].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1102

PETITIONS.

**Children Bill.**—Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 1103

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—18 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1103

**Licensing Bill.**—6 petitions against; to lie upon the Table. Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table. 96 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1103

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—3 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table—13 Petitions in favour, to lie upon the Table ... ... 1103

**Public Health Officers Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table... 1104

**Public Houses Exclusion of Children (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1104

## RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Shop Hours Act, 1904.**—Order made by the Urban District of Llanelly; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1104

**Education (Scotland).**—Code of Regulations for Continuation Classes; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1104

**Weights and Measures.**—Report by the Board of Trade on their Proceedings and Business under the Weights and Measures Acts; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 142] ... ... ... ... ... ... 1104

**Local Government Board (Ireland).**—Order with respect to the Urban County District of Larne; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 1104

**Trade Reports, Annual Series.**—Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3975 to 3976, 3979 to 3988, 3993 to 3995; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1104

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SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Colonel Seely; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Masterman.

Report to lie upon the Table.

## NEW BILLS.

**Coroners (Ireland) Bill.**—To be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 228] ... 1160

**Prosecution of Offenders (Amendment) Bill.**—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a third time."

*Sir F. Banbury (City of London)* ... 1161
*Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs)* ... 1164
*Mr. Rawlinson (Cambridge University)* ... 1164
*Mr. William Rutherford (Liverpool, West Derby)* ... 1166
*Mr. Fell (Great Yarmouth)* ... 1168
*Mr. George Faber (Yorkshire)* ... 1169
*The Attorney-General (Sir W. Robson, South Shields)* ... 1169

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a third time and passed.

**Public Offices Sites (Extension) Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale)* 1176

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley)* ... 1178
*Mr. William Rutherford* ... 1182
*Sir F. Banbury* ... 1185

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. W. Rutherford.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*Mr. Akers Douglas (Kent, St. Augustine's)* ... 1190
*Mr. Harcourt* ... 1192
*Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie)* ... 1194
*Mr. Fell (Great Yarmouth)* ... 1197
*Mr. Morton (Sutherland)* ... 1198

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 263; Noes, 38. (Division List No. 91.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Bill committed to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented Five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents be heard against the Bill, and Counsel or Agents heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum.—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

**Post Office Savings Bank Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*The Postmaster-General* (*Mr. Sydney Buxton, Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) ... 1203

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

*Lord R. Cecil* (*Marylebone, E.*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1205
*Captain Craig* (*Down, E.*)... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1207

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the debate be now adjourned." —(*Lord Robert Cecil.*)

*Mr. Rees* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1208
*Mr. Claude Hay* (*Shoreditch, Hoxton*) ... ... ... ... ... 1209
*Mr. Harold Cox* (*Preston*)... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1210

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 41; Noes, 236. (Division List No. 92.)

Original Question again proposed.

*Mr. Claude Hay* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1211
*Mr. Sydney Buxton* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1212

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 215; Noes, 44. (Division List No. 93.)

Bill read a second time. and committed to a Standing Committee.

NATIVE AFFAIRS (SOUTH AFRICA).

*Mr. Alden* (*Middlesex, Tottenham*) ... ... ... ... ... 1215
*Sir Charles Dilke* (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) ... ... ... 1226

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, recognising signs of a growing opinion on the part of the self-governing Colonies of South Africa in favour of safeguarding the rights and future of the Natives in any scheme of political unification or federation, expresses its confidence that His Majesty's Government will welcome the adoption of provisions calculated to render possible the ultimate inclusion of the whole of British South Africa in federal union."—(*Mr. Alden.*)

*Sir Gilbert Parker* (*Gravesend*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1235
*The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies* (*Colonel Seely, Liverpool, Abercromby*) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1241
*Mr. Lyttelton* (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) ... ... ... ... 1250
*The President of the Board of Trade* (*Mr. Churchill, Dundee*) ... ... 1255

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House, recognising signs of a growing opinion on the part of the self-governing Colonies of South Africa in favour of safeguarding the rights and future of the natives in any scheme of political unification or federation, expresses its confidence that His Majesty's Government will welcome the adoption of provisions calculated to render possible the ultimate inclusion of the whole of British South Africa in federal union.—(*Mr. Alden*).

**Port of London Bill.**—Ordered, That the Select Committee do consist of Five Members to be joined with a like number of Lords.

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease.*)

Committee nominated of: Mr. Ashley, Sir William Bull, Mr. Russell Rea, Sir Albert Spicer, and Mr. Williamson.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented on or before 25th May, 1908, be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, Agents, or Witnesses be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease*) ... ... 1259

POLICE FORCES (WEEKLY REST-DAY).—Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report whether, having regard to the conditions of service in Police Forces in the United Kingdom, it is desirable that provision should be made, by legislation or otherwise, for granting to every constable one full day off duty in seven; what, if any, alterations in the conditions of service and police administration should accompany this change; what would be the cost, and how it should be borne so as not to increase the charge on Imperial Funds.

Committee accordingly nominated of: Mr. Armitage, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Charles Duncan, Mr. Hedges, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Nannetti, Mr. William Priestley, and Mr. Rogers.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease*) ... ... 1259

PUBLIC OFFICES SITES (EXTENSION) [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any Expenses, so far as not otherwise provided for, incurred by the Commissioners of Works under any Act of the present session, to provide for the Acquisition of Land for the extension of certain Public Offices in Westminster and of the Patent Office, and for certain other public purposes (King's Recommendation signified), To-morrow.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease*) ... ... 1260

IRISH UNIVERSITIES [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of Remuneration, Expenses, and other sums in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make further provision with respect to University Education in Ireland (King's Reccommendation signified), To-morrow.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease*) ... 1260

Adjourned at eight minutes after Eleven o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 14TH MAY, 1908.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with: Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways (No. 2).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... 1261

**Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways (No. 2) Bill.**—Examiner's Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Wednesday next ... ... ... ... 1261

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**Ravensthorpe Urban District Council Bill** [H.L.]; Leith Burgh Bill [H.L.]; Ammanford Urban District Council Water Bill [H.L.]; Llanelly and Burry Port Water Board Bill [H.L.].—Leave given to the Select Committee to adjourn over To morrow and not sit on Monday next till Twelve o'clock ... 1261

**Bristol Corporation Bill** [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments ... ... ... 1261

**Aire and Calder Navigation Bill** [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments ... 1261

**Dundalk Urban District Council Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed ... ... 1261

**Knott End Railway Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed for Wednesday next 1261

**Swinton and Mexborough Gas Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed ... ... 1261

**Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc., Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... ... 1261

**Wishaw Burgh Electricity, etc., Bill.**—Read $2^a$, and committed ... ... 1261

**Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water Bill** [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read and ordered to lie on the Table; The Orders made on the 19th of February and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... 1262

**Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway, Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway, and East and West Junction Railway (Amalgamation) Bill** [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 18th of March and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed for Wednesday next ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1262

**Stockport Corporation Bill.**—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1262

**Rochester Bridge Bill** [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto: read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 3rd of March and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1262

**Lincoln Corporation Bill**; Cambrian Railways Bill [H.L.]; North Eastern Railway Bill; Draycott Gas Bill; Leicester Corporation Bill; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill; Finchley Urban District Council Bill, Motherwell Burgh Extension etc., Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills, viz.:—D. Wellington, E. Westmeath, L. Mendip, (*V. Clifden*), L. Ellenborough, L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (chairman); agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Tuesday next, at Eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1262

**Derby Gas Bill.**—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1263

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill** [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order) ... ... 1263

PETITION.

**Land Values (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition in favour of; read and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1263

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements.**—The evidence taken before the Joint Committee from time to time to be printed, but no copies to be delivered out except to members of the Committee, and such other persons as the Committee shall think fit, until further order. (No. 64) ... ... 1263

**Trade Reports (Annual Series).**—No. 3997. Norway; No. 3998. United States (San Francisco)... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1263

**Treaty Series (No. 13, 1908).**—Treaty of Commerce between the United Kingdom and Servia.

Presented (by Command) and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... 1263

**Weights and Measures.** Report on proceedings and business under the Weights and Measures Acts: Laid before the House and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1263

**Port of London Bill.**—Message from the Commons that they have appointed a Committee to consist of Five Members to join with a Committee of this House to consider the said Bill, and request this House to appoint an equal number of Lords to join with the Members of their House. The said Message to be considered on Monday next ... ... ... ... ... 1264

**Companies (Consolidation) Bill** [H.L.]; Post Office (Consolidation) Bill [H.L.].—Message from the Commons that they concur in the Resolution of this House communicated to them on the 7th instant, that the said Bills be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament ... ... ... 1264

**Prosecution of Offences (Amendment) Bill.**—Read 1ª, and to be printed. (No. 65)... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1264

**Land Values (Scotland) Bill.**—Order of the day read for the House being again put into Committee.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*Lord Herschell.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House in Committee accordingly.

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1264
*The Earl of Camperdown* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1265

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 1, page 1, line 14, to leave out from the word 'roll' to the end of sub-section (2)."—(*The Earl of Camperdown*).

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*The Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn)* ... ... ... ... ... 1266
*Lord Heneage* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1266

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1267

Amendment moved.

"In Clause 1, page 11, to leave out from the word 'heritage' to the end of sub-section (2), and insert the words 'belonging to railway, canal, harbour, gasworks, waterworks, tramway, electricity, or other statutory companies or corporations, where the use of the land is limited by statute to the purposes of such companies or corporations.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... .. ... 1267
*The Earl of Camperdown* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1269
*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1269

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2; Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment moved,

"After Clause 2, to insert the following new clause: 'Within six months after the passing of this Act, the clerk of every council of a county or a burgh shall convene, with not less than one month's notice, a special meeting of the council to consider the desirability of adopting this Act in that county or burgh, and if the decision of that meeting, upon a vote taken, is in favour of such adoption, this Act shall have force within that county or burgh.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3:

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1270

Amendment moved—

"In Clause 3, page 3, lines 16 to 19, to leave out lines 16 to 19 inclusive, and to insert the words 'means such part of the rental or yearly value of any lands or heritages or common interest in land as is fairly attributable to the ground.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1275
*Lord Ashbourne* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1277
*The Earl of Crewe* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1278
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1280
*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1282
*Lord Courtney of Penwith* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1282
*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1283
*The Earl of Camperdown* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1285

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1286
*The Earl of Camperdown* .. ... ... ... ... ... ... 1287

Amendment moved—

"After the word 'ground' to insert the words 'if devoted to any purpose to which such land can at the time of the valuation be devoted.'"—(*Earl of Camperdown.*)

Amendment moved to the Amendment—

" After the word 'ground,' to leave out the words 'if devoted to any purpose to which such land can at the time of the valuation be devoted.' "—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

*Viscount St. Aldwyn* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1288
*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1289
*The Earl of Crewe* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1289

On Question, whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the clause—

Their Lordships divided:—Contents, 42 ; Not-Contents, 87.

On Question, Amendment as amended, agreed to.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1291

Amendment moved—

" In page 3, lines 26 and 27, to leave out the words 'sold free from all burdens public and private, except building' and to insert the words 'sold subject to all public burdens and.' "—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1291

Amendment moved—

" In page 3, after line 36, to insert the words 'For the purposes of this Act the word burgh shall mean and include only those burghs in Scotland which under the Valuation Acts are constituted a separate authority for valuation purposes, and contained at the last census a population of not less than 10,000 persons.' "—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clause agreed to, and Bill reported, with Amendments, to the House.

Standing Committee negatived, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 66.)

**County Courts Bill** [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.

*Lord Ashbourne* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1293

Amendment moved—

" After Clause 3, to insert the following new clause : 'The persons in whom the power of making rules under Section 164 of the Principal Act is vested shall (besides those named in the said section) include two persons who shall be practising solicitors, appointed by the Lord Chancellor, one being a member of the Council of the Law Society, and the other being a member of the Law Society and also of a provincial law society.' "—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1293

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clauses 4 to 10 agreed to.

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Clause 11 :

*Lord Ashbourne* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... .. 1294

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, clause 11, line 38, after the word 'appointed' to insert the words 'by the Lord Chancellor.'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1294
*Lord Ashbourne* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1294

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill reported, without Amendment, to the House.

Standing Committee negatived.

**Registration Bill** [H.L.].—[Second Reading].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

*Lord Alverstone* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1294

Moved, "That the Bill be now read $2^a$."—(*Lord Alverstone.*)

*The Lord Chancellor* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1295

On Question, Bill read $2^a$, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

**Small Holdings and Allotments (Scotland) Bill** [H.L.].—Read $3^a$ (according to Order). Amendments (Privilege) made ; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1295

House adjourned at Seven o'clock till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, THURSDAY, 14TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Private Bill Petitions (Standing Orders not complied with).—Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways (No. 2) Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1295

**Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill** [Lords.]—Read the third time, and passed without Amendment ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**Southwell District Gas Bill.**—Read the third time, and passed ... ... 1296

**Camborne Water Bill.**—As amended considered ; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**Audenshaw Urban District Council Bill** [Lords] ; Skegness Urban District Council Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee (Section B). Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**Garw and Ogmore Gas (re-committed) Bill.**—Reported, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table... ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.**—Reported without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed] ; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow ... ... ... ... 1296

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**Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill** [Lords]; North-East London Railway Bill.—Reported without Amendment; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**St. Marylebone Borough Council (Superannuation) Bill** [Lords]; Camberwell and other Metropolitan Borough Councils (Superannuation) Bill [Lords]; Argentine North-Eastern Railway Bill [Lords]. Reported with Amendments. Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... ... 1296

Message from the Lords.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled Hurly's Divorce Bill [Lords] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**Hurly's Divorce Bill** [Lords].—Read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1296

**Holderness Water Bill.**—Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... ... ... ... ... 1296

PETITIONS.

**Agricultural Holdings Act, 1906.**—Petition for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1297

**Children Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 1297

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—6 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1297

**Education (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1297

**Elections and Registration (London) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1297

**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1297

**Elementary Education (School Attendance) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1297

**Licensing Bill.**—5 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 1297

**Licensing Bill.**—58 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... 1297

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—5 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1298

**Public Houses (Exclusion of Children, Scotland) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1298

**Shops Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 1298

**Women's Enfranchisement Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table 1298

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Treaty Series (No. 13, 1908).**—Treaty of Commerce between the United Kingdom and Servia; to lie upon the Table... ... ... ... ... 1298

**Trade Reports (Annual Series).**—Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3997 and 3998; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 1298

**East India (Railways and Irrigation Works).**—Address for Return ... 1298

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East Hardwick School, Yorkshire ... 1299
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Irish Land Purchase—Condition of Mortgage ... 1307
Carrickfergus Corporate Lands ... 1308
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Cragg and Ardcrone Farms, Kerry ... 1309
University Senates and Working Class Representatives ... 1309
Burke Estate, Galway ... 1310
Mountmellick Grazing Ranch ... 1310
Irish National School Programme ... 1311
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Royal University of Ireland—Degrees to Non-Collegiate Students ... 1312
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British and German Army ... 1312
Press and War News ... 1312
Territorial Army Special Reserve Battalion Bands ... 1312
Royal Field Artillery ... 1314
Probate on Brewery Property ... 1314

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Australian Naval Defence ... 1314
Cruisers ... 1315
H.M.S. "Aquarius" ... 1315
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Transfers of Naval Officers ... 1316
The Army Council ... 1316
War Office Contracts for Brushes ... 1317
Volunteers and the Territorial Force ... 1317
Indian Administrative Reforms ... 1318
Horse-shoes for the Indian Army ... 1318
Madras Land Estates Bill ... 1319
The Amir and the Frontier Outbreaks ... 1319
Temperance Movement in Poona ... 1320
Indian Locomotive Boiler Contract ... 1320
Australian Mint ... 1321
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Old-age Pensions ... 1324
The Sugar Duty ... 1327
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Alleged Intimidation at Poplar ... 1328
Franco-British Exhibition Accidents ... 1329
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The Inebriates Acts... ... 1330
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Life Insurance ... 1331
Census of Production ... 1333
Midland Railway Dining Car Attendants ... 1333
Railway Superannuation Fund Inquiry ... 1334
Engine Drivers and Colour Blindness ... 1334
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Hop Cultivation Abroad ... 1335
Vaccination Officers' Fees ... 1335
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Out-Relief ... 1337
Education (Provision of Meals) Act ... 1337
Imports of Fodder ... 1338
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Crown Lands in Wales ... 1339
The New Forest Fires ... 1340
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Death Dividing Clubs ... 1342
Military Pensioners and Income Tax ... 1342
Ruchill Hospital, Glasgow ... 1343
Scottish Universities—Medical Classes ... 1343
Registration of Tithe (Scotland) Commission ... 1344
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Irish Agricultural Department (Veterinary Branch) ... 1345
Irish Sea Fisheries Development ... 1345
Sligo Fisheries ... 1347
Irish Land Purchase Delays ... 1348
Rent Reductions in Queen's County ... 1348
De Vesci Estate—Evicted Tenants ... 1349
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Maybery Estate, Evicted Tenants ... 1350
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Afforestry in Ireland ... 1351
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Down Survey Maps ... 1352
Re-election of Ministers on Appointment to Office ... 1352
Old-Age Pensions Bill ... 1353
Business Committee ... 1353
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**Registration of Clubs** (**Ireland**) **Bill**.—Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Joint Committee A. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 143.) Minutes of the proceedings of the Standing Joint Committee to be printed. (No. 143.) Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Monday, 1st June, and to be printed. (Bill 229) ... 1354

NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Robert Vernon Harcourt, esquire, for the Montrose District of Burghs ... 1354

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection ... 1354

NEW BILL.

**Association of Port Sanitary Authorities** (**Expenses**) **Bill**.—To be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 230] ... 1356

SUPPLY [6TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, AND SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1908–9.

CLASS II.

1. £5 (Supplementary), Stationery and Printing.

*The Financial Secretary to the Treasury* (*Mr. Hobhouse, Bristol, E.*) ... 1356
*Mr. Arthur Lee* (*Hampshire, Fareham*) ... 1364
*Mr. Charles Allen* (*Gloucestershire, Stroud*) ... 1369

*Mr. Stuart Wortley (Sheffield, Hallam)* ... 1372
*Mr. Bowerman (Deptford)* ... 1373
*Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)* ... 1376
*Mr. Laurence Hardy (Kent, Ashford)* ... 1380
*Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck)* ... 1383
*Sir F. Banbury (City of London)* ... 1385
*Mr. W. Benn (Tower Hamlets, St. George's)* ... 1389
*Mr. Hobhouse* ... 1391
*Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping)* ... 1398
*The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.)* ... 1399
*Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)* ... 1400
*Mr. Stuart Wortley* ... 1401
*Mr. Summerbell (Sunderland)* ... 1402
*Sir F. Banbury* ... 1403
*Mr. Asquith* ... 1404
*Mr. Morton (Sutherland)* ... 1405

Vote agreed to.

2. £405,212, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

CLASS I.

3. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £355,000, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st Day of March, 1909, for Rates and Contributions in lieu of Rates, etc., in respect of Government Property, and for Rates on Houses occupied by Representatives of Foreign Powers, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Rating of Government Property Department, and for a Contribution towards the expenses of the London Fire Brigade."

*Sir F. Banbury* ... 1406
*Mr. Hobhouse* ... 1407
*Colonel Lockwood* ... 1408
*Sir F. Banbury* ... 1409

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £354,900, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

*Mr. Alexander Cross (Glasgow, Camlachie)* ... 1410
*Mr. Morton (Sutherland)* ... 1413
*Captain Craig (Down, E.)* ... 1414
*Mr. Hobhouse* ... 1415
*Mr. Alexander Cross* ... 1417
*Mr. Morton* ... 1417
*Mr. Ashley (Lancashire, Blackpool)* ... 1418
*Captain Craig* ... 1419
*Sir F. Banbury* ... 1420

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 28; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 94.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

CLASS II.

4. £35, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

5. £8,420, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

CLASS VI.

6. £338, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances.

CLASS II.

7. £23,178, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

ADJOURNMENT—THE TERRITORIAL FORCE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. J. A. Pease.*)

*Mr. Ashley (Lancashire, Blackpool)* ... ... ... ... ... 1421
*Mr. Hobhouse* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1428
*Mr. Gretton (Rutland)* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1428

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty minutes after Eight o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 15TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at Twelve noon of the clock.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

**Rhymney Railway Bill** [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1429

**Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill.**—Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next ... ... ... ... ... 1429

### PETITIONS.

**Children Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 1429

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1429

**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—2 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1429

**Irish Universities Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... 1429

**Licensing Bill.**—7 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table. 2 Petitions for alterations; to lie upon the Table. 60 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1429

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—5 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1430

### RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Coast Guard.**—Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1430

**Banking and Railway Statistics (Ireland).**—Report on the Banking and Railway Statistics of Ireland; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 1430

**Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Act, 1907.**—Return giving particulars of cases in which persons have been reinstated with the assistance of the Estates Commissioners; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... 1430

**Trade Reports (Annual Series).**—Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3987 and 3992; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 1430

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Post Office Female Medical Officer ... 1430
Sanitary Condition of Northwood Post Office ... 1432
Sick Leave of Civil Servants ... 1433
Fairfield Shipbuilding Company, Employment of Boy Labour ... 1434
The Finance Act—Limits of the 10th Section ... 1434
Promotion of Irish School Teachers ... 1435
Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Rose Riggs ... 1435
Board of Intermediate Education (Ireland)—Issue of Rules ... 1436
Motor Traffic in Ireland ... 1436
The Ballyglass Estate ... 1437
Re-instatement of David Riordan ... 1437
Case of Hugh Cunningham on the Bruce Mason Estate ... 1438
Army Razor Contracts ... 1438

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

**House Letting (Scotland) Bill.**—Order for Second Reading, read.

*Mr. Speaker* ... 1439

Order discharged, and Bill withdrawn.

**Access to Mountains Bill.**—Order for Second Reading, read.

*Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland)* ... 1439

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Mr. J. F. Mason (Windsor)* ... 1447
*Mr. Lane Fox (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash)* ... 1451

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. J. F. Mason.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*Mr. A. Dewar (Edinburgh, S.)* ... 1453
*Lord Willoughby de Eresby (Lincolnshire, Horncastle)* ... 1455
*Mr. Annam Bryce (Inverness Burghs)* ... 1462
*Sir Arthur Bignold (Wicks Burghs)* ... 1464
*Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs)* ... 1467
*Mr. Chaplin (Surrey, Wimbledon)* ... 1470
*The Lord Advocate (Mr. Thomas Shaw, Hawick Burghs)* ... 1476
*Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester)* ... 1482
*Mr. Lambton (Durham, S.E.)* ... 1486
*Mr. Herbert (Buckinghamshire, Wycombe)* ... 1490
*Mr. Younger (Ayr Burghs)* ... 1493
*Mr. Molteno (Dumfriesshire)* ... 1495
*Viscount Castlereagh (Maidstone)* ... 1497
*Mr. Rogers (Wiltshire, Devizes)* ... 1499
*Mr. Walter Long (Dublin, S.)* ... 1501
*The Attorney General (Sir W. Robson, South Shields)* ... 1510
*Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.)* ... 1512

Motion made, and Question put, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Lord R. Cecil*).

The House divided:—Ayes, 59; Noes, 195. (Division List No. 95).

*Sir Samuel Scott (Marylebone, W.)* ... ... ... ... ... 1515

Mr. TREVELYAN rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 190; Noes, 61. (Division List No. 96).

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 177; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 97).

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question put "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury*).

The House divided:—Ayes, 61; Noes, 177. (Division List No. 98).

Bill committed to a Standing Committee.

**Doncaster Corporation Bill.**—Reported with Amendments [Title amended]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... ... ... ... 1524

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at twenty-nine minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 18TH MAY, 1908.

VISCOUNT GORMANSTON.—Ordered, That the Report of the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, made to the House of Lords on Friday last, that the right of the Viscount Gormanston to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to his satisfaction, be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, together with a certificate stating that such Report has been made, and that the House has ordered it to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland ... ... ... ... ... ... 1525

SAT FIRST.—The Lord Gormanston (Viscount Gormanston) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father ... ... ... ... ... ... 1525

## PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (London) [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Cornwall, &c.,) [H.L.].

ALSO STANDING ORDERS applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Leeds Corporation; Cheshire Lines Committee; Margate Corporation.

AND ALSO STANDING ORDERS applicable to the additional provision in the following Bill have not been complied with:—Holderness Water.

The same were ordered to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 1525

**Ammanford Urban District Council Water Bill** [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee ... ... ... ... ... ... 1525

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**Leith Burgh Bill** [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee 1525

**Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill.**—The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn; the orders made on Wednesday and Thursday last discharged, and Bill committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

**West London, Barnes, and Richmond Tramways Bill** [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order), and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

**Thames River Steamboat Service Act, 1904 (Amendment) Bill** [H.L.]—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons ... ... ... ... 1526

**River Wandle Protection.**—Moved that the Order made on the 25th day of March last, "That this House will not receive any Petition for a Private Bill later than Tuesday the 5th day of May next," be dispensed with in respect of a petition of Gilliat E. Hatfield, W. R. Lloyd Jones, and H. F. Bidder, promoters of the River Wandle Protection Bill; agreed to, the said petition praying for leave to bring in a Bill for the preservation of the underground sources of the River Wandle, presented accordingly, together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto, and read and referred to the Examiners ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

**Southwell District Gas Bill.**—Brought from the Commons, read 1ª, and referred to the Examiners ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

**Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill** [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

PETITION.

**Land Values (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition against; read, and ordered to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Coast Guard.**—Report of the Inter-departmental Conference on the Coast Guard, 1907 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

**Trade Reports Annual Series.**—No. 3987. Italy (Rome). No. 3992. China (Antung) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1526

**Congestion in Ireland (Royal Commission).**—Final Report of the Commissioners ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1527

**Evicted Tenants (Ireland).**—Return prepared pursuant to Section 3 of the Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Act, 1907... ... ... ... ... ... 1527

**Banking and Railway Statistics (Ireland), December, 1907. Railway Accidents.**—Returns of accidents and casualties as reported to the Board of Trade... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1527

**Dublin Metropolitan Police.**—Statistical Tables for the year 1907.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... ... 1527

**India (Progress and Condition).**—Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India, during the year 1906–7. Forty-third number ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... .. 1527

**Shop Hours Act (Borough of Darlington).**—Order made by the Council of the Borough of Darlington ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1527

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**Post Office (Inland) Post.**—The Inland Post (No. 10) Warrant, 1908, dated 28th of April, 1908.
Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1527

**Union of Beneficies (Metropolis) Act, 1860.**—Scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for effecting an union of the benefice of St. Luke, Charlton, and the benefice of St. Paul, Charlton. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and to be printed. (No. 67) ... 1527

NEW BILLS.

**Statute Law Revision Bill** [H.L.].—Read 1ª; to be printed, and to be read 2ª on Wednesday next. (No. 68) ... 1528

THE LATE PRIME MINISTER.

*The Lord President of the Council (Lord Tweedmouth)* ... 1528

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying that His Majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the late Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with an inscription expressive of the high sense entertained by this House of the eminent services rendered by him to the country in Parliament and in great offices of State, and to assure His Majesty that this House will concur in giving effect to His Majesty's directions."—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... 1530
*The Marquess of Ripon* ... 1532

On Question, Motion agreed to *nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered that the said Address be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with the White Staves.

TERRITORIAL ARTILLERY.

*The Earl of Denbigh* ... 1533
*Earl Roberts* ... 1542
*Lord Grenfell* ... 1554
*The Under-Secretary of State for War (Lord Lucas)* ... 1555
*Viscount Midleton* ... 1563
*The Lord President of the Council (Lord Tweedmouth)* ... 1367
*Lord Ampthill* ... 1373
*Lord Wynford* ... 1574
*The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... 1578

MILITIA OFFICERS.

*The Duke of Bedford* ... 1584
*Lord Lucas* ... 1584

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

*The Duke of Bedford* ... 1585
*Lord Lucas* ... 1585

COST OF ARTILLERY TRAINING.

*Lord Wynford* ... 1586
*Lord Lucas* ... 1586

House adjourned at five minutes before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow half-past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 18TH MAY, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the clock.

### PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—King's College, London (Transfer) Bill [Lords]; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time... ... ... ... 1587

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Holderness Water Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1587

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow ... ... 1587

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow .. ... 1588

**Camborne Water Bill.**—Read the third time and passed ... ... ... 1588

**Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Bill** [LORDS].—Read the third time and passed, with an Amendment ... ... ... ... ... ... 1588

**Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill** [LORDS]; North-East London Railway Bill.—Not amended, considered; to be read the third time ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1588

**Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill** [LORDS]; Great Western Railway Bill [Lords]; London County Council (Money) Bill; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed ... ... 1588

**Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill**; Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—Read the third time, and passed ... ... 1588

**Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill** (BY ORDER).—Read a second time, and committed ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1588

### PETITIONS.

**Children Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... 1588

**Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill.**—3 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1588

**Dairies (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... 1589

**Ecclesiastical Assessments (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1589

**Education (Provision of Meals) (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1589

**Education (Scotland) Bill**—Petition for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1589

**Licensing Bill.**—9 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table. 2 Petitions for alteration; to lie upon the Table. 20 Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1589

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**Lights on Vehicles (Scotland) Bill.**—Petitions against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1589

**Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.**—3 Petitions against; to lie upon the Table. Petitions in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... 1589

**Metropolitan Sewers and Drains Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1589

**Open Spaces (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... 1590

**Police Superannuation (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**Port of London Bill.**—Petition of Henry Chaloner Smith, against, praying to be heard; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the Borough of Hammersmith, against, praying to be heard by counsel; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**Sale of Food and Drugs Acts (Amendment) (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition against; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**Tobacco Growing (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**Trawlers' Certificates Suspension Bill.**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**Whale Fisheries (Scotland) Act (1907).**—Petition in favour; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

**Congestion in Ireland (Royal Commission).**—Final Report of the Royal Commission; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**Shop Hours Act, (1904).**—Order made by the Council of the Borough of Darlington; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... 1590

**East India (Railways and Irrigation Works).**—Return presented, relative thereto; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 144] ... ... 1591

**East India (Progress and Condition).**—Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 145] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1591

**Dublin Metropolitan Police.**—Statistical Tables for the year 1907; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1591

**Post Office (Inland Post).**—Inland Post Amendment (No. 10) Warrant, 1908, dated 28th April, 1908; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... 1591

**Railway Accidents.**—Copy presented, of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United Kingdom; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... 1591

**Fee Fund (House of Lords).**—Account presented, of the Fee Fund of the House of Lords; to lie upon the Table ... ... ... ... ... 1591

**Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.**—Union of Benefices Act (Saint Luke, Charlton, with Saint Paul, Charlton) ... ... ... 1591

**National Debt.**—Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 146]... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1592

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## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Age Retirement in the Post Office ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1592
Licensing Bill—Closure by Compartments ... ... ... ... ... 1593
Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—Date of Second Reading ... ... ... 1593
Railway Rates Inquiry ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1593
Post Office—Payment by Time Allowance for Night Duty ... ... ... 1594
Conditions of Insurance of Registered Letters ... ... ... ... ... 1595
Transmission of Press Telegrams—Complaints of the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* 1596
Postal Arrangements at Castletown, Berehaven ... ... ... ... .. 1596
Mail Car between Durrus and Kilcrohane... ... ... ... ... ... 1597
Postmen's Scale of Wages ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1597
Pay of Postmen at Newtown Mearns ... ... ... ... ... .. 1597
Street Repairs in Busy Thoroughfares ... ... ... ... ... ... 1598
Bethnal Green Casual Wards ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1598
Widows in the United Kingdom over Seventy Years of Age ... ... ... 1599
Excessive Speed of Motors on Highways ... ... ... ... ... ... 1599
Population of England and Wales ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1600
Alien Paupers in London ... .. ... ... ... ... ... ... 1601
Motor Traffic in London Streets ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1601
Cattle Trade ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1602
Small Holdings Schemes ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1603
Scottish Industrial and Provident Societies trading as General Dealers ... 1603
Completion of Work at the Marble Arch ... ... ... ... ... ... 1604
Visit of the Prime Minister of Nepaul ... ... ... ... ... ... 1604
Cause of Death of Mr. Mehta of the Indian Civil Service ... ... ... 1605
Claims of Shamarendra Chandra Deb Barman ... ... ... ... ... 1605
Increase of Pay for European Officers of the Bombay City Police ... ... 1606
Commercial Subjects of the Intermediate Education Board ... ... ... 1606
Salaries of Medical Inspectors under the Irish Local Government Board ... 1606
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Erection of a Fishing Pier at Garnish ... ... ... ... ... ... 1607
Re-instatement of Evicted Tenants ... ... ... ... ... ... 1608
Amendment of Irish Land Acts ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1608
Evicted Tenants—Case of Edmund Feehan ... ... ... ... ... 1609
Completion of Fishing Pier at Ballyconnell ... ... ... ... ... 1609
Funds for Development of Irish Sea Fishing Industry ... ... ... ... 1610
New Irish University Senates ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1610
Destruction of Irish Woodlands ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1611
Advances for Purchase of the Goodall Estate ... ... ... ... ... 1611
Positions of Existing Professors of the Cork and Galway Colleges ... ... 1612
Introduction of the Irish Land Bill ... ... ... ... ... .. 1612
Untenanted Land of the Colthurst Estate... ... ... ... ... ... 1612
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Malicious Injuries (Ireland) Bill ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1669

Business of the House ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1670

STANDING ORDERS.—Ordered, That so much of Standing Order 91 as fixes Five as the quorum of the Select Committee be read and suspended.

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the session, Three be the quorum of the Committee.—(*Mr. Ellis*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1672

NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Belville Stanier, Esq., for the county of Salop (Northern or Newport Division) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1672

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill [Lords].

And also a Bill, intituled, Small Holdings and Allotments (Scotland) Bill [Lords]. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1672

MONUMENT TO SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT, Oldham, in the Chair.]

*The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury* (*Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.*) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1672

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying that His Majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the late Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with an inscription expressive of the high sense entertained by this House of the eminent services rendered by him to the country in Parliament and in great offices of State, and to assure His Majesty that this House will make good the expenses attending the same.—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

*Mr. Balfour* (*City of London*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1674
*Mr. John Redmond* (*Waterford*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1675
*Sir Alfred Thomas* (*Glamorganshire, E.*) ... ... ... ... ... 1676

Question put and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

**Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill.**—Order for Second Reading read.

*The First Lord of the Admiralty* (*Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.*) ... 1676

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

*Lord Balcarres* (*Lancashire, Chorley*) ... ... ... ... ... 1686

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the question to add the words 'this day six months.'"—(*Lord Balcarres.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question.'"

*Mr. John Redmond* (*Waterford*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1700
*Mr. Perks* (*Lincolnshire, Louth*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1709
*Mr. Joynson-Hicks* (*Manchester, N.E.*) ... ... ... ... ... 1714
*Mr. Walters* (*Sheffield, Brightside*) ... ... ... ... ... 1722
*Viscount Morpeth* (*Birmingham, S.*) ... ... ... ... ... 1726
*Mr. Austin Taylor* (*Liverpool, East Toxteth*) ... ... ... ... 1731
*Sir John Randles* (*Cumberland, Cockermouth*) ... ... ... ... 1735
*Mr. Llewelyn Williams* (*Carmarthen District*) ... ... ... ... 1737

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*Lord Edmund Talbot* (*Sussex, Chichester*) ... ... ... ... ... 1743
*Mr. Pickersgill* (*Bethnal Green, S.W.*) ... ... ... ... ... 1744
*Mr. Lane-Fox* (*Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash*) ... ... ... ... 1747
*Mr. Ramsay Macdonald* (*Leicester*) ... ... ... ... ... 1752
*Mr. Talbot* (*Oxford University*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1757
*Mr. Napier* (*Kent, Faversham*) ... ... ... ... ... ... 1762
*Mr. James Hope* (*Sheffield, Central*) ... ... ... ... ... 1769
*Sir J. Compton Rickett* (*Yorkshire, W.R., Osgoldcross*) ... ... ... 1773

And, it being Eleven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

PUBLIC OFFICES SITES (EXTENSION) [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any Expenses, so far as not otherwise provided for, incurred by the Commissioners of Works under any Act of the present Session, to provide for the Acquisition of Land for the extension of certain Public Offices in Westminster and of the Patent Office, and for certain other public purposes."—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow ... ... ... 1774

Adjourned at eight minutes after Eleven o'clock.

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THE

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(*AUTHORISED EDITION*)

IN THE

*THIRD SESSION* OF THE *TWENTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET
THE TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF JANUARY IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE
REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1908.

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Tuesday, 5th May*, 1908.

### BARON HOTHAM.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Frederick William, Baron Hotham in the Peerage of Ireland, to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

The Right Hon. John Morley, O.M., having been created Viscount Morley of Blackburn, in the County Palatine of Lancaster—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Hartley Fowler, G.C.S.I., having been created Viscount Wolverhampton of Wolverhampton, in the County of Stafford—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Duke of Devonshire—Sat first in Parliament after the death of his uncle.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway.—Petition of the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway Company under their Common Seal praying for leave to bring in a Bill to change the name of the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Company to the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway Company, to revive and extend the time limited by the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Act, 1900, the Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Act, 1903, and the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Act, 1905, for the compulsory purchase of lands for the purposes thereof, and for the completion of the railways thereby authorised, and for other purposes; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto. Read, and referred to the Examiners.

Tollemache Estate.—Petition for a Private Bill; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto. Read, and referred to two English Judges.

Rochdale Corporation Bill.—Report from His Majesty's Attorney-General received, and ordered to lie on the Table.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: — Cambrian Railways [H.L.]; Lincoln Corporation; Dartford Gas; Hull and Barnsley Railway; Bromley and Crays Gas.

Also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with:—Honourable Artillery Company—(Petition for Bill); Sligo and Arigna Railway—(Petition for additional Provision).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Finchley Urban District Council Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed.

Great Western Railway Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

London Motor Roadways Bill [H.L.].—The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES informed the House that the promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill. Order for the Second Reading To-morrow discharged. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with.

King's College London (Transfer) Bill [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) Bill; Draycott Gas Bill; Gosport Gas Bill; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill; Leeds Corporation Bill; Leicester Corporation Bill; Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc., Bill; North-Eastern Railway Bill; Wishaw Burgh Electricity, etc., Bill; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill; Knott End Railway Bill; Louth and East Coast Railway (Transfer) Bill; Dundalk Urban District Council Bill; Margate Corporation Bill; Swinton and Mexborough Gas Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read 1ª, and referred to the Examiners.

London and District Electricity Supply Bill [H.L.]; London Electric Supply Bill [H.L.]; London (Westminster and Kensington) Electric Supply Companies Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Sanderson be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Viscount Cobham; read, and agreed to.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1.) Bill [H.L.] (No. 50).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Bridgwater, Llandudno, and Whitley Bay.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (No. 51).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Gott Bay and Vaila.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (No. 52).—A Bill to confirm Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Rothesay.

Gas Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 53).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Caldicot and District Gas, Rainford Gas, Rothwell Gas, Tenterden and District Gas, and Woolmer and District Gas.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 54).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Brough Water, Burgess Hill Water, Earby and Thornton Gas, East Hul

Gas, Sevenoaks Water, and Stourbridge Water.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No 2) Bill [H.L.] (No. 55).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Liverpool Corporation Tramways Extensions, and Potteries and North Staffordshire Tramways Amendment); And

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.] (No. 56).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Bridgend (Extension), Hendon (Amendment), Llandaff and Dinas Powis (Amendment), Llansamlet, Oulton Broad, Sowerby Bridge (Amendment), and Tewkesbury (Amendment).

Were presented by the Lord Granard (*E. Granard*). Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Cornwall, etc.) Bill [H.L.] (No. 57).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Education under the Education Acts 1870 to 1907, to enable the councils of the administrative counties of Cornwall, Merioneth, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the county borough of Swansea, to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts; And

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.] (No. 58).—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Education under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1907, to enable the London County Council to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts.

Were presented by the Earl of Crewe. Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the City of Dublin and the urban district of Pembroke (two)—Was presented by the Lord Denman; read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 59.)

Dublin and South Eastern Railway Bill; City of Glasgow Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed for Thursday next.

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## PETITIONS.

### EDUCATION (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE) BILL [H.L.]

Petition in favour of: Of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the county borough of West Ham; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

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## PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by His Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments pursuant to Standing Order No. CXI., viz.:—

Education (Scotland).—I.—Regulations as to Grants to Secondary Schools, 1908. (April 15). II.—General Report by the Chief Inspector of the Western Division of Scotland, for the year 1907 (April 29.)

Cyprus.—Correspondence relating to the affairs of Cyprus. (April 23.)

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—No. 3971. France (New Caledonia). (April 29). No. 3972. France (Nantes and St. Nazaire). No. 3973. France (Réunion). No. 3974. Turkey (Palestine). (April 23). No. 3977. Portugal (the Azores). (April 24.)

Prisons (Scotland) Act, 1877.—Thirtieth Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, being the Sixty-ninth Annual Report on Prisons in Scotland. (April 23.)

Irish Land Commission.—I.—Return of proceedings for the month of December,

1907. (April 23). II.—Return of advances made under the Irish Land Act, 1903, during the month of May, 1907. (April 29.)

Irish Universities Bill (1908).—Preliminary drafts of the Articles of Charters: I.—For the University to have its seat in Dublin. II.—For the University to have its seat in Belfast. (April 23.)

Mines and Quarries.—I.—Reports of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines under the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, 1887 to 1896, the Metalliferous Mines Regulations Acts, 1872 and 1875, and the Quarries Act, 1894, for the year 1907: East Scotland District, A. McLaren; West Scotland, J. M. Ronaldson; Newcastle, J. B. Atkinson; Durham, R. D. Bain; York and Lincoln, W. H. Pickering; Manchester and Ireland, J. Gerrard; Liverpool and North Wales, H. Hall, I.S.O.; Midland, A. H. Stokes; Stafford, H. Johnstone; Cardiff and Swansea, F. A. Gray; J. Dyer Lewis, and W. N. Atkinson; Southern, J. S. Martin, I.S.O. (April 24.) II.—(Explosion at Dynas Main Colliery).—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by William Atkinson and J. Dyer Lewis, His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, on the circumstances attending an explosion of coal dust which occurred at Dynas Main Colliery on 14th December, 1907. (April 30.)

Miscellaneous, No. 3 (1908).—Correspondence with His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin respecting a declaration by the Governments of Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, on the subject of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the territories bordering upon the North Sea. (April 24.)

Treaty Series, No. 10 (1908).—Agreement between the United Kingdom and France respecting death duties; signed at London, 15th November, 1907. (Ratifications exchanged at London, 9th December, 1907.) (April 27.)

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887.—Return of the number of eviction notices filed during the quarter ended 31st March, 1908. (April 28.)

Intermediate Education Board (Ireland).—Annual Report for the year 1907. (April 28.)

Army.—I.—Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain, for the year 1907. II.—Report on the discipline and management of the military prisons and detention barracks, 1907. (May 1.)

Egypt No. 1. (1908).—Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on finances, administration, and condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1907. (April 30.)

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Memorandum explanatory of the provisions of the Bill. (May 2.)

Reformatory and Industrial Schools.—Fifty-first Report, for the year 1907, of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. Part I.—List of Schools and Detailed Reports. (May 2.)

Vice-Regal Commission on Irish Railways.—I.—Third Report of the Commissioners. II.—Appendix. (May 2.)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1907.

Regulations made by the Treasury.

### BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883 (PROCEEDINGS).

Accounts showing the receipts and expenditure on account of bankruptcy proceedings during the year ended 31st March, 1908.

### COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.

Account showing receipts and expenditure on account of proceedings under the Act during the year ended 31st March, 1908.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### THAMES CONSERVANCY.

General Report of the proceedings of the Conservators of the River Thames during the year ended 31st December, 1907, with a statement of the accounts of the Conservators for that year. Delivered (pursuant to the Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

General Report by the Chief Inspector of the Southern Division of Scotland, for the year 1907.

### BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Annual report of proceedings under the Acts relating to sea fisheries, for the year 1906.

### TREATY SERIES, No. 11 (1908).

Accession of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago to the Industrial Property Convention of 1883, as modified by the Additional Act of 1900. 14th May, 1908.

### PUBLIC RECORDS.

Sixty-eighth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records.

### RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Return in pursuance of Section 4 of the Regulation of Railways Act, 1889, of railway servants of certain classes who were on one or more occasions during the month of January, 1908, on duty on certain railways of the United Kingdom for more than twelve hours at a time, or who after being on duty more than twelve hours were allowed to resume work with less than nine hours rest, showing: Periods of duty from start to finish without any deductions; periods of duty after deduction of time spent in travelling home after relief; with appendices giving additional statements and explanations furnished by the railway companies.

### IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Return of proceedings for the month of January, 1908.

### TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3978. Chile.

No. 3980. United States (Finances).

No. 3981. France (Corsica).

No. 3982. United States (Consular District of Baltimore).

No. 3983. Japan (Consular District of Kobé).

No. 3984. China (Wuhu).

No. 3985. Belgium (Finances).

No. 3986. United States (Consular District of Savannah).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES ACT, 1907.

Orders in Council, dated 9th April, 1908, for transferring: Certain units of the Volunteer Army Medical Corps to the Territorial Force; certain battalions of the Militia to the Army Reserve.

### NAVAL AND MARINE PAY AND PENSIONS ACT, 1865.

Orders in Council, dated 9th April, 1908, praying sanction to the grant of: "Climate allowance" to officers and men of His Majesty's Navy or Royal Marines for service in the China rivers; "Messing allowance" to sub-lieutenants in command of torpedo boats and other small vessels.

### METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Accounts showing the sums received and expended for the purposes of the Metropolitan Police and Police Pension Funds between 1st April, 1907, and 31st March, 1908.

### LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Report of the proceedings of the Board of Trade up to 31st December, 1907, and of the proceedings of the Light Railway Commissioners up to the same date.

### SHERIFF COURTS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1907.

Act of sederunt anent procedure in appeals under Sections 5 and 30 of the Sheriff Courts (Scotland) Act, 1907; Act of sederunt regulating the fees of agents and others in the Sheriff Court.

### SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Order made by the council of the County Borough of Croydon, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain classes of shops within a certain part of the borough; closing order made by the municipal council of the City of Dublin; order made by the council of the Borough of Dewsbury, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain classes of shops within the borough.

### ARKLOW HARBOUR.

Report of the Arklow Harbour Commissioners and statement of accounts for 1907.

## *NEW BILL.*

### IMPORTATION OF PLUMAGE PROHIBITION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to prohibit the importation of the plumage and skins of wild birds was presented by the Lord Avebury; read $1^a$; and to be printed. (No. 60.)

### THE LATE PRIME MINISTER.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, as your Lordships are aware, some important changes have taken place in His Majesty's Government consequent upon the resignation of the late lamented Prime Minister, and so far as this House is concerned the one principal change has been the retirement from the Leadership of my noble friend Lord Ripon—a retirement which, I am sure, will be received with equal regret on both sides of the House. I do not think there has ever been a Leader of your Lordships' House who has shown more completely how possible it is to hold opinions strongly, and to express them plainly, without giving any just cause of offence to those from whom the speaker differed. So far as regards my own position, having been called upon to succeed my noble friend, I will merely say this—I am quite confident that my noble friends behind me will extend to me the same support that they extended to him, reinforced as we are by three very notable recruits from another place. As regards noble Lords opposite, from them I have hitherto, when I have acted on behalf of my noble friend, always received the utmost consideration, and not the least from the noble Marquess who leads the Opposition—my noble friend as I venture to call him in the most literal sense, although Lord Granville, who was not an austere politician, used to say the term should never be used across the floor of the House. I am quite certain that from the noble Marquess and from noble Lords opposite we on this side may look for every assistance both in conducting the business of the House and in maintaining its high credit. But before proceeding to any matters of business, your Lordships would desire that we should pay a tribute, even though necessarily it must be a tardy tribute, to the memory of the statesman who, after a long and weary illness, borne with a fine courage and patience, was laid to rest on Tuesday last. My Lords, as we look back into history, down the long portrait gallery of First Ministers of the Crown, we see the figures of some who were endowed with more commanding genius and associated with more dazzling achievements than was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman; but in one respect I think his reputation need yield to none of those who went before him. There have been some Prime Ministers on that famous roll who inspired the unstinted devotion of their followers, but they were pursued with hostility and even with rancour by their opponents; some few may have escaped the one order of sentiment by never awakening the other; but I doubt whether there was one who exercised so profound an influence over his colleagues and who aroused such a measure of enthusiasm amongst them during his tenure of office as Prime Minister while exciting so little animosity from those on the other side. But that, my Lords, was not due to any weakness in the manner in which Sir Henry held his opinions. He was a strong Party man of the old-fashioned type and a firm believer in the party system. But he represented, I venture to think, a very rare blend—namely, the character of a man of the world, taking things as they were and taking human nature as he found it, with that of a thoroughly hopeful temperament, capable of the most generous emotion, and most eager to make prevail the right as he conceived it to be. Thus with the one side of his nature he conciliated his opponents, and with the other he inspired his followers. Add to this, a mind stored with diverse knowledge, a complete absence of anything like self-seeking or pettiness, a large tolerance altogether untinged with contempt, an absolutely impervious temper, and I think it cannot be matter for wonder that in his private life he was singularly happy, that his colleagues were devoted to him, and that he became, as he did, the most popular figure in the political world. Of Sir Henry's public services, and of the place which he will hold in Parliamentary history—a high one, as I firmly believe—I do not desire now to speak. On such an occasion as this, we all, I think, feel that it is character which counts most; and it is upon that common ground that I am quite sure noble Lords opposite will desire to meet us in doing honour to his memory and in deploring the loss which the country has sustained.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I desire in the first place to associate myself with what has just been said by the noble Earl opposite in regard to the feeling in this House towards the noble Marquess who for so many years has led it with such distinction and with so much popularity on both sides. We take leave of him with sincere regret and with the hope that, although he may no longer be equal to the duties of the leadership, he will continue to take an interest and an active part in our proceedings, and to set to the House, as I shall always maintain he has during his long career never failed to set, an example of the soundest and most respected of our Parliamentary traditions. With regard to the noble Earl himself, we have already had some experience of him in the position of leader, when in the absence of the noble Marquess he has from time to time taken the principal part in conducting Government measures through your Lordships' House. And although I do not desire to pay my noble friend fulsome compliments to his face, I am only, I am quite sure, saying what is felt by all of us on this side of the House when I say that we have never failed to recognise the tactful and considerate manner in which he has done his work, and that we are now ready to promise him in full and abundant measure that assistance which he told us that he hoped to receive both in the duties of conducting business through the House and also in maintaining its most honourable traditions. My Lords, I pass from those matters to the sadder theme upon which my noble friend touched in such feeling and appropriate language. He dwelt, as it was natural he should dwell, upon the characteristics shown by the late Prime Minister as a colleague and as a Parliamentary leader. We on this side knew him less well in those capacities. He was not our colleague, he did not belong to this House; I hope your Lordships will not think that I am leaning too much upon a purely personal reminiscence if I observe that I am probably the only Peer sitting on this side of the House who ever served with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as a colleague. It is a long time ago now, but my noble friend will remember, perhaps, that when Mr. Cardwell, as he then was, was Secretary of State for War, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was Financial Secretary, while I had the honour of representing the War Office in this House. To those days I trace a very pleasant acquaintance with the late Prime Minister which lasted until the last days of his life. The late Prime Minister was not only not a Member of this House, but he was a very severe critic of this House, and, as we all know, he was one of those who favoured very drastic changes in our constitutional position. But, in spite of all that, in spite of what I may call the comparative remoteness of the standpoint from which we regard his memory, there is, I venture to say not one of us who does not understand the sorrow felt by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's colleagues at his death and who is not able in a measure to share it. In the first place, it is true to say that when a British subject arrives at the high position of Prime Minister of this country he thereby *ipso facto* acquires and commands the respect and admiration of the great body of the people of this country. And when that position has been gained, as it was in Sir Henry-Campbell-Bannerman's case, by years of honest hard work in Parliament, when it is not the result of any intrigue, but the achievement of pure and simple merit, then I think we are all ready, whatever be the strength of the party ties by which we are bound, to extend to the man who fills that position a full measure of that respect which, I hope, the British Prime Minister will always command at the hands of his fellow-countrymen. In addition to that, we recognise that Sir Henry possessed personal attributes, referred to in well-chosen language by my noble friend, which enlisted the affection of all who came into contact with him. He was a man of singular kindliness and of remarkable good temper and good humour. He was a man, I should say, who was devoid of anything like self-consciousness or of what might be called official pedantry, and however much we might differ from him, we all of us recognised that his ideals were true and worthy ideals, whether we entirely approved of the means by which he sought to arrive at them or not. And therefore I think it has come to pass that just as when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman found himself raised to the highest position in the State there was no murmur of ill-will from any quarter or from any Party in the State, so now that his career has been ended by death he has left behind him many friends indeed, but no trace of ill-will or of political resentment of any kind. We shall think of him, not perhaps as one of those stately and commanding figures who have occasionally passed across the political stage, but as a public man who achieved a great position by a career eminently honourable to himself, useful to the Party to which he belonged, and in every way creditable to the political life of this country.

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## ARMY RETURN.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: My Lords, I rise to ask the Under-Secretary of State for War if he will lay on the Table of the House a Return showing: 1. The number of recruits enlisted in Great Britain for the Special Reserve, for the Engineers, Artillery, and Infantry respectively, between 15th January and 15th May, 1908; 2. The number of recruits enlisted for all arms of the Militia in Great Britain between 15th January and 15th May, 1907; 3. The number of recruits enlisted respectively for the Special Reserve Artillery and Infantry in Ireland between 15th January and 15th May, 1908; 4. The number of recruits enlisted for the Militia in Ireland, Artillery, and Infantry respectively, between 15th January and 15th May, 1907; 5. The number of Special Reserve recruits drilling at each depot in the United Kingdom on 1st May, 1908, and the number of separate squads at each depot into which it was necessary to divide such recruits for the purposes of instruction on that date; 6. The number of Special Reserve recruits up to Army standard now serving in the Special Reserve; 7. The number of Militia officers belonging to Militia battalions who do not train this year who have been transferred to the Special Reserve; 8. The number of men belonging to Militia battalions who do not train this year who have elected: (1) To join the Special Reserve; (2) To remain as Militiamen till time-expired; (3) To take a free discharge.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord LUCAS): My Lords, I have no objection to giving the noble Duke most of the information he asks for. There are, however, two of the Questions on which I am afraid it is not possible to give information. Question 6, for instance, would involve the special medical examination of every Special Reserve recruit at the various depots, and I do not think it would serve any purpose to give instructions that such should be carried out. I should also like to point out that our recruiting returns are weekly—*i.e.*, from Saturday to Saturday—and if the noble Duke, instead of asking for a return from a particular date to the corresponding date of the following month, would be satisfied with the four weeks nearest the dates mentioned in his Question it would enormously facilitate the preparation of the Return. There is one other point regarding Question 7. No Militia officers have yet been transferred to the Special Reserve. The conversion of the 101 Militia battalions into Reserve battalions does not take place until after the annual training this year, and the number of officers of the other twenty-three battalions who may accept the conditions of transfer to the new battalions laid down in Paragraph 72 of the Army Order of 23rd December can obviously not be estimated until after individuals have notified their decisions at the termination of the annual training. I understand that all Militia officers, except lieutenant-colonels, have an opportunity of training this year even though their old battalions do not come up for training.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Tuesday, 5th May,* 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

### PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

### PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. : — Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

### PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

### PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for additional Provision in the following Bill, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Sligo and Arigna Railway Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

### PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Honourable Artillery Company Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill [Lords]. As amended considered; to be read the third time.

Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, &c.) Order Confirmation Bill. Read a second time; and ordered to be considered To-morrow.

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill.—" To confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Leith Harbour and Docks," presented by Mr. Sinclair; and ordered (under Section 7 of the Act) to be considered upon Thursday.

Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order under The Land Drainage Act, 1861, in the matter of a proposed drainage district in the parishes of Blundeston, Flixton, and Oulton, in the County of Suffolk," presented by Sir Edward Strachey; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 211.]

Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Loch Leven Water," presented by Mr. Sinclair; read the first time; and ordered (under Section 9 of the Act) to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 13th May, and to be printed. [Bill 212.]

Tyne Improvement Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Standing Orders.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—

"That, in the case of the Wath-upon-Dearne Urban District Council Gas Bill [Lords], Petition for Additional Provision, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties have leave to insert the additional Provision if the Committee on the Bill think fit."

"That, in the case of the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways, Petition for leave to deposit a Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties be permitted to deposit their Petition for a Bill."

"That, in the case of the Pontypridd Water Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of 'N. B. Allen and Company' against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought to be dispensed with."

Resolutions agreed to.

## *PETITIONS.*

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Agecroft Colliery; Amman Anthracite; Annesley; Allofts (No. 1); Armiton; Bloxwich; Brinsley; Burnley; Carbery; Carway; Crigglestone; Crigglestone Haigh Moor; Denby Grange; Don Pedro; Eastwood; Garriongill; Great Harwood; Great Mountain; Kimberley; Kirkby; Langton; Llandebie; Loanhead; Lofthouse; Methley Saville; Netherton and Horbury; Newbottle; New Hucknall; New London; Newmarket Silkstone; New Winnings; Niddrie; Nostell; Park Hill; Penicuik; Pilkington; Polton; Primrose Hill; Ravenhead; Rothwell; Sherwood Colliery; Smeaton; Stourton Grange; Sutton Colliery; Swithens Pit; Teversal Colliery; Underwood; Wallyford; Westhoughton; West Sharlston; Whitehaven; and Whitwood Mere; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Hornsea; and Walkden; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Aby; Alford; Bearwood; Bilsby; Bradford; Bristol; Chester; Chipping Sodbury; Dudley and District; Easingwold; Firsby; Forest Hill; Gravesend; Great Bedwyn; Headington and District; High Peak; Hogsthorpe; Horncastle; Langthorpe; Leamington; Leeds; Lofthouse; Maidenhead; Malton; Methley; Mumby Orby; Oulton; Raithby; Rhondda Valley; Sandhurst; Sheffield (four); South Etherington; Stroud Division; Sudbury; Sutton-on-Sea; Swansea; Tipton; Thame and District; Thornbury Division; Thursley; Wakefield; Walsall (six); West Bromwich; Weston-super-Mare; West Sowerby; Wokingham; Wonersh; Woodley; and Worcester; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration: From Bradford; Ferryden; Kenley; Leeds; Leicester; Nailsworth; and Rowrah; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Abbeydale; Aberdeen (four); Abersychan; Abergavenny; Alltwater; Ambler Thorn; Arbroath; Ashfield (three); Auchterless; Aylesford (two); Ayton; Banchory; Barnstaple; Bath (three); Battersea; Bideford (three); Blackburn; Blaenavon; Blaenelydod; Blencogo; Bournemouth; Bourtreebush; Bradford (two); Bradwald; Brechin; Brighouse; Brinkworth; Broughton Park and District; Broughty Ferry (three); Burmantofts; Caio; Camberwell (two); Carnoustie; Castleford; Cawsand; Chard; Chester (two); Chopwell; Craig; Crook; Crosshills; Cullen; Dallas; Dalton-in-Furness Delamere; Devonport (three); Dorrington; Dowlais; Dursley; Edzell; Elgin; Elland; Farnham; Gateshead-on-Tyne; Glasgow (four); Gravesend (two); Greenock (three); Guildford (three); Halkirk; Haverhill; Headingley; Headington; Horbury; Hornsea; Huddersfield (two); Hull (six); Ilfracombe (two); Irvine; Keighley; Kendal (two); Kirriemuir; Langley Mill; Leeds (eleven); Leicester (three); Leith (four); Letham; Lewis (two) Liff; Llandefeilog; Llanelly Hill; Llanfihangel; Llanrug; Llansawd; Lossiemouth; Loughborough; Lybster; Lynton (two); Luss; Macclesfield (two); Madderty; Maidstone; Malton (two); Mansfield (two); Market Rasen; Measham; Melbourne (two); Methley; Methven; Midgley; Milngavie; Montgomery (two); Moreton-in-Marsh; Nantmor; Nazareth; New Annesley (two); New Chesterton; New Oxford Street, W.; New Porthill; New Scarbro'; Newton Stewart; Normanton; North Kensington; Northowram; North Shields; Norton-on-Tees; Norwich (two); Norwood; Norwood Green; Nottingham; Ossett; Oswestry; Painswick; Pendleton; Penrhiwceiber; Penrhos; Pentre Rhondda (two); Pluscarden; Pontardulais (two); Poplar; Portobello; Preston (Lancs.); Pulteneytown; Restalrig; Rhostryfan; Rhyd Ddu; Rochdale; Ruabon; Saffronhall; St. Helens; St. Leonards; Seymour Place, W.; Sheffield (seven); Shipley; Silloth; Staplehurst; Stockport; Stonehaven; Stornaway; Stranraer; Streethouse; Sudbury; Thornhillhead; Tipton; Torry; Upper Brynamman; Upper Bangor; Wakefield (four); Walworth and District; Weston-on-Trent; West Seaford; Whitchurch; Whitegate Wigton; Wilpshire; Winton; Woodford (two); Worthing (four); Wrenthorpe; Wylam-on-Tyne; and Ystrad Rhondda; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions against: From Banffshire; Glasgow; Irvine; and Orkney; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Burnbank; Dunoon; Ferryden; Grangemouth; Holm; Kirkpatrick; and Pollokshields; to lie upon the Table.

### PUBLIC-HOUSES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdeen; and Grangemouth; to lie upon the Table.

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Bromley; Haslemere; Ilford; Longfield; and Sevenoaks; to lie upon the Table.

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## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

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### TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3978 to 3986 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### TREATY SERIES (No. 11, 1908).

Copy presented, of Accession of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago to the Industrial Property Convention of 1883, as modified by the Additional Act of 1900, 14th May, 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### NAVAL AND MARINE PAY AND PENSIONS ACT, 1865.

Copy presented, of Orders in Council, dated 9th April, 1908, praying sanction to the grant of: (1) "Climate Allowance" to Officers and Men of His Majesty's Navy or Royal Marines for service in the China

Rivers; (2) "Messing Allowance" to Sub-Lieutenants in Command of Torpedo Boats and other small Vessels [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES ACT, 1907.

Copy presented, of Orders in Council dated 9th April, 1908, for transferring (1) Certain Units of the Volunteer Army Medical Corps to the Territorial Force; (2) Certain Battalions of the Militia to the Army Reserve [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Dewsbury, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Regulations for the Preliminary Education of Elementary School Teachers: (1) Pupil Teacher Regulations; (2) Bursary Regulations; (3) Student Teacher Regulations; in force from 1st August, 1908, in Wales and Monmouthshire [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

### Messrs Siemens Brothers and the Fair Wage Clause.

MR. W. T. WILSON (Lancashire, Westhoughton): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the firm of Siemens Brothers, who supply tables and other articles to the naval hospitals, only pay 10d. per hour to the joiners employed on this work, the standard rate being 10½d. per hour; whether he is aware that the firm absolutely refuse to meet the representatives of the Joiners' Society, who have made several requests for an interview with the object of amicably arranging the grievance they have against the firm; and whether he will take steps to induce the firm to pay the standard rate of wage and comply with the rules regulating the trade as agreed upon between employers and employees engaged on similar work.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) No contract for the articles referred to is at present held by the firm. All contracts for such articles would contain the usual clause as to the payment of the current rate of wages for the district, and any complaint that might be lodged with reference to a specific Admiralty contract would be inquired into in the usual way.

MR. W. T. WILSON: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the firm of Siemens Brothers, who supply telephone cabinets and other articles to his Department, only pay 10d. per hour to the joiners employed on this work, the standard rate of wage being 10½d. per hour; whether he is aware that the firm absolutely refuses to meet the representatives of the Joiners' Society, although they have made several requests to the firm for an interview; and whether he will take steps to induce the firm to pay the standard rate of wage and comply with the rules agreed upon between employers and employees engaged in similar work.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have had inquiry made, and I find that Messrs. Siemens employ at their Woolwich Factory (where Post Office work is occassionally done) about forty men on work consisting partly of joinery and partly of cabinet making, at the rate of 10d. an hour for a week of fifty-four hours. When employed on piece-work their earnings are increased by about 20 per cent. These men enjoy special privileges, including free medical attendance and a prospective pension.

### Foreign Allowance for Shipwrights at Bermuda Dockyard.

MR. W. T. WILSON: To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he can state the reason why shipwrights and joiners that are asked to volunteer for service at the Bermuda dockyard are only offered a foreign service allowance of 17s. 6d. and 15s. 2d. per week, respectively, whilst electricians, engine fitters, boiler makers, and ship fitters are allowed 21s. per week.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) Rates of foreign service allowance have been determined with regard to the emoluments which experience has shown it to be necessary to offer to secure the services of competent men of the several trades. The question of adopting a uniform rate at Bermuda is being kept in view, and will be considered when an opportunity occurs.

### South African War Debt.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the total debt incurred upon the South African War; and what was the annual interest payable upon that debt, so far as it remained undischarged, in the years 1902–3, 1903–4, 1904–5, 1905–6, 1906–7, and 1907–8, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The total amount of debt created for the War was £159,000,000. The amount of interest paid on war debt in 1902–3 was £4,205,000. The estimated amount payable in 1903–4 was £4,328,000; but, by The Finance Act, 1903, the interest on the war debt became payable as part of the permanent charge of the debt, and it cannot therefore be distinguished for subsequent years.

### Licensed Houses owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Mr. RENDALL (Gloucestershire, Thornbury): To ask the hon. Member for the Crewe Division, as Church Estates Commissioner, what is the total number of houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors now the property of the Commissioners; and what additions or reductions have been made during the last twenty years.

(*Answered by Mr. Tomkinson.*) The Answers given by the hon. Member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield on 8th March, 1906, to a Question put by the hon. Member for West Denbighshire, and on 11th March, 1907, to a Question put by the hon. Member for Doncaster, and the answer given by myself on 18th March last to a Question put by the hon. Member for South Hackney respectively, contain practically all the information asked for by the hon. Member. That Answer was: The total number of public-houses in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' estates was 332. Within the last twenty years 100 fully-licensed houses in London alone have been reduced, a time-limit having been given to the tenant, to take effect at the end of the lease. The policy of the Commissioners is to reduce the number of licences on their properties by allowing them to lapse whenever the lease falls in, unless special circumstances and the requirements of the neighbourhood call for their renewal. Beerhouse licences are never renewed.

### Operation of The Employment and Attendance of Children at School in Scotland Act, 1901.

Mr. BARNES (Glasgow, Blackfriars): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he has any information as to the extent to which Section 3 of The Employment and Attendance of Children at School in Scotland Act, 1901, has been put into operation.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The numbers of exemptions granted by school boards in terms of Section 3 of The Education (Scotland) Act, 1901, in the years for which information on the subject is available, have been—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1903 - - - - | 9,364 |
| 1904 - - - - | 8,849 |
| 1905 - - - - | 7,822 |
| 1906 - - - - | 8,197 |

Of these there were granted conditionally—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1903 - - - - | 7,332 |
| 1904 - - - - | 6,942 |
| 1905 - - - - | 5,777 |
| 1906 - - - - | 5,875 |

### Territorial Force—Gazetting of Officers.

Mr. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): To ask the Secretary of State for War why officers who join the Territorial Force are gazetted to the old Volunteer corps instead of the new Territorial battalions; whether such officers will require a second attestation; and when the new titles of battalions, etc., will be adopted in the *Gazette*.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) With the exception of the staff, no officers have yet been gazetted to the Territorial Force. Whenever they are so gazetted the new titles will be adopted. The appointments gazetted in April bore date prior to 1st April, and, therefore, the old titles were used. Officers are not attested, and those transferred to the Territorial Force will not be required to take a fresh oath of allegiance.

### Territorial Force—Issue of Regulations.

MR. COURTHOPE: To ask the Secretary of State for War when the Regulations for the Territorial Force will be issued.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) It is hoped that they will be ready in June.

### Issue of Converted Long Lee-Enfield Rifles.

MR. COURTHOPE: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state when the first issue of converted long Lee-Enfield rifles will take place.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) As I have previously explained to the hon. and gallant Member, no issues will be made until a sufficient number is in store to allow of re-armament proceeding rapidly. It is not anticipated that any issues will be made this drill season.

### Concessions at Cape Juby.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received any information as to a concession in the neighbourhood of Cape Juby alleged to have been obtained by Lord Mountmorres, or by the Institute of Tropical Research, from the Sheik of Adrar; if so, having regard to action taken by the Foreign Office on two previous occasions in reference to Cape Juby and the surrounding country, whether His Majesty's Government have issued a warning to the concessionaires; and whether steps will be taken to prevent the landing of arms by British subjects or their agents at Cape Juby, and traffic in arms by British subjects or companies between the Canary Islands and the Southern Morocco coast.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Grey.*) His Majesty's Government have no precise information respecting the concessions alleged to have been obtained by Lord Mountmorres from the Sheik of Adrar, and they have issued no warning in connection therewith, but there is no intention of departing from the attitude of non-interference announced in the Answer given on 23rd June, 1903. As regards the last part of the right hon. Member's Question, the arms traffic in Morocco is under the joint control of the French and Spanish Governments.

### Indian Survey Provincial Service.

DR. RUTHERFORD (Middlesex, Brentford): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the recommendations in the Indian Survey Report, made by the Committee of 1904–5, regarding the grading and organisation of the provincial service have been accepted by the Government of India; and, if so, when will they be put into operation.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) The recommendations of the Indian Survey Committee on this and other matters are still under the consideration of the Government of India, and I am not yet acquainted with their views.

### Pay of Labourers and Mechanics by the Board of Works (Ireland).

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the promise made last year has been fulfilled in reviewing the rates of wages paid to the labourers and mechanics employed by the Board of Works (Ireland); and whether it is intended to grant these employees an immediate increase of wages.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) I presume that the hon. Member refers to the Answer given by my predecessor to the hon. Member for North Down on 25th March, 1907. The inquiry promised by him has been made and has shown that the employees of the Board of Works are paid at wages equal to or in excess of the rate current in the district, except in a few cases in which men, who are from age or other causes not fully efficient, have been kept on. There is no intention of increasing the wages of the Board of Works employees.

### Ordnance Survey (Ireland)—Resignations and Transfers of Staff.

MR. FIELD: To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he can state the number of employees in the Ordnance Survey, Ireland, who resigned during the past twelve months, and if he can state how many of these gave as their reasons for resigning their intention of transferring their labour to the Congested Districts Board or the Irish Land Commission.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) Eleven temporary civil assistants and sixty-one labourers resigned and left the Ordnance Survey in Ireland during the year ending on 31st March last. Two assistants resigned to take up appointments under the Irish Land Commission, but no one gave as a reason for leaving the Ordnance Survey that he had obtained employment under the Congested Districts Board.

### Hours of Labourers at the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin.

MR. FIELD: To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will explain why the labourers employed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin, are not paid extra duty pay for the time they attend each morning before 9 a.m. to bring coal to the soldiers' barrack rooms; and why this duty is not performed by the soldiers themselves.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) The work to which my hon. friend refers is part of the ordinary duties of the labourers, and is done during their ordinary working hours. It does not, therefore, fall to the Royal Engineers to carry it out.

### Pay of Joiners in Director of Works' Department of Royal Dockyard.

MR. W. T. WILSON: To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the joiners employed in the Director of Works' Department in the royal dockyards are paid from 1s. to 3s. 6d. per week less than the joiners employed in the other Departments in the yards; whether he is aware that they have not participated in the advance of wages recently granted to the joiners in the other departments; and whether he will take steps to remove this difference by placing the joiners employed in the Director of Works' Department on the same level, so far as wages and other conditions are concerned, as the joiners employed in the other departments.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The pay of joiners in the Director of Works' Department, as well as that of other trades, is based on the rates paid in the outside building trade in the various localities.

### Reduction of the Royal Marines.

MR. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will explain how it is that the total of the Royal Marines is shown under Vote 1 to be only 25 less than in 1907–8 having regard to the fact that the Royal Marine Artillery were reduced by 25 non-commissioned officers and 251 men, and that the three divisions of the Royal Marine Light Infantry have also been reduced by 25 non-commissioned officers each; will he also explain if there has been any increase in the band ratings and to what extent; and whether these band ratings will hereafter, and to what extent, be drafted to His Majesty's ships, and so form no part of the effective force of the Royal Marines.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The explanation of the difference referred to in the first portion of the Question is, first, that while there is a reduction of 25 only in the numbers of the Royal Marines provided for in Vote 1, there is a larger reduction, viz., 107, in the numbers provided for in other Votes, as will be seen by a comparison of pages 14–15 of the Navy Estimates for the years 1907–8 and 1908–9; and, secondly, that whereas the figures given by my hon. friend appear to have reference to (but somewhat overstate) the reduction to be effected in the corps by the end of the financial year, the numbers included in the Estimates are the numbers expected to be borne on the average throughout the year. It is intended to increase the number of band ratings during the current financial year, from 1,158, which was the number borne on 1st April, 1908, to 1,200. Band ratings are drafted to His Majesty's ships allowed bands, and are in addition to the Marines allowed as such in the ship's complement. Although they are included in the strength of the Marines as a whole, they are outside the Marines required for purely fighting purposes.

MR. BRAMSDON: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will explain why the Royal Marine Artillery is being reduced by 25 non-commissioned officers and 251 men; is it part of any further contemplated scheme of reduction, and, if so, what is that scheme; and will he state whether, in view of the reduction mentioned, the Royal Marine Artillery are to be employed afloat to the same extent as at present, and, if not, will he specify the class of ships on which they will in future be embarked?

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The Royal Marine Artillery is being reduced by 25 non-commissioned officers and 226 gunners during the current financial year, for the reason that the present numbers borne are greater than the requirements of the Fleet necessitate. There is no further reduction contemplated. The rules governing the allocation of Royal Marine Artillery to different classes of ships are being altered to meet the requirements of modern ships. Royal Marine Artillery were formerly allowed to all battleships and first-class cruiser flagships in the proportion of half of the marine detachment. In future they will be allowed in the same proportion to all battleships and first-class cruisers carrying more than four power-worked guns above a certain calibre, and all flagships not under first-class cruisers. The relative number of Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, as far as can be foreseen, will not be materially affected by this change, although the total requirements of Marines afloat will probably decrease in consequence of the requirements of modern ships.

### Cost of Gunner in Royal Marine Artillery and in the Navy.

MR. BRAMSDON: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the cost to the country of a fully-trained gunner in the Royal Marine Artillery and of a naval seaman gunner, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The annual effective cost to the country of a fully-trained gunner of the Royal Marine Artillery and of a naval seaman gunner (able seaman), is estimated to be approximately £53 in each case.

### Employment of Labourer on Storehouseman's Duty at Deptford Victualling Yard.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that a hired labourer has recently been employed in the clothing store at the Deptford Victualling Yard performing the duties of a first-class and established storehouseman; and what steps he proposes to take.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The hired labourer referred to is employed temporarily in lieu of a second-class storehouseman in a branch of the clothing store at Deptford, pending a re-arrangement of the storehouse staff at the victualling yards generally which is now under consideration, and he is rated and paid as an acting second-class storehouseman while so employed. Recently the first-class storehouseman in the same branch was absent sick for two short periods, and the man referred to, being the person best acquainted with that particular work, carried it on during his absence, and was paid at the first-class storehouseman's rate meanwhile. There is nothing unusual in this, and it is not proposed to take any action in the matter.

### Grand Trunk Railway and Hong Kong Mails.

MR. MULDOON (Wicklow, E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether any negotiations are going on between him and the Canadian-Pacific Railway Company for the carriage of mails to Canada and Hong Kong; is he aware that the Canadian-Pacific Railway runs through American territory, and cannot therefore be called all-British; is he aware that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, which runs altogether through British territory and carries the great bulk of the traffic, will in a short time have a port, viz., Prince Rupert, on the Pacific Coast, which is 500 miles nearer to Hong Kong than the Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific; and would he defer entering into any arrangement with the Canadian Pacific until the Grand Trunk, which is an up-to-date line, faster, and cheaper, will be in a position to tender for the contract.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I would refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave yesterday to the hon. Member for South Belfast.

### Diptheria amongst Wood Pigeons, Cats, etc.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the prevalence of a disease, diagnosed as akin to diphtheria, in wood pigeons, cats, and other birds and animals; whether in view of the large quantities of diseased wood pigeons discovered in several counties during the last winter, he will cause a full and searching inquiry to be made as to whether this disease is dangerous to man; and, if so, what steps should be taken to cope with it.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) My attention has been called to the existence of this disease, and I have already caused a pigeon suffering from it to be examined at the Lister Institute. It was found that the disease in it was not due to the same organism or microbe as human diphtheria, nor to the organism which caused a rather similar outbreak in pigeons in 1907, which was investigated by the Local Government Board at the time. The nature of the organism causing the recent outbreak is still being investigated, but there is some difficulty in continuing the investigation, as the disease has apparently now died out. I am advised that, so far as can be gathered, there is no evidence that the disease is dangerous to man.

### Drainage of Primrose Hill.

Sir W. J. COLLINS (St. Pancras, W.): To ask the First Commissioner of Works whether his attention has been called to the recent floods at the foot of Primrose Hill; and whether he will cause adequate drainage to be provided to carry off the surface water from this portion of the Royal park.

(*Answered by Mr. Harcourt.*) The answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative; the matter is receiving my attention. I fear, however, that there will not be any funds available for drainage purposes this year.

### Prosecution of Messrs. Joseph Benn and Company, of Bradford, for Breach of the Factory Act.

Sir CHARLES DILKE: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a case in which a woman inspector of factories prosecuted Messrs. Joseph Benn and Company, worsted spinners, of Bradford, for allowing three children, of whom one was under thirteen years of age, to clean machinery in motion; whether it is the case that nominal fines were inflicted in two cases and the third dismissed; and what action he proposes to take.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I have received a Report on this case. Proceedings were taken in respect of three girls, as stated in the Question. The justices convicted in respect of two of the girls, and imposed a fine of £1 with costs in each case. In the third case it was proved during the hearing that the girl, who was thirteen years of age, had obtained a certificate of due attendance at school under Section 71 of the Factory Act, and was, therefore, a young person for the purposes of the Act. I am afraid there is no further action that I can take.

### South Kensington Museum—Advisory Committee.

Mr. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether a Committee has been appointed in connection with the South Kensington Museum; and, if so, whether he will state what are the functions of that Committee.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) As stated in the Answer which my right hon. friend gave to the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford University, on 12th February, the Board considered it expedient to defer the appointment of the new Advisory Council for the Art Museum until arrangements had been made for dealing with the administrative work of the Museum after the completion of the approaching transfer of the Board's offices to Whitehall. These arrangements are not yet complete, and, therefore, it has not yet been possible to appoint the permanent Advisory Council referred to in that Answer. The Board, however, being desirous of avoiding the occurrence of any delay in the transference of the Art Museum to the new buildings when they are completed, appointed a small temporary committee to prepare a scheme of arrangement of the whole of the objects comprised in the Art Museum collections, which should provide the greatest facilities for study, both to those interested in the manufacture of objects of a kind represented in the collections, *i.e.*, craftsmen, designers, manufacturers, and students; and also, secondarily, to those interested in art without regard to its relation to industrial production, *i.e.*, artists, students of art, and students of the history of manners and customs. The composition of the Committee is as follows: The Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Baronet, M.P., chairman, J. C. Wedgwood, Esq., M.P., W. A. S. Benson, Esq., Lewis F. Day, Esq., Harry Powell, Esq., Cecil Smith, Esq. They are authorised to call in specialists to advise them in any sections of the work for which they need specially expert opinion.

### Deposits in Irish Savings Banks.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would state the total amount of money on deposit in Irish Savings Banks, apart from the Post Office, on the latest date at which information is available, and the amounts in detail of such deposits invested in Government funds and in private concerns.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The amount due to depositors in the Irish Trustee Savings Banks on 20th November, 1907, was £2,513,243 18s. 8d. The deposits invested with the National Debt Commissioners are applied in the purchase of Government securities, but no particular securities are ear-marked as applicable to Ireland. The National Debt Commissioners hold no securities in private concerns.

### Pension Scheme for Foremen of the Army Ordnance Department (Ireland).

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state the date on which the pension scheme for foremen and assistant foremen of the Army Ordnance Department (Ireland) will be promulgated; and if he can state whether the wages of the bedmakers at Island Bridge will be brought up to the trade union rate as from 1st April, 1908.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) A scheme for the grant of pension rights to principal foremen and to 85 per cent. of the foremen has been approved and will shortly be promulgated. There is no proposal to grant pension rights to assistant foremen. As regards bedmakers the wages paid were increased by 2s. a week in April last year, and would appear from inquiries made to compare favourably with those current in the district.

### Training of Militia Officers transferred from Disbanded Battalions.

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER (Liverpool, Everton): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, under the Army Order which permits Militia officers of disbanded regiments to join sister battalions, such officers will be called out for training each year, or what will be done with the surplus supply of officers in each corps.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) These officers will be called out for training each year like other officers of the Special Reserve. The surplus supply of officers will remain as supernumeraries and come out for training as such until absorbed.

## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### Rosyth Docks.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he can give any information as to whether foreign or Scottish granite will be used in the construction of the docks at Rosyth.

The FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.): The Admiralty are asking for alternative tenders, but no information can be given at present as to whether stone from home or foreign quarries will be used in the construction of the docks at Rosyth.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): Are the tenders open tenders, or merely tenders by invitation? If the latter, how many British and how many foreign firms have been invited?

Mr. McKENNA: I must ask for notice.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: When may I expect a reply to my Question?

Mr. McKENNA: I have said that the Admiralty are now asking for alternative tenders.

Mr. JOHN WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will state the number of men now employed upon the works at Rosyth, whether employed by contractors or otherwise, the hours such men work per day, and the rate of wages paid?

Mr. McKENNA: Fifteen men are employed by the Admiralty at Rosyth on borings, working at present nine hours per day; leading man is getting 6s. 6d. per day; skilled labourers 6½d. per hour; labourers 6d. per hour. These are picked men working on rafts. The contractor who is doing the diversion of the road for the Admiralty has at present 100 men employed working ten hours per day, the wages being, for gangers, 6½d.; navvies, 5d.; horse-drivers, 4½d.; bricklayers, 9½d.; labourers, 5d.; boys, 2¼d. all per hour. The contractor who is putting in the experimental cylinder has seven men employed working variable hours, depending on weather and tide. Their wages are—foreman, 62s. per week; waterman, 30s. per week; train-driver, 7d. per hour; labourers, 5½d. and 5d. per hour; storekeeper, 24s. per week.

Mr. JOHN WARD: Seeing that the Admiralty are paying 6d. per hour and the contractor only 5d. will the right hon. Gentleman, under the Fair Wages Clause in the contract take action to secure that proper wages are paid to the navvies?

Mr. McKENNA: I will inquire. I am not sure what is the character of the work in each case.

### Pacific Seal Fishery.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that, in answer to a Question in this House on 14th June, 1904, Mr. Pretyman, then Secretary to the Admiralty, stated that H.M.S. "Shearwater" was employed on seal fishery patrol in the Pacific from 20th July to 21st September, 1903, that the cost of her maintenance during that period was approximately £2,650, and that no part of this expense was refunded by the Canadian Government; and whether he can now state if this practice of charging the taxpayers of the United Kingdom with the cost of protecting Canadian fisheries has ceased; and, if so, when it ceased.

Mr. McKENNA: The Seal Fishery Patrol in the Pacific is still carried out by H.M.S. "Shearwater." Her duties are of an international character on the high seas and do not comprise the protection of exclusively Canadian fisheries, which, as my hon. friend will notice on referring to the Report of the Colonial Conference last year, is now a service for which the Canadian Government hold themselves responsible.

Mr. HAROLD COX: What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by exclusively Canadian fisheries? Does he mean that Canadians are not engaged in this fishery?

Mr. McKENNA said that not only Canadians but people of other nationalities were engaged in the seal fisheries.

Mr. HAROLD COX: And we pay?

Mr. McKENNA: We pay.

Mr. HAROLD COX: To what extent are the fishers Canadian or British taxpayers?

MR. McKENNA: I could not answer that.

**Wages at Deptford Victualling Yard.**

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the skilled labourers employed at the Deptford Victualling Yard and the West India Dock Naval Stores are to be permitted to participate in the increase of wages granted in April, 1907, to skilled labourers in all the royal dockyards.

MR. McKENNA: The question of increasing the pay of the skilled labourers at West India Docks and Deptford is under consideration, and it is anticipated that a decision will be promulgated shortly.

MR. BOWERMAN: This is the second time this Answer has been postponed.

MR. BOWERMAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that coopers employed in the Royal Victoria Victualling Yard, Deptford, receive 6s. per day, whereas the wages paid for similar work in private cooperages is 8s. per day; and whether the Admiralty are prepared to give effect to the terms of the Resolution moved in the House last year, and accepted by the Government, to pay trade union rates of wages by raising the wages of the coopers employed in the Deptford Victualling Yard to 8s. per day.

MR. McKENNA: The day pay rate for coopers at Deptford is 33s. a week, but at piece work rates they can earn up to 39s. a week. With the exception of one hired cooper and six ex-apprentices (who are in excess of the normal staff and retained temporarily to suit their own convenience), the coopers habitually earn this higher rate. They have continuous employment, and are entitled to pensions under the ordinary Civil Service Regulations. The Admiralty are informed that in private employment the current rates are as follows:—Day pay, 40s. to 45s. a week, piece work, 45s. to 50s.; but there is not the same prospect of continuous employment, and the actual rate of employment is stated to be only "fair." The Admiralty in accepting the terms of the Resolution referred to, did so subject to the express condition that the special advantages attaching to dockyard employment must be taken into account in any comparison of wages, and on the facts at present before us, the Admiralty consider that they are strictly conforming to the terms of the Resolution.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): Will the right hon. Gentleman consult the officials of the unions as to the disproportion?

MR. McKENNA: I will inquire what can be done.

MR. JENKINS (Chatham): Is there any guarantee of continuous employment in the coopering department?

MR. McKENNA: I can only say that the coopers have been in continuous employment.

**British and German Army Comparisons.**

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether there is any official explanation of the fact that the British land forces, consisting in the year 1906 of 993,000 men, including 178,000 native troops in India, nearly 12,000 native troops in the Colonies, and 315,000 Volunteers and Yeomanry, cost more than £50,000,000, whereas the German Army, consisting of 4,010,000 men, cost only £32,000,000; and, if there is any such explanation, whether he will publish it at an early date.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (MR. ACLAND, Yorkshire, Richmond): The conditions of service of the forces of the two countries are so entirely different that no comparison of the nature suggested by my hon. friend can be made. I may add that he has not included in the German figures about £5,000,000 for pensions and a considerable sum for Colonial Military Expenditure. I may also point out that he has apparently taken his figures from two returns one of which gives the expenditure for 1904–5 and the other of which gives the numbers of men for 1906. It may interest him to know that in 1908–9 the cost of the British Forces is now considerably less than £50,000,000 while that of the German Army now considerably exceeds that figure.

### Drunkenness among Army Pensioners.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that the charges of drunkenness at the Manchester police court on 2nd April were increased in number by the appearance of several Army pensioners who had drawn their pay on Wednesday and got drunk on the money at night; and whether he will cause the names of these pensioners to be registered, and will make such new arrangement for the payment of their pensions as will prevent them from continuing to disgrace His Majesty's Army.

MR. ACLAND: Nothing is known in the War Office of the matters mentioned but inquiries will be made and such action will be taken as may appear necessary in regard to the future payment of the men's pensions.

MR. CROOKS: Will the Government now carry out their promise to pay these pensions monthly rather than quarterly?

MR. ACLAND: I believe that matter has been settled. But I would like notice of the Question.

### Volunteer Sergeants.

MR. BOWERMAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, with regard to those members of the Volunteer Force below the rank of sergeant who were serving on the 31st March last, and who may be desirous of enlisting in the Territorial Army, he can see his way to place them on the same footing as sergeants as regards the age limit for retirement, having regard to the fact that many of them have given the best part of their lives in furtherance of the Volunteer movement, and that many of them are good shots, who will be replaced, if replaced at all, by recruits.

MR. ACLAND: The age-limits were deliberately fixed after very careful consideration. I fully appreciate the excellent services these men have rendered, but I am afraid that age being such a very important factor in the efficiency of a man for active service, any further concession cannot be made.

### Volunteer Officers.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will take steps to ensure the immediate approval of the officers of the late Volunteer Forces who have notified their willingness to serve in the Territorial Army.

MR. ACLAND: The names of all officers of Imperial Yeomanry and Volunteers recommended for transfer to the Territorial Force, and all those recommended for new units, have been provisionally approved subject to units attaining a strength of 30 per cent. of their establishment. When such units have been recognised, these officers' names will be submitted to His Majesty for approval in the ordinary course.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: How long will it be before the list is published?

MR. ACLAND: Very shortly indeed.

### Married Private Soldiers in Territorial Force.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state the annual cost of granting a separation allowance of 1s. a day for wives and 2d. a day for each child to the privates of the Territorial Army.

MR. ACLAND: The cost can only be very roughly estimated. It would be at the least £50,000 per annum. The rate for the wife would be at the Army rate of 1s. 1d. and not 1s.

### Territorial Infantry Sergeant Instructors.

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether a sergeant instructor will be provided for each outlying company of the Territorial Infantry, as in the case of the Volunteers.

MR. ACLAND: It is not intended to grant a sergeant instructor to each outlying company as such. If it is considered by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief that a particular company is stationed at such a distance from headquarters or from another company that an additional instructor is necessary, such instructor will be granted subject to the approval of the Army Council. Instructions to this effect are being issued to General Officers Commanding. There was no rule in the Volunteers that each outlying company should have a sergeant instructor.

### Bengal Coal Fields and Calcutta Railway Approach.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India proposes to construct an approach to Calcutta from the Bengal coal fields, such as the Bishenpore-Howrah line.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (MR. BUCHANAN, Perthshire, E.): So far as I am aware there is no present intention of constructing the Bishenpore-Howrah chord or any other additional line of railway between Calcutta and the Bengal coal fields. No provision for such a line is made in the Railway Programme of the Government of India for the years 1908–11.

### The Attack on the Rev. J. H. Higginbotham.

MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government has any information as to the condition of the Rev. J. H. Higginbotham, who was shot by a man believed to be a Bengali at Kushtia, in Bengal, last month.

MR. BUCHANAN: I regret to say that I have no information as to Mr. Higginbotham's condition.

### Indian Government Stock Notes.

MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India has called in the outstanding stock notes; and, if so, whether the failure of this experiment is due to the unwillingness of the inhabitants of India to invest in railways and other public works in India.

MR. BUCHANAN: The stock notes referred to were interest-bearing notes of low denominations (from Rs. 12½ to Rs. 100) issued in 1882 shortly before the establishment of post office savings banks in India, in order to enable small savings to be invested in Government securities. The amount taken by the public was about £115,000, the restricted popularity of the notes being apparently due to the possibility of loss on realisation, and to the greater conveniences offered since 1882 by post office savings banks, which arrange for the purchase of ordinary Government securities on behalf of investors. In 1888 the Government of India discontinued the issue of stock notes and undertook to give ordinary Government securities in exchange for those already in existence. Practically the whole issue was exchanged in this manner, and the balance of outstanding notes which is to be paid off in cash in the present year only amounts to about £400. The large increase in the amount of rupee paper held in India indicates that the latter part of the Question must be answered in the negative.

### Bengal Fishery Dispute.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware of the facts in a Bengal case where there was a dispute about fishery rights, and certain respectable peasants, over forty in number, and varying in age from forty-five to twenty years, were convicted of theft of fish, and were all of them sentenced to the punishment of whipping, which sentence was immediately carried into effect, and an appeal was then preferred and the orders of the lower Court were set aside though the men had already been flogged; and whether, having regard to this and other cases which are on record, the Secretary of State will reconsider his decision not to introduce a clause into the Indian Whipping Act Amendment Bill which shall prevent the infliction of whipping, when an appeal has been preferred, until after the sentence has been confirmed by the superior Court.

MR. BUCHANAN: The case to which I understand the hon. Member to refer occurred more than twenty years ago, and I would point out that the conviction was set aside, not because the accused had not taken the fish, but because their action in taking them did not, under the law as it then stood, come within the strict legal definition of theft. The magistrate who passed the sentence of whipping was severely censured, and it does not appear to the Secretary of State that the occurrence of a case of this kind indicates such a likelihood of miscarriage of justice as to make it desirable to allow appeals against sentences of whipping in face of the strong objection referred to in my Answer to the hon. Member's Question on this subject on the 28th April. The Secretary of State is advised that such an offence is clearly not punishable with whipping under the new Bill.

### Agra and Oudh Octroi Duty.

Dr. RUTHERFORD (Middlesex, Brentford): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he can state the amount realised by the united provinces of Agra and Oudh from octroi duty per annum and the cost of collection; what articles are subject to the said duty and the rates charged; and whether the Secretary of State will consider the desirability of remitting, especially in time of famine, the said duties on articles which constitute the principal food stuffs in daily use by the people.

Mr. BUCHANAN: The revenue derived from octroi duties by municipalities in the United Provinces amounts to about £225,000 a year, and represents about 70 per cent. of their total income from rates and taxes. The cost of octroi collection is not separately returned, but the total collection charges are about 10 per cent. of the total taxation receipts. The articles subject to these duties and the rates charged vary in different towns, but generally it may be said that most articles of domestic consumption are taxed, and that the rates are low. With regard to the last part of the Question, the law gives to the municipalities the necessary discretion, and the Secretary of State does not consider that he could interfere with advantage in a matter affecting the ways and means of a large number of municipal bodies.

Dr. RUTHERFORD: Have any remissions been made in famine times?

Mr. BUCHANAN: I cannot say without notice.

Mr. REES: Are the Government of India likely, by reducing the income collected from those in a position to pay, to be in a better position to feed those who cannot?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Crown Colonies and Preferential Trade Relations.

Mr. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can indicate generally the restrictions and rights of the Crown Colonies as regards the establishment of preferential trade relations with other portions of His Majesty's Dominions.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Colonel Seely, Liverpool, Abercromby): I am afraid that it is impossible to make a statement upon such a subject in reply to a Question couched in general terms, but I may say that fiscal like all other questions arising in Crown Colonies are subject to the ultimate decision of the Secretary of State.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): Is it the right of the West Indian Colonies to make a preferential arrangement with Canada?

Colonel SEELY: I am afraid that is a hypothetical Question which I cannot answer.

Sir GILBERT PARKER: Oh, no, it is not hypothetical.

### Office of Colonial Crown Agents.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch Hoxton): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can now give the terms of reference to and the names of the persons who will constitute the Committee to inquire into the organisation of the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Colonel SEELY: I quite hope within a few days to be in a position to announce the names of all the gentlemen who will serve on the Committee, and I will at the same time give the terms of reference.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: When can the hon. Gentleman let me know?

Colonel SEELY: In about a week's time.

Mr. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): May I ask if in settling the terms of reference care will be taken to enable evidence to be obtained from the governors of Crown Colonies?

Colonel SEELY: I will consult the Secretary of State on that point.

MR. REES: And also evidence from commercial bodies?

COLONEL SEELY: I will bear that in mind too. Perhaps the hon. Member will wait and see the terms of reference, and then he can make any suggestion.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: But after the terms have been announced, will the hon. Gentleman be in a position to accept any amendment?

COLONEL SEELY: If the hon. Member will put down a Question I may be able to indicate what the terms are likely to be, and that may assist him.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: What I am anxious for is that the terms of reference when they are announced shall not be treated as finally settled, and that we may have an opportunity of making alterations. Will the hon. Gentleman give an undertaking to that effect?

COLONEL SEELY: I cannot do that. I suggest that the hon. Gentleman should put down a Question.

### Sunday Labour Ordinance in the Straits Settlements.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that the the Sunday Labour Ordinance, 1892, in the Straits Settlements, giving to the officers and crews on board ship a day of rest when in the ports under the control of the Legislative Council, has proved highly satisfactory; whether it is now proposed to amend such Ordinance by allowing full or part labour on Sunday, and thus calling upon officers and crews to forego the complete day of rest on Sundays enjoyed hitherto; and, if so, can he state whether it is his intention to resist such change, especially in view of the hardship such change will entail on the officers and crews of ships trading there.

COLONEL SEELY: The Report of the Committee has only just been received, and the Secretary of State is not yet in a position to form an opinion on it, though it is evident that it raises questions of considerable importance. The Committee do not recommend that the main provisions of the Ordinance should be repealed, and in any case no steps will be taken locally without the concurrence of the Secretary of State.

### Chinese Opium Dens.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that in a large number of the chief cities of China all opium dens have been closed by order of the Chinese Government: whether he is aware that in Hong Kong the Colonial Government derives a considerable revenue from licensing opium dens; and whether the time has at length come when steps should be taken to terminate the opium traffic in that Colony.

COLONEL SEELY: I understand that the reply to the first paragraph of the Question is in the affirmative, but as regards the second that it is scarcely accurate to refer to "a considerable revenue," as the amount to be derived from licences for 1908 would appear to amount to only £180; the third paragraph as my hon. friend will agree is difficult to deal with in Question and Answer, but I gather I may have an opportuity of expressing the views of His Majesty's Government on the matter in the course of debate to-morrow evening.

### Opium Traffic in the Straits Settlement.

MR. A. ALLEN (Christchurch): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies on what date the Report of the Opium Commission, appointed to inquire into the opium traffic in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, was received in this country; and whether he is now in a position to present it to the House.

COLONEL SEELY: The Report has not yet been received, and I understand that the Colonial Government do not expect to have it in form for transmission to this country for some little time to come. I cannot therefore make any statement as to presentation.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR: Was not the Report completed at the end of January?

COLONEL SEELY: That is not my impression.

Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR: Has the Report come from Ceylon ?

Colonel SEELY: Yes, one was received this morning, and I shall be able to refer to it to-morrow.

### English Settlers in the New Hebrides.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any communication has been received from the Commonwealth of Australia with regard to the inconvenience caused to English settlers in the New Hebrides owing to the non-appointment of a British representative; and whether he can state when the appointment will be made and the reason for the delay.

Colonel SEELY: The hon. and gallant Member refers, I presume, to the appointment of the British member of the Joint Court in the New Hebrides. The Commonwealth Government have urged the immediate appointment of this officer in order that he may be able to proceed to the New Hebrides and familiarise himself with local conditions before entering on his duties. Owing to the exceptional nature of the qualifications desirable there is some difficulty in finding a suitable candidate; but it is hoped that a selection will be made at an early date. I may add that the Joint Court cannot be constituted and commence its functions until next autumn at the earliest as the buildings required for its accommodation cannot be completed till then.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: Can the hon. Gentleman say if the French Government have yet made any nomination ?

Colonel SEELY: I cannot, but I will inquire.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Has the hon. Gentleman received any reports from the people of the New Hebrides complaining of the long delay and stating that they are suffering grave disabilities in consequence ?

Colonel SEELY: I will inquire. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will put the Question down.

### German School at Teheran.

Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government has information to the effect that the Persian Government has made a grant in order to enable the Germans to found a University in Teheran.

The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir Edward Grey, Northumberland, Berwick): I understand that a grant has been promised by the Persian Government for enlarging the German School at Teheran.

### Arab Attack on British Indians near Bagdad.

Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any British Indian subjects were killed or wounded in the attack made by arabs upon s.s. "Bloss Lynch," between Bagdad and Basra; and, if so, whether the authors of the attack have been brought to justice, or any reparation received from the Porte.

Sir EDWARD GREY: One British protected subject was wounded; the stoker, whose nationality is unknown, was also severely wounded. The Ottoman Government have given assurances that everything possible will be done to ensure security of navigation, and the steamer service has been resumed. Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner, has been directed to go to the spot, troops have been sent there, and an inquiry will be held with a view to having the culprits punished.

### Bagdad Railway.

Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government has any information to the effect that negotiations have been renewed for heavy commitments on the part of Turkey for the construction of three fresh sections of the Bagdad railway; and, if the answer be in the affirmative, whether the Government propose to continue their consent to the levy of the 3 per cent. customs increase, which was not intended to supply funds for this purpose.

Sir EDWARD GREY: I have heard the report that negotiations are on foot for further advances in connection with the Baghdad railway. The reservation of the 3 per cent. customs increase for Macedonia was one of the conditions of consent to the levy of it. I have no reason to suppose that this condition will not be observed. There has been no question of our waiving it.

### British Subjects in Siam.

MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is proposed to alter in any way the legal *status* and extra-territorial rights of British subjects residing in Siam.

SIR EDWARD GREY: A modification of the *status* of British subjects in Siam, accompanied by provisions to safeguard their interests, forms part of proposals which are now under consideration.

### Brussels Sugar Convention.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the cost of the British Delegation to the Brussels Convention; and what is the precise service rendered by that delegation to the taxpayers of this country.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The cost amounted for the past financial year to £679 4s. 7d. The service rendered by the British Delegation has been to represent British interests on the International Commission, as the hon. Member can see from the Papers which have been presented to Parliament from time to time, and in the opinion of His Majesty's Government those interests have been most efficiently represented.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood) asked when the House would have an opportunity for discussing the subject.

SIR EDWARD GREY could not say; he would be glad to avail himself of any opportunity that offered.

MR. HAROLD COX asked whether the duties of the British Delegation included the exclusion of sugar that would otherwise come into the country.

SIR EDWARD GREY explained that his Answer applied to proceedings before the Commission under the Convention as it had been for the last few years and not under the modified form.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Was not the Convention modified by the protocol limiting the imports?

SIR EDWARD GREY said the Convention would be modified as was explained in the Papers; his Answer referred to the action of the British Delegation before the modification.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Was not the assent of this country given to an agreement by which imports of Russian sugar into this country were not prevented, but exports from Russia were prevented?

SIR EDWARD GREY said that that was an agreement between the Russian Government and other Governments. We were cognisant of the article, but undertook no responsibility under it; it imposed no obligation as to our own action.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR rose again.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. The hon. Member appears to be arguing the question.

### North Sea Agreement.

MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Governments of Norway and Belgium were invited to join in the recent declaration respecting the territorial *status quo* in the North Sea; if not, can he state the grounds upon which such invitations were withheld; and, if so, did either or each of these Governments decline to join in the declaration, and upon what grounds.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The negotiations for the North Sea Agreement were conducted by the German Government with the other states who are parties to the Agreement, and I cannot say whether any communications took place with the Belgian and Norwegian Governments. But the position of those two countries has already been the subject of previous arrangements.

MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether in view of the Agreement recently come to by the British, French, German, Danish, Netherland, and Swedish Governments that, for the purposes of the declaration of those Governments on the subject of the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the North Sea, that sea shall be considered to extend eastwards as far as its junction with the waters of the Baltic, he will state to the House in terms of latitude and longtitude where that junction is.

SIR EDWARD GREY: For the purposes of the recently concluded "*status quo*" Agreements, it is sufficient that the North Sea has been recognised as extending eastwards up to its junction with the waters of the Baltic, which ensures that the two instruments leave no intervening space between them, and no definition has been included in the North Sea Agreement.

### Opium Trade—Proposal for International Commission of Inquiry.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can give the House any further information as to the negotiations in progress a year ago for the formation of a Joint International Commission of Investigation into the Opium Trade.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I must refer the hon. Member to the Papers which were laid last February respecting the opium question. It will be seen that the American Ambassador was informed that His Majesty's Government will be glad, if possible, to receive further information as to the proposed procedure of the Commission and the time and place of its meeting. We are awaiting a reply to this communication.

### Shanghai Opium Dens.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether in the Chinese ruled city of Shanghai opium dens have all been closed since June last; whether in every foreign settlement in China, except Shanghai, all opium dens have been for some time past shut up; what action the municipal council of the international settlement of Shanghai has taken to close the numerous opium dens they now licence; and whether they have fixed a date, and, if so, what is the date, after which all their opium dens shall be closed.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The reply to the first Question is in the affirmative. No opium dens exist at present in any British concessions in China, but I am unable to say whether that is the case in all other foreign concessions. On 20th March the ratepayers of the Shanghai international settlement adopted a resolution whereby the number of opium houses was to be reduced bv a quarter from 1st July next. The chairman of the municipal council explained at the time that this was part of a programme of periodical reductions leading to complete abolition in two years or less. The Viceroy of Nanking is stated to have expressed his satisfaction at this measure.

AN HON. MEMBER: Has any compensation been paid in respect of the closing of these dens?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I am not aware of any.

### Foreign Trawlers in the Moray Firth.

MR. SUTHERLAND (Elgin Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has communicated with the foreign Powers interested in the North Sea Convention with reference to the closing of the Moray Firth against foreign trawlers; and, if so, whether he has received any replies.

SIR EDWARD GREY: No communication has yet been made to foreign Governments; the terms of the proposal which should be made are now under the consideration of the Departments primarily concerned with the questions involved.

### Scots College, Rome.

MR. SUTHERLAND: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the recent attack on students of the Scots College, Rome, whereby two of them were dangerously wounded, one being disfigured for life; and whether, for the future protection of the students and in the interest of the numerous British subjects who visit Rome, he has made, or will make, representations to the Italian Government with a view to the culprits being brought to justice without delay.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have received a report on this matter from His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, who has already requested the Italian Government to take the necessary steps to secure the punishment of the culprits. I am instructing Sir E. Egerton to watch the case carefully and to report to me if there is any unnecessary delay in the proceedings.

### Mr. Abbott's Ransom.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has yet received any reply from the Turkish Government with regard to the ransom of Mr. Abbott, which was supplied by the British Government and recovered from the brigands by the Turks; and what is the cause of the delay.

SIR EDWARD GREY: On 17th March, His Majesty's Consul-General at Salonica sent home a cheque for £7,427 14s. 10d., being the amount recovered by the local authorities from the culprits and the sale of the latter's effects. The recovery of further sums is still the subject of correspondence, and at present I am unable to give any further information on the matter.

### Welsh Marches Excavations.

MR. REES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Government proposes to give any pecuniary assistance to the Liverpool Committee for excavations and research in Wales and the Marches.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): I am not aware that any application for such assistance has been made to His Majesty's Government.

### Imprisoned Unemployed Leaders in Manchester.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the fact that three men, Batty, Brown and Thompson, were sentenced each to twelve months imprisonment for breaking a shop window; if these men were all quite willing and anxious to work for their living but were unable to obtain employment; and if he will reduce the sentences.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): I regret that I am not able to add anything to the reply which I gave yesterday in answer to the hon. Member for North-East Manchester.

MR. LUPTON: Is it not the fact that these men were willing to work and were not habitual loafers?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, sir; but I believe one man was in actual employment at the time.

MR. LUPTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman, without questioning the sentence, bear in mind that these men were misguided and were not habitual criminals, and consequently modify the punishment?

MR. CLYNES (Manchester, N.E.): Can the right hon. Gentleman give the reasons which led him to the conclusion not to interfere with the sentences?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I cannot make any further statement.

### Bournemouth Magistrates' Sentence.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a sentence of two months imprisonment recently passed by the Bournemouth bench of magistrates upon Thomas Taylor, a cobbler, upon failure of distraint for a fine in respect of an infringement of a local by-law by carrying on his trade in a wooden shed in his own garden; and whether he will consider the justice of advising a mitigation of such sentence.

MR. GLADSTONE: I had not heard of this case until the hon. Member put down his Question. I communicated at once with the Bournemouth magistrates, but I find the case was not heard by them. I am now making inquiries of the magistrates of the adjoining county division.

### Tailoring Trade—Prosecutions under the Particulars Clause.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will obtain and furnish to the House full statistics of prosecutions in the tailoring trade under the Particulars Section of the Factory Act; what is the number of complaints he has received during the past year respecting the non-observance of the provisions of the clause, and the number of persons affected by such complaints; and what is the result of the investigations of such complaints.

MR. GLADSTONE: The complete figures of prosecutions under the Particulars Order for the tailoring trade since 1903 are eighteen cases and fourteen convictions. Only one complaint of failure to give the particulars required by this Order was received at the Home Office last year. I cannot give the number of persons affected by the complaint, but it referred to two firms employing respectively forty-nine and 119 persons. The investigations arising out of this complaint are not yet completed. I should add that complaints would usually be made to the inspecting staff, and not to the Home Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: When will the investigation be completed?

MR. GLADSTONE: I will make inquiry and let the hon. Member know.

### Naturalisation Fees—Mr. Churchill's Pledges.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when and what measures he proposes to take to carry out the pledge given by His Majesty's Government through the President of the Board of Trade to reduce the naturalisation fees.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): May I also ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether in the event of the naturalisation fees being reduced, such an arrangement will be retrospective, and will involve any return of the present fees paid by naturalised British subjects?

MR. GLADSTONE: On 3rd April the decision of the Government that the fee should not be reduced was circulated to the House in the form of a printed Answer to my hon. friend the Member for North Salford. No pledge on behalf of the Government was given by the President of the Board of Trade. Even if any reduction of the fee were made, it could not have a retrospective effect.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the President of the Board of Trade publicly declared to a deputation of Jews in North-West Manchester that the Government would reduce the naturalisation fees?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is not my information. Perhaps the hon. Member will wait and put a Question to the right hon. Member for Dundee.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: May I ask whether, if the right hon. Gentleman is supplied with a verbatim report of the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, he will take that undertaking as binding on the Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member may take as binding what I say on behalf of my Department on my own responsibility.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Then are we to understand that the Home Secretary disowns the President of the Board of Trade?

MR. GLADSTONE: Not in the least.

### Deaths under Anæsthetics.

MR. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the large number of deaths that occur annually from the effects of anæsthetics administered to patients who are about to undergo, or are undergoing, operations, or after such operations have been performed; whether he is aware that there is no official record of the number of deaths that really occur during anæsthesia, partly because such deaths are sometimes certified as due to causes other than anæsthesia, and in that case are not reported to the coroner, and partly because notification is not followed by official inquiry; whether he is aware that those persons who administer anæsthetics are not necessarily specially trained to do so or always registered medical practitioners; and whether, having regard to the greater safety of the public and for the advance of scientific medicine, he will consider the advisability of securing a more accurate and comprehensive knowledge of all the facts connected with the administration of anæsthetics, whether fatal or non-fatal, by appointing a Royal Commission with advisory powers to investigate and report upon the whole question.

MR. GLADSTONE: My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question. I have not yet completed the inquiries referred to in the Answer which I gave to my hon. friend on the 30th of March. I am not certain that a formal investigation is either necessary or desirable, but the matter is receiving careful consideration.

### The Public Trustee.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that Mr. C. J. Stewart, notwithstanding his appointment as Public Trustee, still retains the position of director of a public insurance office; and whether his doing so is with the consent of the Government.

*MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Stewart's appointment as Public Trustee is for a limited number of years; and he is therefore not subject to the regulations which govern the permanent Civil Service. The Prime Minister is informed by the Lord Chancellor that no condition was made on Mr. Stewart's appointment that he should relinquish the directorship in question; but he has been in communication with the Lord Chancellor and with Mr. Stewart on the subject, and he understands that Mr. Stewart is prepared to give up this directorship as he has already given up other positions of a similar kind.

### Aliens' Act—Right of Appeal.

MR. CLAUDE HAY, who had given notice of his intention to ask the Prime Minister when he proposed to introduce legislation to carry out the pledge given by His Majesty's Government through the President of the Board of Trade to secure to would-be immigrants the right of appeal to the High Court against refusal to land, said that as the right hon. Gentleman was absent, he would postpone the Question.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am prepared to answer it.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I prefer to have it from the Prime Minister himself.

### Mr. Churchill's Home Rule Pledge.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS: I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he will cause to be circulated with the Votes a true verbatim report of the pledges given by the President of the Board of Trade at Manchester as to the future action of the Government with regard to Home Rule for Ireland.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Answer is in the negative.

### Scotland and the Inebriates Act.

MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in appointing the Departmental Committee to inquire into the working of the Inebriates Acts, he had in view that the Acts apply to Scotland; and whether he can see his way to add to the Committee one or more Scotsmen qualified to deal with the subject.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. With regard to the second, I am conferring with my right hon. friend the Secretary for Scotland.

### National Memorial to Queen Victoria.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the reply he has advised His Majesty to give to the memorial presented to His Majesty on the 20th of February last, through the Secretary of State, as to the work connected with the National Memorial to Queen Victoria being entrusted to foreigners in England and abroad.

MR. GLADSTONE. I am now in a position to reply to this Question, and I shall be glad if the hon. Member will put down an unstarred Question as the Answer is somewhat long.

### Motor Omnibuses.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether periodical reports are made by the thirty-seven officers upon whom, in addition to other duties, the supervision of the 1,137 motor omnibuses in London rests, and by the ordinary police constables, as to the interruption of traffic or nuisance of noise, smell, or vibration caused by these omnibuses; and whether such reports afford any basis of comparison in these respects between the omnibuses of the different companies.

MR. GLADSTONE: Reports are not furnished at fixed intervals, but cases of breakdown, excessive noise, vibration, and offensive exhaust which come to the notice of the police are reported, and the particulars furnished no doubt afford some basis of comparison between the omnibuses of the various companies so far as defects are concerned.

SIR HENRY CRAIK: What is the result of the comparison?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is well known that some companies' 'buses make more noise than others.

SIR HENRY CRAIK: Which?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think I had better not state which.

### North-Eastern Railway Goods Rates.

MR. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that the North-Eastern Railway Company, as also other railway companies, convey at owners' risk only such articles as barometers, thermometers, ships' compasses, and ships' chronometers, and yet charge for such instruments 25 per cent. more than the ordinary parcels rates; and, if so, will he state whether he is prepared to take action with a view to the abolition of the extra charge of such 25 per cent.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. KEARLEY, Devonport): The articles enumerated in the Question can be sent by goods train at companies' risk. Where, however, they are sent by passenger train the facts are I find as stated by my hon. friend. As regards the 25 per cent. additional charge we are in communication with the companies.

### Workmen's Tickets on the North-Eastern Railway.

MR. HUDSON (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the representation made to the North-Eastern Railway by and on behalf of the workmen using their line on the North-East Coast, for permission to use the return half of a ticket by any train carrying third-class passengers after twelve noon; and whether he contemplates amending the Workmen's Trains Act in this direction.

MR. KEARLEY: I am aware that negotiations have recently taken place between the North-Eastern Railway Company and a Joint Committee representing various local authorities and associations of workmen with regard to the conditions under which workmen's tickets were issued on the company's line. The Joint Committee have informed the Board of Trade that they have now come to an agreement with the Railway Company with regard to this matter, and consequently do not desire to proceed further with the inquiry for which they applied under the Cheap Trains Act. As I informed my hon. friend the Member for Deptford on March 23rd, the question of the amendment of the Act is under consideration, but it is improbable that it can be dealt with during this session. Such matters as that referred to in the Question would undoubtedly be considered when any amending legislation is introduced.

### First Offenders' Act.

MR. MYER (Lambeth, N.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether in any scheme for the relief of the unemployed he will consider the advisability of making any grant of money, to be at the disposal of stipendiary magistrates, for the relief in certain cases of the wives and families of those offenders who have been convicted under the First Offenders' Act, and whose offence has been committed as a result of starvation or destitution.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I am not in a position to make any statement on the question of unemployment. The whole subject will receive full consideration from His Majesty's Government in connection with the Report of the Poor Law Commission.

### Arlesey Asylum Litigation.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to a recent case in which the authorities of the Three Counties Asylum, in Bedfordshire, were sued by a Mrs. Brown, the widow of the bailiff of the Arlesey Asylum, for damages for the loss of her husband through typhoid fever, contracted owing to defective drainage, and had damages to the extent of £650 awarded against them; whether he is aware that the authorities were represented by three counsel and produced a number of eminent experts, involving a total expenditure in connection with the proceedings of upwards of £3,000; whether they are now proposing to appeal against the decision; and, if so, whether the Local Government Board will make any representation to them before further expenditure of public funds is incurred, especially in view of the fact that Mrs. Brown is a woman without means and quite unable to bear the expense of protracted legal proceedings.

Mr. BURNS: I have made inquiry into this matter and I understand the facts to be generally as stated in the Question. I do not know the precise amount of the costs incurred in the case. I regret the expenditure involved, but I am assured that every care has been taken to avoid, as far as possible, any unnecessary expense. Three counsel were engaged for the visiting committee, partly because their leading counsel was unexpectedly occupied in another case and partly because the plaintiff was also represented by three counsel. The visiting committee consider that the death of the plaintiff's husband was not attributable to typhoid fever contracted owing to defective drainage, and acting on the advice of their counsel they are moving the Court of Appeal for a new trial or for judgment for the defendant. It is expected that the appeal will be heard in the course of the next few days. I have no jurisdiction which would enable me to interfere with the discretion of the visiting committee in the matter.

### Water Drinking Dangers.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the average annual number of deaths recorded as due to typhoid fever and other diseases contracted through drinking impure water.

Mr. BURNS: I am not aware of any records which would give the information desired.

### Milk Supply Bill.

Mr. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board when the Bill dealing with the milk supply will be introduced.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: The Bill is in preparation, but I cannot at present say when it will be introduced.

### Premium Bonds.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that he has recently intimated to various newspaper proprietors that he will not in future permit the transmission by post of advertisements offering premium bonds for sale, he will now withdraw his notice, seeing that Mr. Curtis Bennett, the magistrate at Westminster police court, recently decided, in a specially reserved judgment, that such bonds did not infringe the Lottery Act, and that, in view of this decision, many newspaper proprietors have entered into advertising contracts with dealers in such bonds.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. Sydney Buxton, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The magistrate's decision to which the hon. Member refers is not a recent decision; it was given so long ago as 10th January of last year. There had some time previously been a conviction for selling premium bonds by the chief magistrate at Bow Street. All the circumstances of the case have been taken into consideration, and, as I have already informed the hon. Member, I am advised that the advertisements of premium bonds, to the circulation of which objection has been taken, are in the nature of advertisements of lotteries such as cannot be properly allowed to be transmitted by post. The International Securities Corporation (Limited) have now taken proceedings in relation to the subject of the hon. Member's Question. Under these circumstances he will not expect me to enter into any further discussion of the matter; but, in the meantime, I propose to adhere to the course of action which has been followed for some years past.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: May I ask whether, in view of the fact that the legal decision referred to in the Question has not been upset, the right hon. Gentleman thinks it desirable that a Government Department should go contrary to that decision so long as it stands the settled law of the country?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: There are two decisions, one in favour and one against. The last one was given a year ago, and until the decision on which we have acted is upset, we shall continue to act in the way we are doing.

Mr. REES: Can the Post Office in any way prevent a fool and his money from being parted?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: We can but do our best.

### Pay of Postal Servants.

Mr. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what tables of the cost of living he employed, in conjunction with the units of postal work, in fixing the scale of pay of postal servants; and on what basis such tables were calculated.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: The index numbers representing the cost of living are furnished to me by the Board of Trade.

### Foreigners in the Postal Service.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether a notice was issued by his authority that no more foreigners would be allowed to take up duty in the Post Office service, and the date of such notice, if any; whether a Frenchman has been put on duty as a night telephonist in the trunk exchange; whether more foreigners are to be appointed; and whether he will take steps in the public interest to insure that State servants in his department shall be British citizens.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: A notice was issued on the 28th of March, 1905, that aliens are not eligible for appointments to any permanent and established position in the Post Office. As I informed the hon. Member in reply to his Question of the 30th ultimo, for special reasons there are two Frenchmen among the staff by whom the Continental telephone lines are worked at night. The situations filled by these men are unestablished situations. There is no intention at present of increasing the number. Foreigners are not selected for any situation in the Post Office for which suitable British subjects are available.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: Are these two Frenchmen to be permanently employed? And will the right hon. Gentleman say what steps have been taken to ensure that duly qualified British subjects shall be able to conduct the foreign side of telephone work?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: I explained that the two Frenchmen were employed for special reasons at this particular telephone exchange. If we can dispense with their services naturally we shall prefer to employ British subjects. I cannot give any promise as to when that will be. They will be kept on as long as is necessary.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY. Are they to be permanently employed or not?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: They will be employed as long as we require them.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: And how long will that be?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: I cannot say.

### Lottery Circulars in the Post Office.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General who are the authorities responsible for carrying out the law in his Department, and by whose permission certain lottery circulars are permitted to go through the post when relating to religious objects.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: The Postmaster-General, in any legal matter, would act on the advice of the legal officers of the Department, or, if necessary, on the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown in the respective parts of the United Kingdom. As regards the particular circulars in question it has not been thought advisable to take action.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: Is there any power in the Post Office to prevent a fool and his money being parted?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Education of Blind and Deaf Children.

Mr. JOHN WARD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education, whether, in the case of the education of blind and deaf children, under the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, the proportion of Government grant paid by the Board of Education in respect of such children in relation to the full cost of education and other expenses allowed by the Act amounts to only about 13 per cent. in the case of residential schools, and to about 26 per cent. in the case of day schools; and whether as, under the Elementary Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, the difference between the full cost of such education and the amount of Government grant to these schools may become a charge upon local education authorities, the Board of Education proposes to make such additions to the amount of Government grant now paid in respect of such children as will render the incidence of cost as between the State and the local authorities comparable with that existing in the case of sighted and hearing children in elementary schools, of which cost the State now pays amounts varying from 50 to 75 per cent.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (Mr. Runciman, Dewsbury): The cost of maintenance of Special Schools for Blind and Deaf Children varies so largely that it is difficult to give any reliable figures of the percentage met by Exchequer Grants, but the percentage is certainly considerably lower than that in ordinary public elementary schools. The Board have received several representations urging the desirability of increasing the grants to these institutions and they have the whole question under consideration.

### St. Mary's Grammar School, Walsall.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he is aware that the schoolmaster at St. Mary's Grammar School, Walsall, offers flogging, or the alternative of leaving the school, to young men in his charge, even when they are over 18 years of age: whether he is aware that this schoolmaster makes a practice of smoking about the school premises, but offers the above alternative to the young men who have copied his above-mentioned example, even when they are not on the school premises; and whether he can recommend some other alternative punishment less harsh than the above.

Mr. RUNCIMAN: I understand that in the case to which my hon. friend refers, the boy was punished not so much for smoking as for a deliberate infraction of a school rule, of which he was well aware. The governing body of the school, which, I may remark, contains a majority of local representatives, after interviewing the boy and his father, and with a full knowledge of the facts, decided unanimously to confirm the action of the head-master in thus enforcing the discipline of the school. I should be very reluctant to interfere with the responsibility of the governing body for the internal adminstration of the school, and I do not think the case is one in which the Board should intervene.

Mr. LUPTON: Is it the fact that the schoolmaster who thus sternly represses smoking himself smokes in the school grounds?

Mr. RUNCIMAN: I have no information on that point.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS: But that is a part of my Question. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the schoolmaster was guilty of setting a bad example?

Mr. RUNCIMAN: I have no knowledge whatever of his private practice.

An HON. MEMBER: Will he be caned too?

### His Majesty's Customs—Preventive Men's Petition.

Mr. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware that a petition was presented to his Department from the preventive men of His Majesty's Customs in November 1906; and, if so, can he state when a reply to such petition is likely to be given.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): I have caused inquiry to be made and I cannot find that such a memorial has been received in the Department.

### Boy Clerks in the Civil Service.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury when he will announce the particulars of the new proposals of the Treasury respecting the employment of boy clerks in the Civil Service; and whether the assistant clerks examination to be held on the 9th July will be the last under the old regulations.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: The questions connected with the employment of boy clerks involve points of considerable difficulty, and I am not in a position to say definitely when a decision can be arrived at, but the matter is engaging my earnest attention. No alteration in the examination for assistant clerkships is contemplated in the immediate future.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the same reply has been given by two of his predecessors, and that eighteen months have elapsed since the matter was brought under the notice of the Treasury? How much longer will it take them to settle a point which a business man could settle in a week?

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I have only been a week in my present appointment.

### Unexpended Balances.

MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the amount of unexpended balances of Votes surrendered to the Exchequer at the end of each of the last five financial years.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Unexpended balances of Votes surrendered to the Exchequer in respect of the Votes for 1902–3, £1,338,342; 1903–4, £1,076,653; 1904–5, £1,258,848; 1905–6, £2,468,408; 1906–7, £2,618,135; 1907–8, Figure not yet available.

### Trawlers on the Caithness Coast.

MR. R. L. HARMSWORTH: (Caithness-shire): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he has received a report that, on 18th April last, eleven trawlers were observed fishing within the three-mile limit by Latheronwheel, Caithness: and, if so, what he proposes to do to prevent a recurrence of this illegality.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I have made inquiries and learn that one of the fishery cruisers was at the time referred to in the vicinity and observing the movements of the trawlers, but the commander failed to detect any of them within the three-mile limit.

### School Exemption in Scotland.

MR. BARNES (Glasgow, Blackfriars): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he has any information as to the extent to which Section 3 of The Employment and Attendance of Children at School in Scotland Act, 1901, has been put into operation.

MR. SINCLAIR: The numbers of exemptions granted by School Boards in terms of Section 3 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1901, in the years for which information on the subject is available, have been—1903, 9,364; 1904, 8,849; 1905, 7,822; 1906, 8,197. Of these there were granted conditionally—1903, 7,332; 1904, 6,942; 1905, 5,777; 1906, 5,875.

### Fees for Teaching Irish.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the Commissioners of National Education have been paying fees for Irish for the academic year 1906–7, even though the subject was taught within school hours and Rule 107 was then, as at present, in existence; that they now, however, say that owing to the rule mentioned they cannot pay for the current year 1907–8 unless the subject is taught outside school hours; and what explanation the Commissioners offer.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): Prior to 1906, fees were paid for Irish as an extra subject only. In 1906, fees for all extra subjects, including Irish, were withdrawn, and a small scale of fees was sanctioned for Irish taught as an ordinary school subject. The withdrawal of fees for Irish as an extra subject gave rise to much dissatisfaction amongst persons interested in the revival of the Irish language, and as a result it was decided to restore the system of paying fees for Irish as an extra subject, but upon a substantially higher scale. Consequent upon this restoration, payment for Irish as an ordinary school subject ceased, for it was never intended that the subject should be paid for both as an extra branch and as an ordinary school subject. It was not, therefore, in consequence of Rule 107 that payment for Irish during school hours ceased, but, as I have stated, because of the restoration of fees for Irish as an extra subject. I may, however, mention that in those schools in which the bilingual programme is in operation, the Commissioners make grants for instructions in Irish given during school hours.

### Irish Commissioners of National Education.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that only a few of the Commissioners of National Education take any real interest in the duties of their position; that many of them have no experience of anything connected with primary education; that some of them scarcely ever attend meetings of the Board, and even if they did would not be able to understand the matters that come up for consideration; that as a result the Resident Commissioner can nearly always have any action he recommends adopted; and whether, as the whole working of this Board has for several years past been of a capricious character, he will take an early opportunity of devising some means whereby a radical change may be effected.

MR. BIRRELL: The Commissioners of National Education strongly repudiate the suggestions contained in the Question. They assert that every member of their body takes a deep interest in the business of the Board; that a large majority are, or have been, patrons or managers of national schools and have intimate personal knowledge of Irish primary education; and that the majority attend meetings of the Board with great regularity. The Commissioners characterise the statement that some of their number would be unable to understand the matters for consideration as being quite without foundation. Very full and detailed agenda papers, with explanatory memoranda, when necessary, are supplied to each Commissioner prior to meetings of the Board. Moreover I am assured that it is far from correct to say that the Resident Commissioner possesses the power attributed to him in the Question. The Commissioners deny that the working of the Board has for several years past been capricious. They have for the past eight years pursued an educational policy adopted in 1900 after very mature consideration and in view of the Report of the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction. An opportunity for reconstructing the Board of National Education was offered last year but was not accepted. No proposal to reconstruct the Board is at present before the Government.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: How many of these educational experts are Judges and other humbugs?

*MR. SPEAKER: That is not an expression which ought to be used of His Majesty's Judges or of any gentlemen in the position of Commissioners of National Education. There is no object in making offensive observations of that kind.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: How many mem- of that Board have any practical experience of education?

MR. BIRRELL: A very considerable number have had practical experience.

### Tuberculosis Prevention (Ireland) Bill.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to state when the Tuberculosis Prevention (Ireland) Bill will be introduced.

MR. BIRRELL: The Bill is now ready and I will introduce it under the ten minutes rule as soon as possible.

### Gort Cattle-Drive.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a cattle-drive took place on Monday the 20th April last off the farms of Martin Burke, Mrs. Hanley, and D. Ford, all residing in the vicinity of

Carrowcrahen, Tubber, Gort, county Galway; what arrests have been made; and what sentences have been passed.

Mr. BIRRELL: The cattle-drive referred to was reported to the police on the morning of the 19th April as having occurred during the preceding night. The police recovered all the cattle in the course of the morning. No one was seen driving the cattle off, and consequently no arrests were possible.

### Newtownforbes Boycott.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. James McCann and his brother Mr. Michael McCann, of Newtownforbes, county Longford, are boycotted; will he state whether the police can assign a reason for this; and how far have these two men to send for the necessaries of life.

Mr. BIRRELL: It is the fact that these gentlemen are boycotted. An attempt was made to drive the cattle off their grazing lands in August last, since when a police protection post has been maintained on the lands in order to prevent further interference with the cattle. Mr. James McCann himself keeps a shop at Newtownforbes, from which the boycotted families obtain the main necessaries of life, but clothing, boots, and some other necessaries are, I am informed, obtained from Dublin.

### Castlerea Cattle Drive.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a cattle-drive took place on Thursday, the 16th April last, about five miles from Castlerea, county Galway, from Treantry, a farm held by a Mr. Rathet, and Cudnamuckla, held by a Mrs. Quinn; and have any arrests been made.

Mr. BIRRELL: It was reported to the police that a cattle-drive from the farms in question took place on the night of the 14th of April. All the cattle were recovered uninjured. No arrests have been made. The offenders are unknown.

### Ballinasloe Cattle-Drive.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a cattle-drive took place on Monday, 20th April last from the farm of Timothy Murray, of Carrowreagh, near Ballinasloe, county Roscommon, being the second from that farm within a comparatively short period; how many arrests were made; and what sentences were passed on each occasion.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an extensive cattle-drive took place on Tuesday, the 14th April last, on the lands of Timothy Murphy, of Clooneycorriam, near Ballinasloe, county Roscommon; and have any arrests been made.

Mr. BIRRELL: On 14th April ten head of cattle were driven off Mr. Murray's farm at Clooncoran, county Roscommon, by five men, who were subsequently arrested on warrant and bound over with sureties to keep the peace for twelve months. On 20th April the same cattle were driven off by nine other men, who were arrested on the spot and similarly bound over to keep the peace. The hon. Member's second Question relates to the same case. The name is Murray, and not Murphy as given in the latter Question.

### Claremorris Threatening Letter.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a threatening letter was recently received through the post by Mr. E. Noone, an extensive farmer, who holds a farm under the Congested Districts Board, in the neighbourhood of Claremorris, county Mayo; has the letter been handed to the police; does it contain a threat to shoot at Mr. Noone; and have any arrests been made.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Answer to the first three parts of the Question is in the affirmative, and the Answer to the concluding inquiry is in the negative.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): The practice of arresting people seems to have quite fallen into desuetude in the West of Ireland.

### County Down Telephone Service.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is now in a position to state what steps are to be taken to extend the telephone service in county Down.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: A canvass for telephone subscribers at the places in County Down previously named by the hon. Member is being carried out. When the result of this canvass is before me, I shall be able to decide where and on what terms a telephone service can be given.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this inquiry has been going on for twelve months? Can he give an assurance that the result will be known in two or three years time?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: We are completing the canvass as quickly as possible.

### Carrickfergus Harbour.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, having regard to the fact that the Government is the chief user of Carrickfergus Harbour, County Antrim, but pays nothing to the upkeep of the harbour, he will consider the possibility of relieving the ratepayers by taking over the Dublin loan at 3¼ per cent., the interest paid on the London loan, instead of 4 per cent., the amount now paid on the Dublin loan; if not, whether the Treasury will state what course they are prepared to adopt by means of which the ratepayers might be relieved from the higher rate of interest; and whether, if the Dublin loan be paid off by the local authorities, the Treasury will rearrange the London loan to forty years at 3¼ per cent.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I have nothing to add to the replies recently given by my predecessor on this subject.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that this is an entirely different Question?

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I am not.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I will put it down again, and then the hon. Gentleman can compare the two.

## *NEW BILLS.*

### CORPORAL PUNISHMENT (RESTRICTION) BILL.

"To abolish the punishment of flogging in all cases where the offender's age exceeds sixteen years," presented by Mr. Lloyd Morgan; supported by Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Abel Thomas, Mr. Maddison, and Mr. Hay Morgan; to be read a second time upon Friday 22nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 213].

### EDUCATION OF AFFLICTED CHILDREN (IRELAND) BILL.

"To provide for the better Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland," presented by Mr. Charles Craig; supported by Captain Craig, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Barrie, and Mr. Clark; to be read a second time upon Wednesday 13th May, and to be printed. [Bill 214].

### CRUELTY TO ANIMALS (No. 2) BILL.

"To prohibit the hunting, coursing, and shooting of animals which have been kept in confinement," presented by Mr. Luttrell; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 215].

### IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

Ordered, "That Sir Charles McLaren be discharged from the Select Committee on Imprisonment for Debt."

Ordered, "That Mr. Stephen Collins be added to the Committee."—(*Mr. Whiteley*).

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

*MR. SPEAKER: I have to rule that the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities—to the effect that the House while welcoming educational legislation for Scotland regrets that the present measure does not propose change in the educational areas, which is urgently required in the interests of efficient administration—is not technically in order, because it does not challenge the principle of the Bill. The question raised can be decided by an Amendment to the Bill itself. If the hon. Member wants to object to the Second Reading he should move that the Bill be read this day six months.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) said that his Amendment was intended to indicate a criticism that he had to make on the Bill, though he did not intend to put the House to the trouble of a division. He was in somewhat of a difficulty in discussing that question, because he had to speak after a necessarily limited exposition of the Bill by the Secretary for Scotland, who, notwithstanding that the measure was one of the first importance for Scotland, introduced it under the ten minutes rule, and was in consequence unable to deal with many of the large questions it contained. There was one matter which must afford some measure of satisfaction, and that was that in dealing with this Bill it was not overshadowed, as in the case of the English Education Bill, by a mass of burning questions from which the question of education itself scarcely emerged. He hoped, indeed, they would have no necessity in the debate to refer to the religious difficulty at all. But it was noteworthy that while the benches were crowded with Members when those questions were raised, they were now practically empty when real educational topics were under discussion. His criticism of the Bill was directed rather at the omissions than the provisions. He had nothing but support for what the Bill contained, and the Secretary for Scotland would find no factious opposition on that side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had shown much boldness of conception and foresight, but the construction of the Bill depended in its essence very much on what was omitted. From one end of Scotland to the other the first question in education administration was the size of the area. Again and again attempts had been made to deal with this question, and the late Government on no less than three occasions nearly landed their fish. They secured the Second Reading and got the Bill into the narrows of the water, but whether the fish was too strong, or the narrows too rapid, or the angler too unskilful, the fact remained that the fish got away. He was glad that they were to have the assistance of the Secretary for War in the debate, and he hoped that while the right hon. Gentleman had put on the panoply of Mars he was not going to discard altogether the robes of Minerva. When the question was formerly before the House no one asserted more emphatically than the right hon. Gentleman the necessity for a change in the areas. Perhaps it was not a want of boldness that had prevented such a proposal being introduced into this Bill. Possibly there had been a little rift within the lute, for the Secretary for Scotland did not at the time express full concurrence with the views of the right hon. Gentleman. He thought too the Lord Advocate also expressed considerable doubt. The Bill was urgently required by Scotland. They had waited patiently and had lagged behind in the educational race because of the want of this much-needed legislation. They were not going to refuse half a loaf, although they could wish that a larger measure, dealing more adequately with the question, had been put before them. He feared, however, that when they obtained this Bill it would be very difficult indeed to re-open the question, as the patience of Scotland was frequently abused by the House. The Scottish followers of the present Government he was afraid would acquiesce in the position and would not insist on further legislation. He noticed that the hon. Member for Leith had a Motion on the Paper for a national advisory committee.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs): It is put forward as an alternative to the enlargement of the local bodies.

SIR HENRY CRAIK said he ventured to dissent entirely from such a proposal. Let them remember there were two ends to the string—one held by the central authority and the other by the local authority, and if they were not equally balanced the proper course was to increase the weight of the local authority by enlarging it. But they could not increase that weight nor add to the influence of the local authority by merely placing a buffer between it and the Department. He had read of a proposal by the Chamber of Commerce in Edinburgh that there should be a general advisory council in Scotland, and one which should have much more than mere advisory powers, but he did not think hon. Members would approve of that. How could a general educational council be made as responsible as the local boards? It would have neither a soul to save nor a body to keep while the Department emphatically had both, and it would lose its soul if it misinterpreted the views of Scotland as to what was advantageous, while its officials going round the country might be made to suffer badly. They could not, he repeated, secure the enlargement and strengthening of local bodies by interposing such a buffer. There was another suggestion, viz., that they should have a voluntary combination of school areas. He would advise the right hon. Gentleman to avoid any such scheme, because it meant they would have a miscellaneous congeries of local authorities paying different rates, and containing many elements of dissension and of friction. It would never be known how long they would last, as immediately there appeared an element of incompatibility in the associated boards they would break up. It would be an unhappy, confused, unpractical scheme to attempt this combination of school boards. It would create new and more local divisions between the different parties. He was anxious not to occupy at undue length the time of the House, but the subject with which he was dealing was one in which he was specially interested. He wanted first of all to strip away all the non-essential parts of the Bill. There were 29 clauses. The first two and the last four were absolutely formal, and the same remark applied to Clause 10, which dealt with the Court of Summary Jurisdiction. But beyond these there were eight clauses which were of a special character, and about which he now had something to say, but they did not touch any very large principle. In the first subsection of Clause 6, there was a very important point which he thought would create more interest among English Members as well as Scottish Members when they observed that it apparently re-enacted the old provisions of the law with regard to compulsory education. But there was one little word which had existed in every Act of Parliament hitherto, and which was now dropped, and that was the word "elementary" between "efficient" and "education" —"efficient elementary education." It was rather an important thing, he thought the House would agree, that for the first time the House was now imposing the absolute duty upon the parents of providing an education which was not limited to elementary education. He was entirely in favour of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman; he had no doubt whatever about it in his own mind. In Scotland they had insisted upon education being carried on up to the age of 14, and when they insisted upon that they necessarily either wasted the time of the pupil or they must teach him subjects which could not by the ordinary use of language be called elementary education. He was not going to oppose that provision. The last part of the section dealt with what was very much a technical matter, but one not unimportant. Hitherto, in all these elementary schools, the children had become subject to the Act on reaching a particular age, and had dropped into the school gradually from day to day, week to week, and month to month as they reached that age. That broke up the school; it gave it no consistent life, no periodical provision for the school session. It interfered with and interrupted school work. Section 13 he passed over at once; it merely laid down the sources of the money which was to be contributed under the Bill. It made really a very slight alteration in the existing system. It brought various sums of money into one school, and the Education Department relinquished its exclusive administration of the money under the Act of 1898. It took away from the municipal authority, the town council, the money which they had had the right to apply alternatively either to education or to relief of the rates. He believed that everyone would agree that the full experience of the past sixteen years showed the absurdity of the application of money which had followed under the Act of 1892. It had been beneficial neither to the one side nor to the other, and it was far better to have it clearly laid down by Act of Parliament how the money was to be expended. Section 16 dealt only with machinery, and did not decide the actual distribution of the money. Section 17 was unimportant, because it dealt only with a temporary sum of money—£140,000—which would soon be expended, and they need not quarrel about how it was to be administered for the time being. Clause 19 related to the audit of accounts. It might provoke opposition, but he himself wished to give his support to the right hon. Gentleman, who he thought was, on the whole, right in giving those more stringent powers for the auditing of accounts. Clause 21 introduced, and it was the only place where it was introduced in the Bill, what he thought hon. Members would agree, when they thought it over, was a mistake, and that was the special assistance to be given to the inhabitants of poor places who were too heavily burdened by the rate for education. That was far more a matter of finance than of education, and he thought it would have been far better kept separate from an Education Bill. The money that went into a parish from the central authority was very heavy in proportion to its resources, and if they had to give special assistance to localities, then it became a matter of finance all round, and was no more a matter for an Education Bill than the graduating of the income-tax. The right hon. Gentleman's predecessors had fallen into the same error as was being fallen into now, and it was an error which in practice had not worked satisfactorily. Clause 22 dealt with what he was sure was not known to English Members, namely, the compulsory use of the rates for the support and maintenance of the higher class schools. English Members left Scottish Members so much to deal with their own affairs that they were in absolute ignorance of the advances made in Scotland. But really the right hon. Gentleman was enacting nothing which was not done under Section 18 of the Act of 1878. The school boards had power to do that, and all that was wanted was the sanction of the Department, and that sanction the right hon. Gentleman would agree he was right in saying never in one instance had been refused during the last thirteen years. Section 23 was a very important one, but it did not belong to the principle of the Bill. The cumulative vote had frequently led to absurdities, but it would not be swept away quite so easily as hon. Members opposite might think. It had worked in certain districts towards the representation of minorities, and he would not be surprised if, perhaps in a quarter of the House now untenanted, the right hon. Gentleman found certain difficulties and objections raised to that portion of the Bill. He had cleared away a large part of the Bill, no less than eighteen out of the twenty-nine clauses, leaving only eleven which dealt with really important questions. Clauses 3, 4, and 5 gave additional powers to school boards. He had no strong affection for them, and he thought they must look at them with some care. Subsection 1 of Clause 3 really re-enacted what had been already the case with the school boards, who could provide any education contained in the Code. It re-enacted almost in express terms the Education Endowment Act of 1882. Subsection 2 dealt with the more important question of the feeding of the school children. So far as that section was concerned he had stated in the country that he was entirely in assent with the proposal. He thought it was a necessary part of educational work that there should be means provided by which the children should be fed. If hon. Members referred to paragraph 3 of the excellent Memorandum which the right hon. Gentleman had supplied they would see that the Minister actually affirmed what he himself had previously advocated. The right hon. Gentleman said in that paragraph that it was apparently a common thing in country districts for meals to be provided. The right hon. Gentleman was aware of the practice, and if he had believed that it was not according to the law he would have disallowed the cost on the audit of the accounts. There were other proposals about which he would have more to say afterwards. Subsection 4 was a new and very bold advance. It gave to the school boards the power of having something like an employment bureau. He was not going to say that the right hon. Gentleman had taken this step, because a lady of family, well known in connection with education work, had framed a scheme which he was very glad to think would be carried out by the Education Department. He was glad that a scheme so elaborately devised would have an opportunity of being carried out. It was a matter which must lead to enormous social development throughout the country, and would bring the schools into close contact with the active working life of the country. With regard to Subsection 5 he saw no reason to object to it. It was an extension of the burden laid on the ratepayers, an extension which he did not think would always be necessary, and he trusted the school boards would not always use it. But why had the right hon. Gentleman made a very important change this session? In the previous Bill he had proposed that the school boards should have an impartial power of giving this to their own, and to voluntary schools as well. Why had he struck out the voluntary school? What new light had been thrown upon it? Why was he not continuing to these schools an advantage for which the parents of the pupils attending them would pay as ratepayers just as much as the parents of the children who drew this advantage from the public school? He had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman would give some explanation, but it was a change of front and it touched a point of policy of very considerable importance. He still had doubt with regard to Subsection 6, which dealt with the power of school board members, at the cost of the ratepayers, to go wandering all over the country for what were called educational conferences. He was afraid that during his official life he had rather thrown cold water on proposals of that sort. He was not sure that his difficulties were entirely removed. He knew that many of his friends thought these conferences led to very great benefits, but were they not to have some restrictions? Conferences might be held in New York or in Berlin. Were they to pay the expenses of school board members out of the rates for foreign or transatlantic visits? They must have the power to a certain extent restricted. As the subsection now stood it might give rise to a sort of expenditure that would be a very serious burden on the rates. Then with regard to Clause 4, of which he had spoken as increasing the powers of school boards, he considered it entirely beneficial. He did not think there would be any difference of opinion in the House on that point, and he was glad also that it went a little further than the similar English Bill, and that it gave power out of the Scottish education fund, which was to be obtained by pooling all these monies, to supplement defective action in this regard by local authorities. In that respect it added a very important element which was lacking in the provisions made by the English Bill of last session. Then in Clause 5 they came to a very much more important principle. He was afraid that, although his opposition would not be directed, of course, to obstruction or interference with the progress of the Bill, he must on principle declare his total dissent from some of its provisions. Let them provide, if they liked, as a part of educational work the machinery for giving the necessary meals in schools; for providing utensils and other machinery necessary for doing it; but the moment they began to supply food, which was the right and proper duty of a parent, and made it a part of educational machinery, they broke from a principle that was of the very highest value, socially and morally, for the whole population of the country. They were told that this was to be given at the expense of the education rate. When were they to come at the real opinion of the Government on this question? In 1906 they supported a proposal to give full and free power to local education authorities to feed children of every class in their schools. They supported it, forsooth, because they thought that in Committee it would be altered. It was passed with certain restrictions in England. He was glad to say it was not the law of Scotland. Last year again in their own Bill they made their proposal. Food was to be supplied but at the expense of the poor rate, and the disabilities of poor relief were not to extend to parents who received this help. But they conceived that after all it was a part of Poor Law administration and not of educational administration and they embodied that in the Bill. Now it was to be put on the education rate. Surely they might require some sort of definite position to be taken up by the Government on this question. He knew he was in a minority, and, of course, in Committee they would be a negligible quantity, but he must on principle declare his dissent from that proposal as one of the cruellest that could be made for the home-life of Scotland, and for the moral character of Scotsmen, of which they were so proud. If a man could not feed himself and had to go for his own food to the Poor Law authority, he was deprived of the rights of citizenship. But if he fed himself and neglected what was a higher and far more moral duty, the feeding of those for whose being he was responsible, he was to be exempt from such disability and put upon a higher level. Could anything tend more to lower the character of Scotsmen? He came now to three important clausse dealing with the new compulsory power of attendance. The first, with regard to attendance orders, was a very serious alteration of machinery. It altered the machinery in this way. Now he understood they would proceed direct by attendance order. Hitherto under the Education Acts the parent was bound to have his child educated but was not bound to send him to school. He might educate him anywhere he liked. Frequently it had been pleaded, when a parent had been brought before the magistrate, that he was giving his child education in some other way than at school, and the magistrate had a right to satisfy himself of the efficiency of the education and dismiss the charge. That would not arise now. Now, if a parent did not send his child to school, it was not the magistrate who was to decide whether he was giving efficient education, but the school board. There was an appeal to the Sheriff, but instead of first going before the Sheriff it would only go in the last resort. A man might have an attendance order issued against him without any appeal to the Courts of law. He did not know that that would not act well, but it was a very important change, and a change that he did not think hon. Members should pass without noticing what it involved. Then he came to a very important question, an absolutely new departure in all our educational legislation. That was, that while there was imposed upon school boards the compulsory duty of providing continuation classes, there was also imposed upon young people compulsory attendance up to seventeen. He was personally entirely in assent with these changes. There was no greater wastage than in the period between fourteen and seventeen. They saw the work undone, and even a promising boy was in those years turned into a hooligan. They had left this as a mere casual thing to be established, not by Parliament, but surely it was Parliament, and not local government, which should itself impose such a vast increase of compulsory attendance. They had left it to the casual decision of no less than 984 boards. Was that sound policy? If they were going to have compulsory education up to seventeen, ought it not to be done once for all by Parliament? Were they to have a multi-coloured surface of the country where, by passing a mile or two into another parish, one might be exempted altogether from attendance up to seventeen and be free from schooling at fourteen? Surely that was absurd. He knew, however, that there were strong temptations to the right hon. Gentleman to adopt that course. The proposition was a strong one and it might perhaps have to be introduced gradually, but there was more than that. It required machinery, and that machinery must be provided by by-laws. It would be a subject of the most tremendous difficulty to devise those by-laws. Let the House look at what was proposed with regard to duties of parents under the Bill. Under Clause 6 it was to be the duty of a parent to educate his child up to fourteen. But when they got beyond fourteen and up to sixteen that was no longer continued in the same form. The presumption was not to be that the parent was guilty. If was only if it could be proved that the parent by actual prevention, by wilful neglect, had hindered a young person from attending school that he was to be guilty. Supposing the parent was not guilty of any such apathy or neglect, who was to be punished? The modified proposal between fourteen and sixteen did not carry the right hon. Gentleman the whole way up to seventeen. For young persons between sixteen and seventeen the penalties were a fine of 40s. for the first offence and £5 for a second offence. Did hon. Members opposite seriously propose to impose a fine of £2 or £5 upon boys of sixteen and seventeen years of age? Were they going to send them to prison? Much as he sympathised with the object in view he thought the right hon. Gentleman would find that he had entered upon a very difficult question. He was quite prepared to support the proposal as a whole if it could be shown that difficulties would not arise in the cases he had mentioned. There was one thing missing in the provision of continuation classes which he thought they ought to insist upon, and that was compulsory physical training and drill. There was no better path for education, nothing that would do them more good, and raise them more in their citizenship than a thorough physical training, and the Secretary for War would find no better means of realising the fulness of his aims and ideas for the development of his Territorial Army than in continuing this method. Not only as an educationist, but as Minister for War, he trusted what he had said would receive the right hon. Gentleman's cordial support. Then there were three clauses dealing with teachers, and one of them contained a long-needed provision giving the teachers greater security of tenure. They had discussed this subject over and over again, and he did not think there was any difference of opinion amongst Scottish Members on the question. They had all seen the evils which had been wrought in the past, and some time ago they were unanimous in placing their names on the back of a single clause Bill dealing with the question. He would rather this security were given in a different way, and it would have been much sounder if the area had been enlarged. With larger areas there would not have been any room for those small local squabbles which had often rendered the teacher's life a curse to him, and had frequently turned him adrift at a time when he could not very well follow any other employment. The provision would not work very smoothly, although it would be a sort of threat held out to irresponsible and meddlesome school boards, but he did not think it would be found at all satisfactory when they came to put it into force. There was one condition which he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not object to cutting out—he alluded to the condition that a teacher who conceived he had a wrong would have to obtain the signatures of thirty ratepayers before appealing. That was rather an absurd proposal. Probably it would not be difficult in a large town to get thirty ratepayers to sign, but in a small country district they could not be got without the teacher going round cadging for signatures. The cutting out of that condition would make no difference in the school working, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be persuaded to allow the appeal to be open in every case without the condition. The Bill gave the teachers some hope that their position in regard to pensions would be as good as it used to be before the Superannuation Act was passed, because that Act was designed solely to meet English difficulties and conditions. It was mistakenly applied to Scotland and it had worked endless hardship. A pension to be really a means of increasing the efficiency of education must be fixed on a basis upon which a man could with safety and certainty reckon. If they had a casual pension depending upon the benevolent feelings of school boards from year to year, it would not only be unsatisfactory but, in addition, most extravagant and wasteful. They would not by the system of deferred salary draw any better men into the service. He would also appeal on behalf of the teacher in the small school who was receiving a salary which did not constitute a living wage. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might very well fix a minimum pension upon less than which the poorest should not be forced to live. Clauses 14 and 15 provided for the distribution of the central fund. The distribution was ingenious, and he granted that they could not possibly distribute the money for higher education to all the 984 school boards throughout Scotland unless it was drawn into some sort of centre. By adopting the machinery which had been in operation for some sixteen years the right hon. Gentleman had contrived the very best substitutes he could find. Hon. Members might say that for these secondary education committees he had necessarily a partiality, but he would remind the House that they were not the creation of one Government only. The Government which came to an end in 1892 proposed these Committees in one of those Minutes of the Department which were so frequently attacked. There was a debate on the subject in 1892, and the scheme for the moment was set aside, but after an inquiry on the part of Sir George Trevelyan the Minute was renewed, and those committees were again adopted. Further consideration modified it. Objections were put forward by Members of the House, and it was modified so far that they were forced to "repeat the offence" and to establish committees the expedience of which they had themselves doubted. The House would pardon him when he said that he referred with some diffidence to subsection (*b*) of Clause 14, which provided that out of the Education (Scotland)

Fund payments might be made to the Universities "after consideration of the results of such investigations" as the Secretary for Scotland might direct to be made. He would not quote anything about fearing the Greeks when they brought gifts, and he was not going to show any want of gratitude to the Government for having placed the Universities of Scotland in a favourable position in regard to this Bill. He was glad, on the other hand, that the right hon. Gentleman had seen that the work of these Universities was the coping stone of Scottish education, and that in any scheme of Scottish education they must have a part and must be assigned a share of any benefits that were going. He would venture to utter one word of warning. The Scottish Members generally, and not merely those representing the Universities, had claimed that the Scottish Universities should receive assistance tantamount or bearing some relation to those lavish grants given for University education both in England and in Ireland. A grant of £100,000 was given some years ago to the Universities in England; Wales had had additional money bestowed upon it; and Ireland was to have £80,000 for University education under the proposal of the Chief Secretary. Scotland had had absolutely not a penny. He believed that a deputation waited upon the Prime Minister not long ago to urge the needs of Scotland. Let it be remembered that they did not accept the money that might come to them under Clause 14 as in any sense a satisfaction of their just claims. He knew it would be said that the Scottish Universities had £47,000 a year under the Act of 1889. He was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman would not use that argument. That sum represented in its origin the actual property and endowments of the Universities which were given generations ago, and which were taken away by the Crown. In Glasgow the fund of the Archbishopric of Glasgow was escheated to the Crown, but the Crown at the same time took upon itself the burden which was borne for generations by the property of the University. The Act of 1889, therefore, did not endow the Universities; it simply transposed the form in which their charges should be met. Under the Act of 1892, £30,000 was given, but the right hon. Gentleman knew that that was not English money. It was purely Scottish money, not drawn out of the national exchequer at all. The money to be dealt with under this Bill was again Scottish money, and what they insisted upon was that it must not be held to be a discharge of what they considered a just debt due to the Scottish Universities which ought to bear some relation to the grants made to England, Wales, and Ireland. There was one condition in regard to this grant as to which he must utter a very emphatic word of caution. It was not to be supposed that the Scottish Universities were to be turned into State-managed or State-inspected institutions. They were not going to have the type of University "made in Germany" foisted upon them in Scotland. When he was at the Education Office he used to have transmitted to him from the Foreign Office long schedules of inquiry from foreign Powers with the request that he should supply information in regard to the most minute points as to the management, discipline, and *personnel* of the Scottish Universities. He had always held officially that the Scottish Education Office had absolutely no knowledge of the internal economy of the Scottish Universities. It was an essential part of their national tradition in Scottish University administration that no State authority should attempt to have such a curbing effect on the free development of the Universities. He was speaking in the interest, not of the Universities simply, but of the Scottish nation. The Scottish people would never consent to their Universities being reduced to the level of foreign Universities, State-managed and State-controlled. He said frankly that he was not speaking for the professorial or teaching body of the Universities. He had not had a single letter from a professor in the Universities he represented. The remonstrances which had reached him had come from people outside of the Universities—old students and members of the general council—who quite apart from all personal interest were determined to resist—he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give him full assurance that they would successfully resist—any such State interference with the Universities. Was it thought that they were to have inspection of institutions where such men as Lord Kelvin and Lord Lister had been teachers? The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War were Lord Rectors of Scottish Universities, and he trusted that they would be the first to resist on behalf of the Universities any attempt to bring them into the thongs of State management. There were two or three conditions which he wished to press upon the Government. First of all, there must be no interference with a University until it had itself initiated a matter, and asked for money. If it chose to refrain from requesting money it should be absolutely free from being in any way interfered with. Secondly, if a request was made it was not to be granted until after investigation by the Secretary for Scotland. He would rather have the word "inquiry" than "investigation" in this connection. "Investigation" was an unusual word in an Act of Parliament. He did not know any Act in which it occurred. After inquiry the Secretary for Scotland might determine the sum to be granted from the Education Fund. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give an adequate assurance that it was not intended by this offer to impose on the Scottish Universities any narrow restrictions. If any such intention were veiled behind the offer he would be impelled to say that it was an invidious one. The Bill was an important one, and he had attempted, so far as he could, to deal with its important features. He was not going to show any vexatious opposition. He had endeavoured to point out the stumbling blocks which the right hon. Gentleman might find in the way.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): I think the House may congratulate itself on the attitude and tone of the hon. Member who has just sat down. Speaking for the Opposition he has divested himself of every shred of partisanship in this matter, and has spoken with great authority and knowledge about this Bill in a fashion which leads one to hope that the very best energies of the House of Commons, without distinction of party, will be concentrated upon making it as perfect as possible. The hon. Gentleman at the beginning of his speech told us what he has maintained throughout, that he came here on the whole to bless the contents of the Bill, and that his curses, if curses they could be called, would be—as they were very gentle—confined to things omitted, and not to things proposed to be committed. When the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to develop this point he, I think, afforded some justification to those of us who are keenly interested in this matter, and for the form which this Bill assumes. I do not apologise for rising to address the House on this matter, because, being interested as I am in Scottish education, my right hon. friend was so good as to consult me at various stages of the preparation of the Bill on points which arose, and it was just upon those points that the questions raised by the hon. Member for the two great northern Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen hang. The hon. Gentleman said: Why do you not deal with areas? and he coupled that with a warning against dealing with a National Council of the Universities. These two subjects are not within the four corners of the Bill. They are not prejudiced by anything that is in the Bill. They are not touched. It is open to this House at any other time to make these changes, and to add them to the structure which it is proposed to erect, but I think that on the whole those responsible for the Bill have done wisely in steering clear on this occasion of these two questions. The hon. Member said that if this Bill had been brought in by the late Government without a provision for areas, I should have been the first to move an Amendment. I am not so sure of that. I was then strongly in favour of large areas, as I am now; but I have learned that when you see your way to get anything substantial it is well to separate controversial topics from the other topics. I vividly recall the days of summer when I sat wearily and patiently supporting the Government of the day while their supporters were tearing their proposition to pieces. When I remember the aridity with which my friend Sir Charles Renshaw, who I regret is no longer in the House, attacked the propositions of the Government in regard to areas which I supported strongly then, I feel that perhaps even now I should have been found supporting in the generous spirit the hon. Member has shown, the Bill brought in by a Conservative Government without any reference to areas. And again when it comes to a General Council in Scotland, that is a proposal which I supported strongly in the past and support now, and when I find my hon. friend attacks the proposal of the hon. Member for Leith Burghs, then too I am confirmed in the view that, in order to get something substantial, it is well to steer clear of that also, knowing that the question, for better or worse, is open hereafter. Now I come to the broad reason why the Government invite the House to go forward with this Bill. It is because it contains some very large propositions for the advance of our educational system, propositions which are quite new so far as the country south of the Tweed is concerned. The purposes of the Bill are directed to two objects—the organic whole of education and certain extensions of detail in the existing machinery. I want to say a word on the organic whole of education which the Bill seeks to create. In Scotland we have been fortunate in having four Universities which from time immemorial have taken a large part in the general system of national education. They have not been segregated as the English Universities have been, at any rate in days gone by. They have been an active and integral part in our system of education, and they are that to-day more than ever, untroubled as they are with denominational controversies, and we have handed over to the Universities the training of the teachers. The time is peculiarly appropriate for doing what we can with due respect to these Universities to bring the various parts of the educational organisation—the higher education which the Universities represent, the secondary and technical education which is between the elementary and the University, and the elementary education—into the closest relation so that they may be exercised with due co-operation. The mode in which the Bill proceeds to do this is financial. The main purpose of the Bill is to create a financial instrument to bring that about. We create an education fund in Scotland into which the local taxation grants enacted from time to time are collected, so that there is one whole fund for Scottish education. That no doubt will have to be considered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the sum itself is a large fund, and it is a fund which will be far more economically and effectively used under the provisions of the Bill than hitherto. What do we do? In the first place, we take the highest education, the University—and with the object of making that efficient we make that purpose the first mortgage on the fund. The second thing is that we take secondary and technical education and deal with that in a fashion somewhat analogous to that in which we deal with the University. In that there is a broad principle which we are recognising. We do not mean that technical schools are merely schools with evening classes. I am glad to say that technical education for the artisan classes in Scotland has been developing year by year. There is one difficulty forging ahead; I mean the day classes of the technical schools, which are getting to be so important a part of the higher education of the country. In Germany for long past the Universities have worked side by side with the technical high schools which are really technical Universities, the scholars for which are prepared not in the *Gymnasien*, but in the *Realschulen*, which prepare a different stream of pupils for getting a higher education of a more technical kind than is given in the Universities. These two are side by side; and that is what we are aiming at in Scotland. The new technical schools and the other great colleges—the Heriot-Watt in Edinburgh, the West of Scotland in Glasgow, and new colleges in Dundee and Aberdeen will be brought into closer relation with the Universities apart from this Bill; and the purpose of the Bill is to cement the good relationship and, if possible, to make it more intimate and to put the teaching on a higher level. That is what may be called the highest education part of the Bill, and these two purposes are the first mortgages on the fund. Then dealing still with the central fund we turn to secondary education. The Bill contains many provisions, mainly of detail, for stimulating secondary education. That is the more easy, because we have practically swept away the sharp line of demarcation between elementary and secondary education in Scotland; and in doing that we are restoring the great tradition of the old parish schools in the past when they gave secondary education. Then came the change of 1872 which devoted the elementary schools to the purpose of elementary education alone. We have been getting away from that for years, and we now return to the old parish school system in which the scholars may obtain a secondary education. Then comes the machinery of the district committees, mainly of the county areas, over which the rest of the fund is distributed. It is distributed for a variety of purposes which are very important, not only for assisting in the work of the school boards and making it efficient, but for carrying out the further purpose of extending the period during which education is compulsory in Scotland. I have now sketched the nature of the instrument which the Bill seeks to create. I come to one or two points of detail to which the hon. Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities directed his attention. First of all the hon. Gentleman expressed a little apprehension lest we should interfere with the Universities. I have been intimately connected with the Scottish Universities as a student, as a teacher, and as a Lord Rector. I know their internal organisation very well, and I am not ashamed to say that it is capable of a good deal of improvement. I do not share the view of the hon. Member that there is not a great deal to be done. I want to shake them out of the atmosphere of conservatism which hangs too heavily upon them. I am far from saying that there are not indications that they are improving and going ahead, but there is a good deal to learn from these modern Universities of which my hon. friend spoke in tones of criticism. There is a great freedom in these Universities in the way in which they are shaping their own educational destinies. If I had the choice I should choose at once their far more efficient organisation, if I could substitute it for the somewhat entangled machinery of the Senatus and the University Court to which the professors have to give so much of the time which they should devote to their classes. We do not embark on the perilous venture of putting these things right in this Bill. We have gone very cautiously about it. The Universities we propose to assist in a fashion analogous to that in which the English Universities have been recently assisted. And when my hon. friend spoke of the great assistance given to the English Universities, from £15,000 up to £100,000, he forgets that within the last nine years six new teaching Universities have been created in England, and that that amount represents all the money grants which they have got amongst them. I do not think that the Scottish Universities are so badly off as the hon. Member represented, but I agree that the time has come when we should make them a little better off.

Sir HENRY CRAIK: The right hon. Gentleman does not mean that you are going to balance State funds against money that already belongs to the Universities as a right?

*Mr. HALDANE: Not in the least; but I was taking my hon. friend's figures, when he speaks of £100,000. Well, I think it is very little when it is divided between the new Universities which have not a penny of endowment. But I am far from saying that I disagree with one word of what my hon. friend said about the old endowments of the Scottish Universities. What we have got to do is make these Universities efficient, and money is wanted for the purpose. The way we propose to work is this. The English analogy is useful. There will be a Committee of which my right hon. friend will be the responsible head. The Committee will sit and consider the claims submitted to them by the Universities themselves. So far from interfering with the Universities, we propose to encourage them to put forward their claims of what they require. All we say is that we shall look to the expenditure of public money closely. We shall be glad to give money where it is wanted, and we hope to bring them into the same harmonious frame of mind as we are in ourselves. Therefore, we trust to see a rapid revolution in the general condition of the Universities at various points, where from want of funds they are handicapped at the present time. That is the proposal with regard to the University Committee which I have described. Then as to the technical schools, there is enough said in the Bill to make it unnecessary for me to dwell upon that. Then I come to the next part, which is the work to be done by the district committees. The district committees are an integral portion of the machinery for distributing public money in this fashion, and the district committees, I hope, will be able to make that part of education which includes the secondary schools and elementary schools self-contained. There is one point upon which, I think, we are deficient, and it is the point in regard to which the hon. Member himself rendered great assistance during the time he was at Dover House, and that is in the matter or position of things which the leaving certificate creates. I think it all wrong that Universities should have to examine the men and women who go to them seeking admission to see if they are efficient. I think it would be infinitely better if the leaving certificate corresponded to what the leaving certificate is in many parts of the Continent—a guarantee that the holder has had a secondary education qualifying for admission to a University. Such a guarantee gives coherence to secondary education, and sets the Universities more free to pursue their proper duties of giving the highest education. While that is one of the things the Bill helps to make possible, it is not one of the things touched by the Bill. The district committees will have important functions as regards secondary education. It is not possible for every county area to have its own school. There may be one just over the border in the next county, and it has always been a source of jealousy that people should cross over and take the advantages of the school. Through the machinery of these committees the district committee of the county where such children reside will be called upon to pay compensation in the shape of the fees of the pupils whom the schools of another county have to take, and in that way we hope to get rid of a great deal of the friction which arises at the present time. Then another point which the district committees have to deal with is the allocation of bursaries to the poorer children who want to go to these secondary schools or to the Universities. The provision of these bursaries in a more organised form will not only avert the waste of a good deal of money, but will make that money applicable in the most effective way by reaching the largest number of boys and girls who have shown themselves capable of taking higher education than they can get in their own locality. The remainder of the money which these committees handle will in the main go for paying the continuation education which the Bill proposes to give, and finally in relief of rates after the other purposes have been satisfied. But while that is the first part and purpose of the Bill, and while the machinery is as I describe, there is another reform which this Bill contains which, I think, is even more novel, and quite as important. Practically we are taking the first step to make education compulsory in Scotland up to the age of seventeen. It is satisfactory not only from the point of view of Scotland, but from the point of view of the nation, that this far-reaching proposition should have received the reception it has recently obtained in Scotland. There was a conference towards the end of April of the Scottish School Boards in Scotland, and they were unanimous in support of this proposal of the Bill; and, more than that, zealous people brought over persons to this country to lecture on education, including perhaps the greatest living authority on this form of education on the Continent, Dr. Kirschensteiner, and the address which he delivered tended very much to crystallise public opinion on this subject. Education is compulsory up to the age of fourteen, but what happens? The boys and girls are taken away to some business, and are cut off from the chance of securing higher education and of adapting themselves for a better position which they would get if they were decently educated. In fact, you have in this country a great flaw in our educational system, the gap between the elementary school and the later stage of higher education which comparatively few can get. That will be bridged over. I do not believe we could have bridged it over a year earlier than the year in which we live, even in Scotland, but I am glad to recognise that this part of the Bill is being received on all hands with welcome. Of course, they will have to proceed cautiously, and should take, as has been done in Germany, the wise course of consulting, not only the education authorities, but the trade unions, and the representatives of employers and employed. There are two lines on which the public are ready to come to an agreement. The first is a better training for trades, and the second a better training for citizenship. These two things go together, and they have been far on the Continent, where in the best centres the employers have shown themselves, not only willing, but desirous that the boys and girls, instead of going after the hours of employment when they are tired, shall go in part during the hours of employment. The result has been that there are parts of Germany where 98 per cent. go to the continuation schools. I have seen there often the young workers disappear in the afternoon, and you ask where they have gone to, and you are told the continuation school. You can see the same in factories and workshops, and there is no doubt that it operates admirably for the future of these young minds.

*Mr. H. J. TENNANT (Berwickshire): Do they undertake those studies in the time of their employment?

*Mr. HALDANE: Inside the time of their employment. The employers themselves have found the system a great advantage.

*Mr. H. J. TENNANT: Have you put that in this Bill?

*Mr. HALDANE: I think we may learn from that certain principles which we have been able to embody tentatively in this Bill. The first principle the Government have learned from that system is that the secondary continuation education shall no longer be a luxury, but a right and a duty. The second is that that education shall not be merely a continuation of board school work, but something new which touches the practical application in life, the trade or employment, and which also tends to promote the culture of the mind. If the school boards really take advantage of the provisions of this Bill, to any large extent, I think those two principles will in what is proposed be realised at least in their foundation. The continuation schools which it is proposed to establish are to be at the discretion of the school boards. A certain pressure will be put upon them, but it is intended to give the largest latitude possible, to let the school boards proceed tentatively, and to work the thing out in accordance with the interests of the locality. All localities are not alike. In the big town you may be able to have a continuation school on such a scale and such an application extending to boys and girls as you cannot have in a country district. Power is given to the school boards to make by-laws which shall compel the attendance of any boy or girl who leaves school at fourteen, and who is not in any secondary school or continuation school or getting education which is an adequate substitute. The provisions of the clause enabling that to be done are, as I have said, very elastic, because this is entirely a new start off, so far as this country is concerned, and we should be committing a very great mistake if we were to try to set up some cast-iron system before public opinion is ripe for it. We hope that the school boards will set to work to educate the public mind on this question, and for this reason we place this duty in the hands of those bodies, believing that they can make greater progress in conciliating public opinion than we can do. There are other minor matters in this Bill. My hon. friend opposite spoke of one, which seems a very small thing, but it is not, and that is the attendance order. Up to now we have had the loss of a great many scholars, because the sheriff, as a kind-hearted man, refuses to put the law into operation. Now the school boards have to enforce the law. That is a valuable step forward. Then there are powers of medical inspection. The machinery in Scotland for helping children in difficulties whose eyes are defective or who are suffering from adenoids has completely broken down. The infirmaries and the hospitals are quite unable to deal with the amount of work which is put upon them, and I hope there will be a proper medical inspection, and as we go on a little further I hope we shall see that children who have defective eyesight have spectacles, so that they may not ruin their eyes for the want of them. Then we have the powers to feed, although some may think they do not go far enough. You cannot give proper education to children unless they are in proper condition. There are other miscellaneous provisions in the Bill. The abolition of plural voting will, I believe, be a useful and valuable thing, and also the provision of pensions for teachers when the authorities take a different view from the school board. All these are valuable portions of the Bill, but the great purpose of the Bill is the new financial instrument which I have described, and notably the provision for bringing the continuation of education up to the age of seventeen. The seeds which are sown by this Bill are sown in such a way as are likely to produce fruit. In sitting down I wish to say that, speaking not merely as a Scottish Member, but as a Member of this House, I feel that this Bill contains lessons which go far beyond Scotland. What can be done in Scotland can be done for England if taken in the right way. One part of the country to which the provisions of the Bill could be peculiarly adapted is Wales; it has very much the same conditions as exist in Scotland. To treat England as a whole on the analogy of this Bill may not be possible, but to deal with districts of England like Lancashire and Yorkshire, areas where they can supply the machinery that is needed, might be possible, so as to lead in the direction of making the University the head and the guiding element in our educational system. On those lines you will lift parties above the miserable squabbles which have been so much heard of in education of late, simply because education is not lifted to a high enough place. If we cannot see that our future rests with the children and that the future of the child rests upon securing adequate training in early life—and it cannot be adequate unless it is carried beyond the elementary school, with the chance of the University or technical school—if we cannot see that, we have not realised what is the extent of our duty with regard to education. It is because I believe that this problem is one of the most important and pressing of social problems that I am proud to be associated even in a minor capacity with the Bill as a first step in realising an educational ideal short of which we cannot afford to halt.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON (Oxford University): In the remarks I am about to make I only desire to offer some criticisms of the Bill. I do not rise in any spirit of opposition, and in that respect I follow the hon. Member for the Aberdeen University. I welcome most of its provisions, but I am anxious to offer some criticism of what I think, in spite of what the right hon. Gentleman has said about the great purpose of the Bill, is its limited scope in one important respect. The right hon. Gentleman told us in one part of his speech—he spoke of the Bill as being a missionary effort in respect of what might be called the lower geographical part of the United Kingdom, by which I presume he meant England and Wales. But a good many of the provisions of the Bill are already available in England, and I think it might have been better to call the measure an "Administrative Provisions Bill," instead of an Education Bill for Scotland. Some of these provisions are no doubt excellent; and in particular subsection 4 of Clause 3 which states that school boards may incur expenditure—

> "In maintaining or combining with other bodies to maintain any agency for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children on leaving school."

This is a matter which should never be absent from the minds of the managers of an elementary school, because when the children leave the school they are often too anxious to obtain temporary employment and so lose all the benefit of their education. Therefore I cordially welcome this provision. The provision dealing with the feeding of children is largely a reproduction of the Bill passed for England a little over a year ago. I do not entertain the anxiety of my hon. friend behind me, but I rather regret in one respect that the local authorities are not encouraged in this Bill, as they were in the English Bill, to associate themselves with voluntary agencies in the provision of meals. I believe that in this way a great deal could be done to bring assistance to the families and to the children by the knowledge which persons of leisure and inclination in this voluntary work might acquire as to the homes of the children. I would also like to see the provision dealing with medical inspection strengthened. Local authorities *may* provide for it, and if they do not, the Department *may* require it. I would like it even made compulsory, as it is in England. I echo everything that has been said by the right hon. Gentleman as to the importance of the continuation classes, and I am glad to find that there is money available from the Treasury to get over the difficulties that might be raised by the ratepayers in the institution of these classes, difficulties which I do not think the right hon. Gentleman has considered. He told us how these continuation classes were conducted abroad; how the young waiter left his work and the young clerk his desk to take up these continuation studies. But are the Government sure that they have in this country, or in Scotland, that amount of willingness to follow up education which would make compulsion unnecessary? I doubt whether they can always be sure that a boy of fifteen or sixteen would be inclined, after the day's work, to take up some line of study or to enter a continuation class. The difficulty has always haunted me in relation to this question as to what form of compulsion we should apply. Is it to be applied to the boy or to the parent? If to the parent, hon. Members may figure to themselves many cases of great hardship where a parent might be asked, and might be unwilling, to drive his boy to school after a day's work. The question of compulsion is extremely difficult, and it has stood in the way of progress being made with this most hopeful inception of carrying forward education in England up to the present time. I cannot help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman rather shirked that difficulty. Then we were told a great deal of the Fund, and of the great scheme of education which this Fund was to bring into effect. Then who is to administer this Fund? This is, in my judgment, the weak part of the Bill. The Department intervenes at every turn. I would like to see this Bill follow the lines of the Bill introduced by Mr. Graham Murray in 1904. The right hon. Gentleman said that there was much opposition to that Bill. But since that time a fuller experience has been acquired of the effect in this country of the municipalisation of education and the entrusting to the local authority the treatment of nearly every variety of education over a large area. Personally I would like to see the locality made the authority. We should get a better system of education, for it is not easy to see how each one one of 984 school boards could take a conspectus of the whole of education in their area. The teachers would have a better opportunity of getting their merits recognised beyond the narrow sphere in which they work; their teaching capacity is less known and their opportunity of promotion and their chance of gratifying their natural ambition is much diminished by the retention of these small areas. Then you cannot obtain the same expert opinion in the general educational interest in the case of a school board as you can in the larger area of a county, and bear in mind that the Bill of 1904, although it did not attempt to municipalise education in the ordinary sense of the word, did take the county area, making provision for due representations of the Royal and Parliamentary burghs and so made the area for education practically co-extensive with the area of the county administration. But your system breaks off short. The school board carries the child up to the secondary grade, and then the secondary education committee come and remove the child to a secondary school or elsewhere by means of a bursary without any previous knowledge of the child, and places him in a secondary school out of the range of the people who have hitherto watched his progress. The interest in education, as we noticed in England, increased in an extraordinary degree under the operation of the Act of 1902; because the Act brought into play all the educational interests of an area, and so helped in creating that belief in education which it takes time to develope, certainly in this country. I think that possibly your continuation schools and your bursaries and your Fund, and your whole system which you have built up in this House, and in the Scottish Education Department, from top to bottom, and which reads so splendidly, so magnificently on paper, will fail because without that interest which is the creation of popular control, it will never work its way into the hearts of the people and do that work which we all desire to see done for the education of the people in every part of the United Kingdom.

*MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, S.) said that in rising to take part in a debate in the House for the first time he was sure that he could rely on the kind indulgence of hon. Members. He was sorry that in the first words he had to address to them he found himself disagreeing in a measure with the opening remarks of the hon. Member for the Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities in the most interesting speech which he had delivered. The hon. Member had seemed to indicate that the condition of education in Scotland was very unsatisfactory, and had gone so far as to hint that in his view it was in a state of decay. Speaking for the district which he had the honour to represent in the House, he could certainly dispute that assertion. He was perfectly satisfied that during the last twenty years remarkable progress had been made, and that within the limits of the powers which had been conferred on school boards by Parliament, they had discharged their duties admirably, and the standard of education in Scotland never stood higher than it did to-day. While that was so there was a very wide spread desire for extended powers, and if there was anything defective in the present educational system of Scotland he was sorry to say that the House must accept the responsibility. The introduction of so many Bills during the last few years had created a feeling of unrest which had had a most unsatisfactory influence on the administration of education in Scotland. There had been a series of attempts to legislate, and a succession of failures to do so. He trusted that the House would give the Bill a Second Reading, and that it would get into the Scottish Committee at once, so that it should not have the same fate as other measures which had been considered by the House during the past few years. If he thought that it would meet with such a fate he would be inclined to use the words which he noticed the hon. Member for Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities used in his Amendment, and would welcome the Bill "with regret." He wanted first of all to make one or two references to what he regarded as very important omissions. Here again he regretted to say that he was at variance with the Member for Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities, because he deprecated the proposal which the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs desired to discuss—he deprecated the idea of any advisory education council for Scotland. He had the greatest possible regard and respect for the gentleman who at present presided over the Scottish Education Department. He recognised his great ability; he knew the deep interest which he had taken in the cause of education, and he was aware of the assistance which he had given to the local education authorities. But everyone in Scotland did not know the official head of the Scottish Education Department as Members of that House did, and he could assure the House that there was a general desire in Scotland for the formation of an education council through which the minutes and decrees of the Department might pass and be approved before they emanated from the Scottish Office, and were sent down to be enforced on the local education authority. He was quite satisfied that the Department would lose nothing either in dignity, authority, or influence in Scotland if such a council were formed. It was probably too late to expect the Government to reconsider that point, but he thought that sooner or later it was a thing that would be realised, for he was certain that the general opinion was in favour of it. There were one or two other omissions in the Bill to which he should like to refer. It was a fact that there was no direct reference to the constitution of the secondary education district committees in the Bill. He would be told that these committees were formed by minute of the Department in 1902, and that if they did not fulfil the new functions imposed upon them they could be reconstituted. But the responsibilities which were being placed upon those committees were so important in character, so far-reaching, that he thought even yet it might be necessary for the Government in Committee to set out distinctly by clause in the Bill how those committees were to be reconstituted. The third omission to which he would like to refer had relation to the clause dealing with the superannuation of teachers. He did not know why that Clause should be absolutely restricted to teachers. There were other men doing excellent service for school boards in Scotland. What about the clerks and attendance officers, many of whom had devoted their whole lives to the promotion of education and to the discharge of their duties under the school boards? He could instance one case where the clerk had held office for the long period of thirty-six years, ever since the Education Act came into force in 1872. It would be impossible to exaggerate the splendid influence of that official in the cause of education, and he thought that it would be a shame if a man who had done such admirable work for the cause of education should be permanently and unnecessarily excluded from the benefits of a superannuation scheme such as was proposed by the Bill. The first provisons of the Bill to which he would like to call attention were those dealing with medical inspection and with neglected children. He did not think that medical inspection need be costly, for in many schools it would not be very necessary, but still the school boards ought to have the power to set this system of medical inspection into operation. He was glad that the case of neglected children had again been noticed. He was very pleased indeed that it was now left to the education authority itself to deal directly with that question without the intervention of the parish council. There was no sadder picture of our modern social life than was to be found in the condition of neglected children, and he rejoiced that power was to be conferred on the local education authority enabling them to detect cases of child neglect, and not only to detect but to bring offenders before the justices and obtain their punishment. Having had some years experience as a member of the school board, he was thoroughly satisfied that in the case of Aberdeen at all events, nearly everything that required to be done could be done within the resources which were at present available; but if it was necessary to impose a rate for the purpose there was no object for which he would more willingly pay. When dealing with a question like this, which appealed to many of them as a public duty, he thought they ought not to rely entirely on voluntary contributions to carry it into effect. There were many other directions in which the munificent donor could find opportunities of getting rid of his money. And they must always remember that it was only through the rates and taxes that they could get any certain income at all. It was their duty to see that these neglected children were properly fed and clothed, and he thought that it was equally their duty to see that the funds for the purpose were provided by the public. When they were told, as he was sorry the Member for the Universities had told them that afternoon, that this proposal was going to sap and undermine the independence of the Scottish race, he did not believe a word of it. They were told expressly the same thing when it was proposed to abolish fees in public schools. They were told the same thing when it was suggested it would be a desirable thing in the interests of education that free books should be provided; and now just the same story was being repeated to them. It ought to be borne in mind that the working classes themselves were large contributors to the rates, and he doubted that the working man had gained very much by the abolition of school fees. He was not at all sure that on the average he would not be better off under the old system than under the present system, because now not only had he to pay the rates when he had children at school, but he had to continue paying them when they were dead, or when they had left school; he had to go on paying during his whole life. Probably from an economic point of view he would be better off under the old conditions than under the new. But this could be said of the working classes of Scotland, that they had always been in favour of a thoroughly sound educational system, and even supposing that this Bill did add somewhat slightly to the burden of rating, it would not be the members of the working classes who would complain. There were two other clauses to which he should like to make a single reference. First, Clause 8, which empowered a school board to insist in cases of exemption on attendance at continuation or other classes. That was a clause about which he was sure there would be absolutely no division of opinion. But when they came to Clause 9, which empowered school boards to enforce attendance at continuation schools for young persons between fourteen and seventeen, he was not quite sure that they might not be legislating somewhat in advance of public opinion. But the clause as it stood in the Bill was permissive, and as he recognised that it was a great experiment which he supposed every Member of the House would wish to turn out a complete success, he hoped to see the provision carried into effect at the earliest date. Just one other point, and that was the question of employment bureaus. The hon. Member for the Universities had made a graceful reference to the fact that this movement, if not initiated, was certainly very greatly advanced through the work of a lady, whose father was one of the best friends the cause of education ever had and who did a great deal to promote the interests of education throughout the whole of the North of Scotland.

SIR JOHN TUKE (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities), who was very indistinctly heard, was understood to ask how Clauses 13 and 14, taken together, worked out. As had been already stated, in Clause 13 all moneys devoted to education, with the exception of the sums which by the Acts of 1889 and 1892 were credited to the Universities, had to be pooled and also any moneys which might be voted by the House, and these monies were to constitute the education fund. Further it had to be administered by the Department. The special purposes to which the fund was to be devoted were laid down in Clause 14, but, with one exception, in all the subsections of that clause the money was to be administered by the Department, which by laying down one condition after another on which grants might be made might dominate the whole position. This was possible under the Bill as it was presented to the House, and it was a very serious menace to the independence of the Universities. On these grounds he objected strongly to the Bill. Otherwise he supported its provisions, but he begged to make a protest against these two clauses or against any interference with the autonomy of the Universities.

*MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said that most of the provisions in the Bill would be most warmly received by all the present school boards in Scotland, and it would be better to have an imperfect Bill carried through Parliament than to run the risk of losing a perfect one, because what they had suffered from in Scotland almost more than anything else of recent years had been the introduction of legislation which had subsequently been dropped. The Bill provided for many needs and made some new departures of vital interest. The continuation classes were the best part of the Bill, because the way in which children from fourteen to seventeen nowadays found their way on to the streets after their day's work was done was one of the most serious menaces to our civilisation. The condition of that raw juvenile population was not at all what it should be, and without these continuation classes he saw no remedy for it. He hoped, as had already been urged, that the physical side of this training would be properly attended to along with the intellectual side. We ought to have in this country a thorough system of gymnasia such as they had in Sweden. They could be very cheaply put up and just as the whole population of Sweden, boys and girls, were trained in these gymnasia, so ought the children to be here if we were to get the full benefit from these continuation classes. He agreed that attendance ought to be, and he hoped would before long be, made compulsory, and that a lead might shortly be given by some of the leading boards. They were very grateful also for the education fund, although the conditions under which it was to be administered would be a most important question when they got into Committee. The establishment of the principle of one voter one vote would be a great electoral advantage. Medical inspection was beginning already, and would, he trusted, progress very rapidly under these provisions, some of which were perhaps of more doubtful character as regarded their results. As regarded teachers' pensions, the hon. Member for Aberdeen had said that the principle of pensions ought to be extended. Yes, but that hung a good deal upon the question of areas, because if they gave pensions to all the unnecessary staffs now employed by parish school boards, the burden would be far more than the community could bear. Again, the pensions were irregularly given. There would be very active touting and canvassing of a kind which he thought ought to be unnecessary and was highly undesirable. Very often where a pension was most needed it would be least likely to be got. That provision was defective. So also was the appeal. No doubt the appeal would be an advantage, but it was not really anything like so necessary for the profession or for the public service as that there should be a circulation of teachers over sufficient areas, so that a round peg should be no longer stuck into a square hole. That would be far more important as regarded the teachers than even the provisions of the Bill. The defects of the Bill were not what it provided but what it omitted, and it did so little to remedy administrative chaos that if, as the Secretary for War had told them, they ought to try to make the Bill as perfect as possible, he did not think they could exclude altogether the question of areas. He would like to give some reasons why he thought the Bill would break down to a great extent for want of dealing with the question of areas. It was not a hostile proposal to make. It was a friendly proposal. As had been said, there was no partisanship on a Scottish Education Bill. They could not avoid dealing with the question of areas. The right hon. Gentleman laid down three essentials in 1903. Besides the extension of areas he declared that administration ought to be in close relationship to those concerned and therefore in Edinburgh, and another idea in the scheme was that in the administration of Scottish education the Minister should have the advantage and advice of a consultative committee, which should include the best expert representatives of education. The scheme did not profess to be final, but it aimed at indicating practical lines of action. Not one of these essentials was included in this Bill. They could not look upon this, therefore, as a reform Bill, although with regard to the continuation classes and the education fund it was certainly of the nature of a wide reform for the present school board powers. The administration of the education fund was to be put absolutely in the hands of the Department. Absolute autocracy was the substance of the Bill, and that would be the essence of future educational policy in Scotland. They would get that in two ways, on the principle of *Divide et impera*, and because it was impossible for any authority to kick against a Department which had absolute control of the funds. What was the present situation, and how would it be affected by widening the areas? At present they had four educational authorities distributing education funds besides the Universities, namely, the school boards, burgh technical committees, county committees, and boards of governors administering many of their secondary schools and colleges. Under this Bill the burgh technical committee would go—would that the county committee would go too. What of those left? The parish and the small burgh boards were notoriously the weak spot. The small boards were inefficient, not for want of power but for want of funds, and often for want of initiative. They were told that the boards ought to combine, but they might just as well expect the Wee Frees and the United Frees to combine as some of these small educational authorities. There was nothing in the Bill to make them combine. In many cases combination between these boards would not materially reduce the grotesque discrepancies in the incidence of the rate. They might have a rate of 2d. in one parish and 2s. in the next parish; he had known such cases. He had known an instance where the area heavily rated found the higher education for the parish paying a 2d. rate. How would this Bill affect the burden of the staffs in the side schools? The art of higher school competition was advancing and the relations of boards, governors and secondary schools with the county committees were chaotic. Under the existing larger boards perfection was possible. The hon. Member for Aberdeen had evidently never found any trouble whatever in connection with areas, and there was no such trouble at Aberdeen. He would like to compare Aberdeen City with the kingdom of Fife. Aberdeen had a perfect area or at any rate it was as near perfection as possible. In Fife they found parish boards often well fitted for the leading strings of the Department. They also found larger educational centres, like Dunfermline and St. Andrews, identified closely with the leading industries of their district, and yet educationally divorced from them. Burghs like Kirkcaldy and Dysart had town councils exercising authority over one area, and school boards over other areas. There was no provision in this Bill to make any change in that. In the burgh of Dysart, the school board was egged on by the county organiser to set up an intermediate school, probably against the policy of the Department, and without any particular sanction from anybody. The county committee ran large classes in those burghs, in competition with the evening classes run by the local education committees. That showed that the system was rotten, and the only solution was that the county committee should be abolished. Few counties had so good a county committee as Fife, where the work was run by an able inspector and a bustling organiser, who might be taken to represent quality and quantity. Those were the authorities upon which they were asked to rely. One result of this combination was that nobody knew who was responsible. Responsibility was so divided that public interest in education was dying, and Scotland, once so rich in leaders in learning, was falling behind in the educational race. He was aware that in Scotland the Government habitually supported divided responsibility for public affairs as for private relations, but in the one case, as in the other, they destroyed private or corporate initiative. It might be true that Scotland suffered by the backwash of English religious troubles. Governments and governed alike were so discouraged that there was a universal depression in educational matters, and a general inability to act. A curious example of indifference occurred at the last meeting of his own county committee. The county of Fife was rapidly becoming the chief coalfield in Scotland. There was a proposal made for a mining school, for which they wanted £1,000. They asked the Miners' Union to contribute, and they replied that it was no business of theirs. That showed a considerable lack of educational interest amongst the leading industrial classes of Scotland, as compared with what they found in Wales. If they had a district board for Dunfermline, the miners would be represented on it, and it would be much better worth their while than sitting on a county committee. If the system of education had been properly co-ordinated, the miners would have been taking their part in it, and there would not have been this appeal falling upon deaf ears. If that had been done, there would have been a simple system instead of the present complicated system which was preserved under the Bill. He reminded the House that if they had district boards and no county committees, public spirit and initiative would replace wrangling and indifference. Who, after all, was better fitted than the average Scotsman for local administration? Let him have the chance. If they had but one authority and a proper area, then co-ordination and efficiency, economy and elasticity, under responsible and trustworthy democratic control would flourish upon their native soil; technical education would be sympathetically and practically developed, and elasticity and directness would replace the cast-iron roundabout methods of the Department which could never control the details of applied science to agriculture, mining, fisheries, and other kinds of industry. Only those of all ranks and conditions who knew the industries and localities, in conjunction with experts, but not placed under their heel, could lead on the people and re-establish Scotland's ancient pre-eminence in education. So much for the present situation. With the school boards under strict and in most cases unnecessary tutelage, county committees well fitted by circumstances to disappear, a plague of confusion to be stayed, the penalty of local impotence exacted by a false system, the overshadowing growth of the Department by reason of the atrophy of local control, except in the case of powerful boards, a situation crystalised by a Bill which impelled them away from free initiative and towards a bureaucracy which it rendered necessarily absolute—necessarily absolute because there would be waste and confusion in administration—the consequent resentment of the ratepayers would become only too gross a scandal. The choice they had was as between the authority with undivided responsibility, or Dover House—educational authorities commanding respect, or a Department to enforce order—a Department automatically driving local authorities, occupied each with one branch of education, along the line of least waste and failure. That was the choice imposed upon them by the Government. It was true that the county education committees were made much of in the Bill, but they were merely conduit pipes for the Department through which would pass the direct payment of grants. The power of the county committees was an apparent power, and if it was sufficient for anything, it would be to produce friction with the authorities over secondary schools. The rector of a high school, Mr. Rose, had reminded them of how the power of the Department had arisen. He had shown very clearly how impossible it was for the local authorities to do otherwise than blindly submit to its decrees; he had pointed out how the different circulars, memorandums, and minutes of the Department had gradually crystalised into a system under which it was impossible for any local authority to take any independent action. In Kirkcaldy, it was the desire of the board to drop science in the case of a few pupils in order to teach them a third language. The board was told that it could teach a third language if it liked, but no grant would be obtained. They must have that absolute authority of the Department over the local authority unless they had areas each provided with an authority which might be allowed to have a rational amount of independence. Mr. Rose did not criticise the general lines of the administration of the Department any more than he himself criticised them. It was a wise tyranny, but the question was—Is tyranny a wise form of administration, and one which should be persevered in? Ever since the Union, Scotland had been the slave of bureaucracy. Was that really the policy of the Liberals now, and were they going to rivet the chains of bureaucracy still more upon themselves? That was what would happen under this Bill, and that was why he had addressed the House at such length. He did not argue against a rational amount of central control, but in educational matters there was no initiative left to the local authority. This Bill swept everything into the departmental net. They needed larger areas, coupled with a Department in Scotland and a council of education. There were few Scottish representatives who opposed that policy and none who upheld the *status quo* except the promoters of the Bill. He would not go into the question as to what the areas should be, because he was afraid they were not likely to get them. But if they were not going to have areas, then he thought the question of the National Council became more important. Two objections had been raised to the destroying of the parish areas. One of them was voiced by Sir Charles Bine Renshaw when the House threw out the Bill drawn by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The Conservative objection to the larger areas was that the adoption of such areas would mean heavier rates on agricultural land which already was overtaxed. That was probably to some extent true. The Liberal objection to destroying the parish areas was that a small board was more democratic and representative of the working class. The fact was that it was the small board that reduced representative institutions to impotence. The small board was not allowed to have any power, and that was the reason why the central power had been so enormously strengthened in Scotland. They did not as a rule find working men sitting on parish boards, and if expenses were allowed for travelling to attend district board meetings, they would get a better representation of the working class on these boards than on the parish boards. To refuse to consider these points was to show a lack of understanding of the practical needs of the present situation and of public opinion.

**Mr. BOLAND** (Kerry, S.) said there were certain provisions in the Bill which would have to be considered in the interest of the voluntary schools. The financial provisions especially would have to be considered; but he did not propose at present to speak upon them at any length. The Irish Nationalists intended in Committee to move Amendments in the interests of the voluntary schools, but they would not interfere with the general scope of the Bill, and his desire was that the Second Reading of the Bill should be secured without undue delay.

***Mr. BARNES** (Glasgow, Blackfriars) said that the Bill did not fully meet the Scottish demand for educational reform, but, so far as it went, it conformed in the main to Scottish public opinion. He would, therefore, vote for the Second Reading and urge the Government to push it through. He wanted to say a few words about two omissions from the Bill on which every hon. Member who had spoken hitherto had commented. He referred to the omission of provisions for enlarged areas and a representative authority covering the whole of Scotland. It seemed to him that the old school board area was probably suitable for the times and requirements of the year 1872 when the first Education Act for Scotland was passed. Possibly the principle of a school board for every parish was a good one at that time and saved Scotland from a great deal of the acrimony that characterised the discussion of the education question in the South. He had nothing to say against the old parish areas at the time of 1872, but they had had thirty-six years experience, and different times demanded different requirements, and now a larger area was required for the school boards and for education generally. Since 1872 the town population in Scotland had increased and the country population had shrunk, while the fringes of the towns were, and had been for some time, peopled by well-to-do citizens and the centres were inhabited by people steeped in poverty, so that there was an unequal burden, which had not to be borne according to ability to pay, but rested on the shoulders of those least able to bear it. In some towns the population had run over the parish area into as many as half-a-dozen other parish areas. Such was the case in Glasgow, the poorest part of which he represented. There were within the city boundaries of the City of Glasgow half-a-dozen school board areas. In almost every one of these areas there was a population of very well-to-do people on whom the rating burden was much less than on the people inside the Glasgow area. He took, as illustrating his point, Govan, which had a population of something like 92,000. Govan had not only an industrial population, but for school board purposes a population on the other side of the river consisting altogether of well-to-do people. The consequence was that Govan was rated at 1s. 4d. per £1 which was equal to £3 9s. 3½d. per scholar, while Glasgow was rated at 1s. 5d., which only produced £2 15s. 8¼d. per scholar. He suggested that that ought to be avoided in the future in some way or another because it worked out a considerable difference in the amount of attention given to the instruction of the scholars and the equipment of the schools. The advantage fell to schools in the area which included Hillhead and Kelvinside, which were districts corresponding to Hanover Square and Belgravia in London, an advantage further added to from the fact that the scholars of Hillhead and Kelvinside came from homes where they were well-fed and well-clothed and consequently walked off with the prizes of the educational machine such as scholarships and bursaries which came out of the public funds. Dundee, which was his native town, was pretty much in the same position in those respects as Glasgow. He had said enough to show that there was a case for enlarging the areas in large towns. Of course, it might be said that there was provision in the Bill for enlarging the areas by the amalgamation of school boards, but that provision was entirely of a voluntary character, and they all knew that small bodies were prone to perpetuate their own existence, and he was inclined to think that the voluntary provision would be largely inoperative. As to the omission from the Bill of a provision for a general authority, he agreed with the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs that that authority should be only advisory. But in the Bill there was a reference to a mysterious thing called "the Department." That "Department" had authority to grant fuller powers to school boards as to medical inspection and the disposition of money which up to now had been used or held for other than educational purposes. He had looked to see what this "Department" was, and the only explanation he could find was that the "Department" meant the Scottish Education Department. He asked then those who had had experience of the administration of Scottish educational matters, but he got very little information. He was driven to the conclusion that this "Department" was covered by one man who might or might not be a Scotsman, and who might over-rule all that the local education authorities might want to do in regard to education in Scotland. It appeared to him that that was a very unsatisfactory condition of things. It had up to now been indefensible, but to increase the powers of this "Department" would be intolerable. He suggested that there should be some provision in the Bill whereby an advising authority should be created which had local knowledge of and local interest in education in Scotland. As to the positive provisions in the Bill, the most satisfactory to his mind were those which provided for the medical inspection and feeding of the children. He differed from several speakers, including the Secretary for War, who had put forward that the continuation classes were the most important part of the Bill. He believed that the clauses for the medical inspection and feeding of the children were the most important. It was lamentable that in this twentieth century of civilisation such provisions should form part of an Education Bill. He believed that the best place at which children could be fed, under any circumstances, was over the table legs of their parents. He believed in the preservation of family life, based as it was on mutual affection and service and goodwill. But, at the same time, there was no shutting their eyes to obvious facts, and he was glad that this Bill recognised obvious facts. Of course, they had in Scotland an industrious people, and all the means wherewith to convert the raw materials into finished commodities, although they had not commonsense enough to distribute those commodities so that by honest work a man could provide for himself and family. Lamentable and discreditable as that was, still it was something gained that they had the facts recognised as they were in this Bill. Moreover, although recognised in a very cautious way—in a Scottish way—it was in one sense entirely satisfactory, and in a way different from the Bill of last year. In that Bill it was provided that relief of that character should be a matter for the parish council to decide. In this Bill it was provided that it should be a matter for the educational authority. That was a change all to the good, and he congratulated the Secretary for Scotland on this wise provision, and on the part of the Labour Members he had to thank the right hon. Gentleman for it. Then there were a certain number of provisions for giving increased power to provide books, etc., for the children. He was in favour of all of them, and his only regret was that they were so belated. He would like to endorse what had been said by the hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh as to Clause 5. He saw no reason why the provision of school books and other requisites of the school should be confined to the schools under the direct management of the education authority. It was a small matter, it was not a question of the endowment of any religious denomination, but one which went directly to the parents of the poorer children, and he might add that the right hon. Gentleman in doing the thing might do it in a whole-hearted way and provide that schools, not only under the local authority, but in the whole area, should be provided for in that way. Then as to medical inspection. The provision in regard to it was one of the best in the Bill. He believed that a child was sometimes thought to be stupid or obstinate when it was suffering from wax in the ears, or lazy and artful when it was suffering from bad eyesight. He believed that it was absolutely necessary that they should have some examination of this sort by means of which the physical defects of the children could be ascertained and rectified if they were to have education properly carried on. Therefore, he was whole-heartedly in favour of that clause, but might he direct the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to the little word "may" in the first line of Clause 4, which ran—

> "The Board may, and when required by the Department shall."

It might be that there was need for some little elasticity in the Bill. It might be that in certain districts it might not be necessary to put this provision into operation, though he did not know, and could not conceive where they were. He believed it was just as much desirable to have children examined medically as to have them educated. Why should not the clause be turned the other way, and say that the board "shall," but in certain circumstances under the order of the representative authority need not? He hoped to see set up at no distant date might be exempted. He suggested that the provision might be and should be very considerably strengthened and the same observation applied to the provision about meals. The clause provided for the feeding of the child if after inquiry it was found that the case could not be met by voluntary agency, and he thought that that was altogether of too cautious a character. He suggested that the feeding of the children was a condition that ought to go along with the compulsory attendance of those children at school, and, therefore, the obligation for their proper feeding was a matter devolving upon the public authority—a duty of a permanent character which help from any other voluntary agency could not adequately meet. It was said that "charity suffereth much, and is kind," but he believed that charity suffered far too much and was too kind to a great many people who sponged upon it; and who were artful and traded upon it. That sort of thing did harm, and he thought that the condition as to inquiry about voluntary agencies might be cut out and the provision for feeding made of a more whole-hearted character. There were plenty of safeguards in the last subsection of the clause, because they had power reserved to the local authority to recover from the parent if his failure to provide food was from any other cause than ill-health or poverty. He came to Clauses 8 and 9, which had to do with continuation schools, in the first place, as applying to those children who had had exemption before the age of fourteen, and in the case of Clause 9 as applying to children from the age of fourteen to seventeen. It had been said by more than one speaker that that was the best part of the Bill, and the Secretary for War had gone so far as to say that this particular clause had been welcomed by all classes of opinion, and had appeared to take it for granted that working-class opinion would be in favour of it. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman said that in Germany where these continuation schools had been carried on with great success the representatives of the trade unions had been consulted prior to their being established, and had given their assent to a large extent. He regretted that something of the same sort was not done here, and he suggested to the Secretary for Scotland that if that had been done, at all events the clause might have been differently framed. For his part, and he thought he could speak for the whole of the Labour Party, they were opposed to the principle of compulsion being applied to a boy up to the age of seventeen, unless in some way or another that boy was going to be guarded from overstrain. It was all very well to give exemption before the age of fourteen, although it was a regrettable necessity, but still he supposed in these cases they must recognise the widow and the poor person, and, therefore, they must recognise that there were people who needed some little support from their children, and they must not lose sight of the fact that half the time a sharp child passed in a school between twelve and fourteen was wasted because it was occupied only in travelling over the same ground. Therefore they recognised the necessity for these exemptions, but they did not recognise the necessity of compelling that poor child, because he had parents who were poor, and because exemption had been granted to him at the age of twelve years, to attend a night school after having worked ten hours a day for a living. He was not going to vote for that clause as it was at present. It appeared to be somewhat safeguarded, but it did give the local authority power to compel attendance at a night school. The fifth sub-section of Clause 8 was also objectionable because it imposed penalties on a young person under sixteen who failed to comply with compulsory attendance. The only safeguard was that he was not going to have to walk two miles each way. They were actually going to provide that this young person of sixteen years, if he did not comply with the Act, should be liable to a fine of £5 or £2. That provision was likely to bring the law into contempt, because in nine cases out of ten the boy or girl would not have 5d., therefore it would be a dead letter. He was very doubtful if other clauses were altogether justifiable, especially that appertaining to imprisonment of the guardian or parent, but he was quite certain that at all events that provision was altogether unjustifiable and could not be carried out. Therefore, he appealed to the Secretary of Scotland to cut it out altogether. Coming to Clause 12, which provided for provision for old teachers, he was not quite in favour of that, but we wanted the best staff in the school that they could get, and for that reason he should be inclined to vote for it, although he was not enthusiastic about it. The last thing he wanted to say a word or two about was Clauses 13 and 25, which, so far as he could understand, transferred to the Department—that bureaucratic authority — considerable sums of money which hitherto had been used for other than educational purposes in Scotland, and they turned over under Clause 25 several sums of money which had been local endowments used by local authorities. He would want to find a good case being made out for these particular provisions before he could vote for them. On the whole he would give the Bill his guarded support, and he welcomed it. He thought that was his duty. He was not there to vote for a Bill simply because it was put forward by a Liberal Government. He looked at every Bill, first of all, from the point of view of the particular interest which he represented in the House, and then from the point of view of the good of the community. He thought that that was a perfectly candid and altogether justifiable admission. He was there to represent labour, and he looked at this and other Bills to see how they affected the everyday life of the working-man, and he thought he was justified in doing so. Therefore, he was going to give and was giving a guarded support to this Bill. He welcomed it, so far as it went, in giving greater power to the local authorities in Scotland, who were equally as well able to look after the people of their respective areas, and a good deal better able than highly placed individuals in Edinburgh or London. So far as it gave power to the local authorities he welcomed the Bill, and he also did so because it made some provision long overdue for the material benefit of the poor little children who attended schools in Scotland. He welcomed it because of its medical inspection, and because it provided meals for the children and put them in a position to absorb the education given to them. He welcomed it for other reasons that might be mentioned, but principally because it was a measure long overdue in a matter in which Scotland had long been in advance of other nations.

*MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) said he only intervened owing to the remarks which had been made with regard to wider areas. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, which was passed by a Liberal Government, placed education in the hands of popularly elected school boards, with the view of securing the co-operation of parents, and also of enlisting the interest of the ratepayers and the community in education. The parish area was selected for that purpose as being the area which was most likely to bring the people into personal touch with the management of their own schools. It was selected as the area of rating, and consequently became the area of administration. The parish area in Scotland was very much larger than the parish area in England. There were about 1,000 parishes in Scotland, which would correspond with 7,500 for England. The parish area in Scotland had been the education area ever since the Reformation. It was the ecclesiastical area, and the area most representative of the public social life of the people. It was also the area of Poor Law administration, and so much importance did the Liberal Government attach to the parish area that they dignified the old parochial boards by the name of parish councils and increased their powers. Each parish had its own hereditary characteristics, and the people of one parish differed in many respects from the people of an adjoining parish. There was no demand from the parishes, or from parish school boards, for wider areas. One reason urged for wider areas, and not leaving it to localities to combine, was the impossibility of getting localities to combine. But why should Parliament compel localities to combine who were averse to any combination? He could quite understand the policy of the Party opposite in preferring a wider area, such as the county area; but from the Liberal point of view, and considering that this was a Bill brought in by a Liberal Government, the area could not be other than the parish area, as in the Bill. The school board franchise, which was adopted in 1872, was extremely low for these days. It was a £4 franchise, with no disability on the ground of sex, and no disqualification owing to the non-payment of rates. The cumulative vote was instituted in order that minorities might be represented. Parish school boards were within easy reach of the inhabitants of the parish, while, by the Act of 1872, power was given to apoint school managers for individual schools. The interest of parents in the education of their children was recognised as quite different from their interest as ratepayers in other parish or municipal matters. Education had a purely local interest within a three-mile radius of the school, and no one would dispute that, as regards primary education, the parish area was the most suitable. The people of one parish had and could have no interest in the primary education of the people of an adjoining parish and no desire to interfere with it. Any question with regard to a wider area could only arise in the case of secondary education. Secondary schools, however, only existed in burghs and populous rural districts where there was a large population and a demand for secondary education. As a rule, the pupi's in such schools, to the extent of three-fourths of their number, were children of the inhabitants of the parish in which the school was situated, and for whom the secondary school was mainly, if not entirely, erected. Obviously, such a secondary school should be under the management of the school board of the parish which had to make up the deficiency in the school fund. According to the Bill, therefore, there was co-ordination of all education (primary, intermediate, or secondary) in one education authority, the parish school board. A wider area had been asked for, but no one in the course of the debate had stated what that wider area should be. In the Bill of 1904, brought in by a Unionist Government, the number of school boards was to be reduced from 1,000 to 100. That meant that ten school boards on an average should be amalgamated. Was such a combination to control the secondary school, three-fourths of the attendants in which were children of one parish? Again, were the whole ten parishes to be rated for that secondary school equally with the parish which received three-fourths of the whole benefit, at their own door? The cry for wider areas had been raised largely by teachers who seemed to desire to be further removed from the control of the parents and parish ratepayers, and to entertain the belief that school boards of larger areas would be more liberal in the matter of teachers' salaries and other expenditure. The experience of school boards with dense populations, and large valuations in limited areas, could form no criterion as to what might be the action of school boards in wider areas with a sparse and scattered population. If there were wider areas the control of education would be in the hands of factors and large ratepayers who might have no sympathy with the working classes getting expensive education. In the smaller area, there would be no limit to the people of the parish (mainly the working classes) having as high education as the locality desired, and was willing to pay for. The conjoining of several parishes would create all manner of difficulties. If a vacancy occurred in one parish, the people of that parish might find themselves deprived of the choice of a teacher, and forced to accept the teacher promoted from an adjoining parish whom they did not want. If, again, the inhabitants of one parish desired to raise the salary of a teacher or get a higher paid teacher, they could not do so without the consent of the other parishes. Surely, it was in the interest of education that each parish should be allowed to develop its own education, in its own way, and at its own expense, untrammelled by the inhabitants of other parishes. It might be asked, what about the 25 per cent. of the pupils attending secondary schools who came from outside the school board area ? According to the Bill, the school board were to be paid for such children at the actual cost to them per child, after deducting the grants received from public money. Such outside children would be no loss, but a positive benefit pecuniarily to the school board. They would bring both fees and grants, which, by increasing the school fund, would enable higher class teachers to be employed, to the benefit of the whole school. In the case of a wider area there might be a secondary school in the leading parish of the combination, and an inducement to deplete the other parish schools of their best scholars, who might not be desirous of prosecuting secondary education studies, thus reducing the *status* of such schools. Under the old parochial system, the aim was to have in every parish a teacher qualified to teach higher subjects, and prepare pupils for the University. Under the pupil teacher system, the teacher was compelled to prepare his pupil teacher for the training college. In so doing, he had to keep up his higher subjects and keep himself abreast of the work in the training colleges. This necessitated the keeping of at least one highly trained teacher in a school. Owing to the practical abolition of the pupil teacher system, there was the danger of schools being reduced to merely primary schools, with no incentive towards advanced classes for those children who did not desire to enter a secondary course, but who would be leaving school at fourteen. In schools where higher subjects were taught, even although not of a very advanced kind, the elementary might be expected to be better taught, as it had a higher objective to work up to. A stimulating effect was experienced by even the youngest children through the presence of the dons in the school and in the playground. At present, owing to the higher grants given for attendances in higher grade and secondary schools, there was a danger of depleting State-aided schools of their best scholars, only for a short and unprofitable attendance at a higher grade or secondary school. In the Bill of 1904, the area was nominally that of the district of a county, while the rating was that of the parish. The Bill gave power to create a school board area which might be smaller than even a parish, or which might be the combination of two or more counties. It was the area question, and its absolute indefiniteness, which practically prevented progress with the Bill. The present Bill recognised for secondary education practically only one area, that of Scotland, while recognising the county and large burgh area for the distribution of grants. If a crofter wanted to send his boy to the University, he need not necessarily send him to Aberdeen. He might find it more convenient to send him to Glasgow or to Edinburgh, where probably he would have relations. The Bill would enable a crofter or other person to select the University or the secondary school which was most convenient or the most suitable, and which was in receipt of grants from public money. He found no fault with hon. Members opposite preferring the wider area ; but he pointed out, so far as the Liberal Party were concerned, that they had purposely put education into the hands of popularly elected parish school boards. They meant to recognise the right of every parish to carry education as high as they were willing to pay for, and to leave them untrammelled by any other outside authority. That was the principle of the Bill, and he hoped that so far as the question of area was concerned they would hear no more about it.

It was the invention of teachers who thought—in his opinion mistakenly—that a wider area would benefit them.

*MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs) said he had served for some years on a parish school board, but he could not pose as an expert on education. There was one remark made by the Deputy-Chairman which he very much deplored. He hoped he was mistaken with regard to it. He thought he had heard him say that factors, landlords, and large farmers did not want the people of Scotland to have a good education.

*MR. CALDWELL: I do not think I put it so broadly as that. I have heard it said by persons in that position that the working classes are being too highly-educated.

*MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY said his experience was quite different. He thought that, if they regarded Scotland throughout, they would find that landlord, large tenant, and factor were as keen and as anxious as the Labour Party that the people of Scotland should have proper education. It was certainly his opinion, and he was sure it was the opinion of everyone who sat on those benches. He also wished to join in the protest that had been made by the hon. Member for Edinburgh and St. Andrews against any interference with the Universities of Scotland. He thought they had quite enough to do with putting their school boards and education right without meddling with the Universities. Of course, it was a great advantage to a boy to be able to attend secondary and continuation classes up to the age of seventeen, but he quite agreed that medical inspection would be necessary to prevent youths having their strength overtaxed. The unenviable duty of enforcing this compulsion devolved upon the members of the parish council. He was afraid they would find a good deal of difficulty with some of the parents who would very much grudge the time spent at the continuation classes by their boys when they helped them in their employment. He did not know how it was to be done, but everybody would try to make it work. They wanted the Bill to go through. They had been disappointed for many years. It was not a perfect Bill, but he thought everybody was keen on making it go. The proposed fine of £5 5s. wanted a bit of explanation. How were they going to fine a boy 40s. for a first offence and £5 5s. for a second offence when the boy did not possess either 40s. or £5 5s. The Liberal Government seemed fond of a fine of £5. The Territorial Army were frightened out of their wits by it, and now they were going to frighten the school boys of Scotland. He regarded physical training as very important. They must have a lad healthy in order that he might profit by the education afforded him. There was a point in Clause 3 which might be considered. It was to be lawful for school boards to combine together for certain purposes. He would like, with great deference, to suggest to the Secretary for Scotland that he might include the managers of the endowed schools. He thought they might be given the same privilege. He did not think any harm would accrue. There were in his own constituency three celebrated endowed schools, and he had received information from them that it would be welcomed. He thought most teachers would be very glad to see some amendment in Clauses 11 and 12 as to retiring allowances, but he thought these matters could be better threshed out in Committee, and he was not going to labour the point. He would just quote one very short paragraph from a letter he had received on the subject—

> "What is desired is that inasmuch as the Department is prepared to give a grant in aid to teachers retiring allowance, such grant should be secured to the teacher independent of the school board or other local authority."

That was practically the feeling of teachers in his constituency, and he appealed to the Secretary for Scotland that the matter should have his kind consideration. Section 24 admitted of endowed schools with their properties and buildings being handed over to the school board by a vote of the bare majority of the managers. In Lord Dunedin's Bill a similar provision was enacted but the majority had to be two-thirds, and he thought the income of such schools was only to be £1,000 a year. A bare majority left the possibility open to some regrettable circumstance, when a small majority might pass the thing, perhaps, with a catch vote. He thought the Advisory Council would be a good thing. It could not make any active interference. It could only give advice, and he never knew that good advice hurt anybody. They need not take it unless they liked. The Bill was not perfect, but it was certainly an advance on what we had at present, and he thought they might trust the good sense of the Scottish Grand Committee to hammer it out in Committee, and he had great pleasure in blessing the Bill.

*MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross) said he had sat throughout the whole debate, and he was anxious to say a few words upon the Bill, as he had recently come from Scotland, where he had met a deputation from the Educational Institute of Teachers in Scotland on the subject. The one point upon which all appeared to have set their hearts was that there should be an extension of area, and they had asked him to use any influence he might have with the Secretary for Scotland to endeavour to get him to amend the Bill in that respect. He told them he was afraid that in that respect he would be unable to budge the right hon. Gentleman one inch, because he knew what his views were by the attitude he had taken up on the previous Education Bill. But so far as the other provisions of the Bill were concerned they welcomed them most heartily, and he thought they might fairly congratulate the Secretary for Scotland on the measure of support which his Bill had received from all quarters of the House. He was sure it was a great pleasure to them all to have the intervention of the Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means in the debate. They missed him sadly in their Scottish debates. He might also congratulate the Scottish Members that the Bill was likely to have a smooth passage in the Scottish Grand Committee, and he was only sorry he should not be presiding over it on this occasion for he would have an easier job than on the last. One point on which he would like to say a word or two was touched on by the hon. Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities—the feeding of the children. The hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford University had said that he thought in this respect the school boards ought to have power to co-operate with voluntary agencies. That was exactly what they had in the Bill as far as he could make out. There was that very provision in Clause 5. If he did not agree with the hon. Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities on that point, he most thoroughly agreed with him upon two other points on which he had spoken. One was with regard to the right of appeal for the teachers. In that respect it was ridiculous that it should be necessary for the teacher whose conduct was being considered to go begging to get the support of thirty ratepayers. He was certain it had only to be brought to the notice of the Secretary for Scotland for the measure to be amended in that respect. There was one point the teachers made when they saw him: they said they would much prefer to have an appeal to the provincial councils than to the Department. There was another point upon which he wanted to ask the Secretary for Scotland a question. It was with reference to Clause 15, where the school board which was providing intermediate or secondary education was entitled to recover fees from the surrounding districts. It was a matter which no doubt had been considered, and he wanted clearly to understand whether in this section it would be made clear that in calculating cost the capital expenditure was also to be included. He would like the right hon. Gentleman to take that into account, because many of these districts had gone to very large expense, and many were burdened with very heavy debt in respect of the school buildings they had put up, and in that respect there ought to be a charge levied upon the school children of the surrounding districts who came in and got the benefit of the secondary education. So far as he knew the feeling in Scotland, this cry for extended areas all came from one quarter, the School Board Association and Educational Institute of Scotland.

SIR HENRY CRAIK: That is two sources.

*MR. EUGENE WASON said his arithmetic was wrong, and he was glad to be corrected by the hon. Member. He thought also they would be agreed in this. So far as primary education was concerned, they could never get a better area than the existing school board. As far as he could he would assist in getting the measure passed into law. The noble Lord the Member for Marylebone had said that Scotsmen were not pre-eminently qualified to manage their own affairs. If he were there, and saw how they were able to discuss an Education Bill, possibly he might alter his opinion, and he would be very glad if he could congratulate Englishmen upon getting any Bill half as good as this, because if they did they would settle their education difficulties for a long time.

*MR. H. J. TENNANT said he would like to associate himself with what his right hon. friend had said of the Deputy Chairman [of Ways and Means, because it was a great satisfaction to them to hear him speak from that bench which he adorned, and he was sure it must have been no less of a pleasure and satisfaction to him to feel that the Prime Minister had come within the ambit of his eloquence. He gave this Bill not a hesitating but a general and warm support, and in doing so he feared he might be convicted by the hon. Member for Leith Burghs of being a slave of bureaucracy rivetting chains upon himself. The wisdom of the Government in not touching the area question had been demonstrated in the debate. The Secretary for War had remarked that the Government were dealing with the area question cautiously. That was a very happy way of describing the Government action, and he proposed to deal with it not less cautiously. He thought in all seriousness that one of the provisions of the Bill which dealt with district committees was not at all a bad substitute for the enlargement of the area, and he hoped it would have the effect which had been hoped from the enlarged area of giving teachers a larger scope, as it were, and making the aggregation of school boards a fair substitute for the bigger entity. With regard to continuation schools, he would like to emphasise what the hon. Member for Blackfriars had said, that educational work ought to be done inside the child's time of employment. The mistake the hon. Member fell into was in supposing that continuation schools must necessarily be night schools. They need not. They might perfectly well be day schools. He would certainly support any Amendment for making it plain that so far as compulsion was concerned this work must be done out of the time the child was in employment. They must not expect the child to be employed in full industrial employment, and also give time to educational purposes between fourteen and seventeen. He would also impress on his right hon. friend the necessity of having a minimum salary in his pension scheme, and with regard to dismissals he associated himself with previous speakers in thinking that appeal against dismissal ought to be easy for the dismissed teacher to obtain, without what had been described as "cadging round." He welcomed those two provisions of the Bill, because he felt that security of tenure, and a reasonable pension would give a better position to a class of man to whom sufficient testimony had not been paid in that debate—men who were giving the best of their lives to a very noble object, who were upborne, even in times of trouble and often poverty by the highest ideals and a lofty sense of duty. He did not believe in the agencies which were now at work in regard to school feeding. He believed it would be much better to make school feeding universal and charge the parents for it as they did in the schools of the rich at the present moment. They would by that means avoid the stigma which might attach to the poorer children, who had to be, and ought to be, fed at the expense of the country. They would be able to recover nine-tenths of the money expended on the food, and the remaining tenth ought to be borne by the community. With regard to medical inspection, he associated himself with what had been said about the limiting words, "the school board may and where required by the Department shall," and in Committee he would move to make that a compulsory provision. It would not be the first time he had made it his duty to move that medical inspection of school children should be made compulsory. In 1906 he moved an Amendment, which had become law now. He would like briefly to recapitulate the arguments which he thought were absolutely unanswerable in favour of compulsion. By the insertion within the four corners of the Bill of a provision for medical inspection they admitted that it was desirable. It was not only desirable but essential. Education was now by law in this country both compulsory and universal, therefore the conditions which governed education ought also to be compulsory and universal. There ought to be no power for education authorities to differ as to the manner in which they should carry out this, not only elementary, but absolutely essential duty. If hon. Members looked at the Reports of Departmental and Inter-Departmental Committees and Royal Commissions they would find that they had all pronounced with great emphasis upon the necessity of compulsion in regard to this matter of medical inspection. Dr. Leslie Mackenzie in 1903 declared that a large number of serious and minor diseases affected physical and mental efficiency and constituted an overwhelming case for the medical inspection of school children. Enormous damage might be done to children with weak organs owing to those defects not being known. Inquiries in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee had been made with similar results. Dr. Templeman had said that the result of the Dundee examination materially added to the mass of evidence already accumulated showing the urgent necessity for medical inspection of school children. The necessity for such an inspection was shown by the records for the Army, which showed that out of 69,000 rejected 4,400 were rejected for bad teeth. Much of that might be put an end to by an efficient system of medical inspection. Take into consideration the large number who were now swelling the ranks of the unemployed: that ought to be sufficient reason to induce the House to spend the sum of money required to have an efficient medical inspection of children, which would repay them in the end one hundred fold. He might be told that they could not afford to do this. His answer to that was that they could not afford not to do it.

*Mr. YOUNGER (Ayr Burghs) said that if anyone could convince him as to the correctness of the policy set forth in this Bill it would be the Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means. He was one of those heretics who, from his own experience and knowledge, had come to the conclusion that an extension of areas would be a good thing in the school board districts in Scotland. His opinion on that point had been somewhat shaken by the language of the hon. Member opposite. He thought there would be great disappointment among educationists generally that an attempt had not been made to tackle that question. It seemed to him that they were beginning at the wrong end, and that it would have been far wiser to have constituted a more important authority instead of conferring these powers on the smaller authorities and afterwards seeking to enlarge them. It could not be done so easily later on as at the present time. That, however, was no reason why they should not welcome the Bill. The provision made for the education fund was excellent. With regard to the necessity for medical inspection he thought they were all agreed upon that. He had no fault whatever to find with the abolition of the cumulative vote, although he was aware that it had frequently enabled minorities to obtain some representation. He had, however, seen cumulative voting very much abused and he would not be sorry to see an end put to it. Allusion had been made to the question of the feeding of the children. Upon that question there seemed to be some difference of opinion, and some of the school boards in his constituency thought the duty of feeding the school children was not in their line and ought to be placed upon the parish council, who possessed the machinery for carrying it out. He was not so much enamoured of the experience he had had on the county committees. In his own county it was very unsatisfactory, for he found representatives coming from school boards of various parishes all trying to have a pull at the funds, with the result that education was not administered as efficiently as it ought to be. As to evening continuation schools, no doubt the provisions dealing with that question were in the right direction. It was obvious that a large sum of money would be required to carry on those schools in the future, and there did not appear to be in the Bill any provision as to where that money was to come from. Three-fourths of the cost was to come from the departmental fund, but a large sum would be saddled on the community. He was entirely in favour of the proposals in reference to the provision of pensions for teachers, but he was not at all certain that the school board should be the authority to decide whether or not a pension should be granted. He agreed that there should be an appeal against unjust decisions, and it would be a very hard thing to make a schoolmaster go round the parish getting signatures to a memorial. The teachers ought to be allowed to appeal on their own account. Voluntary schools should be placed in the same position as board schools with regard to the provision of books and of pensions for the teachers. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to make good these omissions. They did not want to disturb the peace which existed in Scotland, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider favourably the representations he had made.

*MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs) said he wished to direct attention to a few points which had not been very fully discussed. The Bill seemed to him to be a good one from the point of view of education, but a weak one from the point of view of administration. Referring to the provision for the introduction of two terms in the year, he said it did not matter very much whether children attended school on their fifth birthday, but the date of leaving school was of great importance. He rejoiced that there was a clause that they should not leave school on the day they reached fourteen years of age, and that they should remain until the end of the term after they had reached their fourteenth birthday. Under the present system a senior class might begin well, but towards the end of the session it thinned down as the birthdays of the children arrived, and it became so small that there was scarcely any enthusiasm in the class to do the work properly. Therefore the last year, which should be the best, was just a period of marking time. The supplementary course introduced some years ago, which had proved most valuable, would be greatly improved by that provision. Under the attendance order a school board would really become a court. Up till now the law had seemed to condone a defaulting parent, and to make it as difficult as possible for a school board to compel a child to attend school. In the country districts the procedure was very expensive, and the result was that the school boards had not put the compulsory clause into operation in the way they should have done. The new proposal in the Bill would be of immense advantage. The clause about the feeding of neglected children seemed to him to be better than the one in the previous Bill. The measure applied to England two years ago was permissive, and it had not been made effective in many places. The clause in this Bill aimed at less, but he believed that it would secure more. As to continuation schools, the Bill provided that school boards now must start those. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to take care that he encouraged school boards to start those schools by being a little more generous in his grants to them. The Memorandum which the right hon. Gentleman had issued explaining the Bill stated that three-fourths of the cost of those schools was paid to the board, but that was not so. Not more than three-fourths could be paid, but it did not follow that three-fourths would be paid. In Highland districts not more than seven-eighths might be paid, but there were only a few cases where the whole seven-eighths had been paid. According to the last Blue-book issued, the total cost of continuation schools in Scotland was £134,000, whereas the Government grants only amounted to £76,000. In many of the country districts young people came from long distances, and it was impossible to have full attendance in the evening every time a school was open. In regard to those continuation schools the school board would now have the option of making the attendance compulsory. It seemed to him that in the present state of public opinion that was the right way to go about it. The Bill provided that attendance might be made compulsory up to any age not exceeding seventeen. That was an improvement on last year's Bill. He could imagine that in many districts the school board would begin by making attendance compulsory up to fifteen or sixteen, and so gradually educate public opinion on the subject. Referring to the remarks of the hon. Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow, it seemed to him that it would be much better for the school boards in the localities to co-operate with trade unions and employers to secure the attendance of young people. There were one or two cases in Scotland where employers allowed their apprentices to attend continuation classes during the hours of employment. He hoped the new provision would induce other employers to carry out the same idea. He agreed with the hon. Member for Berwickshire that medical inspection should be made compulsory. Under the terms of the Bill there would be a little difficulty in carrying out the matter of medical inspection. If school boards carried out the inspection they were to receive a grant of half the cost, but if they neglected to put it in operation the secondary education committee came in, and paid for the whole thing. He did not see why inspection should not be made compulsory, the Government paying the whole cost. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to explain why there should be two methods of procedure. The hon. Member for the Ayr burghs had referred to the grievance arising from the cost thrown upon burghs by outsiders attending secondary schools. At Dumfries Academy there were 190 children attending from inside the burgh, and 264 from outside, and yet the whole cost fell upon the burgh of Dumfries. Exactly the same thing was true of the academies at Annan, Kirkcudbright, and many other places. What was now proposed would relieve the burghs to a certain extent. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to make it perfectly clear that the average cost of education would include interest and repayment of the capital spent in erecting buildings. Very often a secondary school had been built or rebuilt for the benefit of outsiders. Its previous condition was big enough for the town itself, but not big enough to accommodate the outsiders, and it would be a distinct hardship if a burgh could not recoup itself from outside sources. With regard to the machinery of the measure, in many ways the school boards were not greatly encouraged by the Bill. The Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities had spoken of the necessity for the independence of the Universities. He would plead for the independence of the school boards. He did not see why the representatives elected by the people of a locality should be deprived of their independence and put under the heel of a Department any more than the Universities. As to the improvement of the school board election system, which included the abolition of the cumulative vote, it was scarcely enough in a big city to abolish that vote without making some other provision. They must either divide a city into wards or districts, or adopt a system of proportional representation by single transferable vote. He warned the right hon. Gentleman that that could not be left as it was in the Bill at present. He objected to the new form of audit, pointing out that it introduced the idea of surcharging the expenditure on the members. There had been no scandal in Scotland through school boards spending money in unsuitable ways. There were many cases not provided for in the Scottish Education Acts and the money spent on those might be surcharged by the auditor. For example, there was no provision for a school board erecting offices, and unless the right hon. Gentleman inserted a clause providing for that, the members of a board might be surcharged, and that would be manifestly absurd. In Edinburgh for many years books had been supplied free, but it was questionable whether it was legal that they should be. If an auditor were to declare the practice illegal he might as a former member of the board be called upon to pay out of his own pocket his share of the expenditure. There were two school boards which had recently instituted medical inspection, and he questioned whether that was strictly legal; but surely it would not be right to surcharge the members of those school boards for the expense of that inspection. In the same way certain boards had recently very properly bought recreation grounds, which he did not believe was legal, and yet the auditor had never had the power in Scotland to surcharge such expenditure. After all, the school boards were the representatives of the people, and they might be trusted to spend the rates properly, especially as, if they did not, the ratepayers could turn them out. The next part of the Bill referred to the secondary education committees. Those committees were not the creation of Parliament. Parliament knew nothing of them. They were created by the Department by Minute dated 10th June, 1907. In the Memorandum issued by the right hon. Gentleman to accompany the Bill it was stated that these committees were virtually combinations of the school boards, and that they were intended to exercise all the functions of the school boards in regard to secondary education. It was just because they were not joint committees of all the school boards that he objected to their constitution. As a matter of fact they were composed half of representatives from town councils or county councils and half of representatives from the school boards. There might be additional members from the town councils or the county councils, and the Government inspectors; but in every case the representatives of the school boards were in a minority. It seemed to him that the committees were of sufficient importance to have more than a casual reference made to them in the Bill. They should be constituted by the Bill, and their constitution distinctly enacted. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that by other provisions in the Bill which pooled the Government grants the reason for having representatives of the town councils and county councils on these committees was gone. He maintained that the constitution of the committees should be re-cast, and that they should consist entirely of the representatives of school boards. He thought that that would get rid of many of the arguments against the retention of the parish areas. Further, he would point out that by Clause 27 the Department could, by a Minute, change the constitution of these committees. It seemed to him that this was far too important a matter to be trusted to the hands of a Department, and it should be reserved to the representatives of the people in Parliament. In fact, he contended that now they had an opportunity under this Bill, Parliament itself should constitute these committees, especially as their powers were to be so greatly increased. He made that suggestion the more emphatic, because, if the Department had power, of its own initiative, to alter the constitution of the committees, he knew that there were influential people in Scotland who wished to municipalise education altogether, who would remove the control of Scottish education from school boards to town councils. He thought it would be most unfortunate if that could be done by a stroke of the Department, without an opportunity being afforded to Parliament to discuss it. The constitution of the committees was such that they were merely the spouts of the Department. They existed merely to carry out the instructions of the Department. He suggested that these bodies should rather be made more representative of the school boards, and much more independent of the Department than at present. As to the financial aspect of the Bill, one did not know how much money was to be allocated to the first object, viz., the Universities; and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would, before the debate closed, tell the House how much money was to be devoted to the Universities, and how much to other educational purposes. At any rate, he trusted that if not now, on the Committee stage, the right hon. Gentleman would give full particulars of the different financial proposals, as many other important questions would depend upon the relative sums which were to go to the town and country districts. His next point was as to the position of the Scottish Education Department. The Bill gave more power to that Department, which was really the most striking case of tyranny he knew outside Russia. It was a benevolent tyranny, but all the same a downright tyranny so far as Scotland was concerned. These secondary education committees were the conducting pipes of the Department; the provincial committees for the training of teachers were set up as dummies of the Department; and he knew that many men on the provincial committees were resigning because they found they were of no use but were only called in to sanction the decisions and arrangements to which the Department had come. One could not go into any secondary school in Scotland and speak to the head-master or to the representatives on the committees without finding that they were being gradually squeezed by the Department, and that they could not call their souls their own. Wherever one went it was found impossible in the existing circumstances for the work of the schools to be satisfactorily conducted in sympathy with Scottish ideas on education, as everybody seemed to be at logger-heads with the Department. He was bound to say that at present the Department had a most excellent head, who was carrying on worthily the traditions set by his predecessor; but all the same it was impossible, as he had said, for the work of the Department to be conducted in sympathy with Scottish ideas. Perhaps it would be out of order if he were to say that the only way they could ever get the representatives of the people of Scotland to have a real control over such an essentially Scottish matter as education was to have a Scottish Parliament in Scotland, managing Scottish affairs. Apart from that, he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to insert a clause in the Bill transferring the Scottish Education Department to Scotland. That would be immensely popular, and remove a good deal of the friction which at present existed. All the other national boards were located in Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman since he came into office had acquired premises in Edinburgh in which to house a certain number of junior clerks. He claimed that the right hon. Gentleman was sympathetic, for he had said in answer to a Question recently put to him, that "in the meantime" it was not proposed to make those premises the headquarters of the Scottish Education Department. He submitted to the right hon. Gentleman that now was the time, and that this Bill gave him the opportunity of doing that which he believed would be enormously valued in Scotland, and would help the work of education throughout the country. He knew it was said that the Secretary to the Department should be in London, where the financial work of the Department had to be settled when the Estimates were being made up. Well, let the Secretary to the Department come up to London at that particular time; but the greater part of his work was in Scotland, and he ought to be in the middle of it in Scotland, and not at a desk in London, where he was 400 miles removed from the influence of Scottish opinion. He pleaded that that should be done, and also that the Secretary to the Department should be surrounded by an educational council as was suggested by the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs. He need not always take the advice of that council, but there were new educational wants and developments constantly arising, and it was not always possible for a Secretary sitting in London to know the real facts; and the education authorities in Scotland should not have circulars or Minutes prepared in London thrown at their heads. Something should be done to carry public opinion with the decisions of the Department and to make their decisions more popular. He had discussed these points from what he might call the local public point of view. In Scotland there was still an enthusiasm for education. That was due to the popularly elected bodies, and he maintained that they would not help education in Scotland if they were to tighten the screw from London. The way to help education in Scotland was to encourage local interest in it, and to bring the headquarters more into touch with the local authorities. If they were to do that, even more would be done in the future for Scottish education than had been done in the past.

*CAPTAIN WARING (Banffshire) thought the measure was one which ought to be proceeded with and passed into law in the present session, but too many of the provisions were optional, which the local education authority might or might not adopt. He ventured to criticise one or two of the principles which underlay the Bill. Sub-section 2 of Clause 3 related to the provision of accommodation and equipment and services for the preparation and supply of food to pupils attending schools in the district. He was entirely in favour of the principle, but he had discovered a strong objection to the power relating thereto being vested in the school board. The parish council was the proper authority. He had been made conscious of the strong objection on the part of members of the school board that they should be turned into restaurant-managers for the schools. Then, as regarded free books, he was of opinion that when a child first went to school or passed into a higher standard, naturally new books were required, but he found that exception was taken to the principle that the children should be given free of cost all the necessary books for school purposes. It meant waste, entailing considerable expense, and it seemed to him that a lesson might better be impressed upon the child in regard to care and management if those books were not paid for as proposed. Clause 5 provided that wilful and habitual neglect was punishable summarily as an offence of cruelty. He ventured to suggest (and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider his suggestion with a certain amount of sympathy) that the power to treat such an offence should be given to the justices of the peace as well as the sheriff merely as a matter of convenience and expediency. As regarded the increased power given in the Bill to the secondary committee, in a widely scattered district such as he represented, containing four or five centres, not one of which was pre-eminent, the committees established as they were by the present system pulled in opposite directions, and under this Bill the evils would be greatly exaggerated. He associated himself with those who regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen his way to deal in the Bill with areas and to establish in Scotland special education districts with committees for both primary and secondary education, and finally granting to these committees a large measure of independence from the Department. This Bill had disappointed many of those who were largely interested in education in the constituency which he represented, and until the Government were prepared to settle the question of areas he did not think that anyone could say that education in Scotland had been placed upon a sound basis.

*MR. BUTCHER (Cambridge University) hoped the House would permit him to say a few words on this Bill, although he did not represent a Scottish constituency. There was this satisfaction about discussing the Bill just now before the House, and, indeed, any Education Bill relating to Scotland, that there were no party issues raised as far as could he see, still less any religious controversies, so that they were able to discuss the measure in an unbiassed spirit. Whatever were the merits of Scottish education he did not think that Scotland owed very much for its interest in education or the efficiency it had reached to the efforts of this House. The last year in which there was a Bill dealing with educational organisation in any large sense was as far back as 1872, and no one, he thought, could look dispassionately upon the state of Scottish education at present without feeling that a great deal of the machinery was antiquated. Some people still clung with a pathetic and sentimental affection to the feeling for the parish, and the parish school board. Expression had been given to it that afternoon. One understood it and admired it, knowing how much the parish and the school board had done to make Scotland what it was, but he did not think that any impartial critic of the system could fail to see that whatever its great merits were in the past, that system was almost obsolete. Now that the State had undertaken the organisation of secondary as well as of primary education they had hoped that they should have some larger measure than was now before them. He must confess that in that sense the Bill was a great disappointment. The Secretary for War said in regard to the Bill that it was an attempt to make education an organic whole, but it was in truth nothing of the kind. It was a hotch-potch Bill, with a great many useful provisions, and for these he did not wish to withhold his praise; but the Bill, as a whole, had no plan, no governing idea, no coherent scheme. Of unified education there was none. A unified fund there was, to be administered by the central authority, and the Bill thereby intensified the extreme centralisation from which Scotland had already suffered. His impressions derived from a long residence in Scotland about education were that primary education in Scotland was superior to primary education in England, but that secondary education in Scotland was on a lower level than in England; although—and this was the curious thing—there was a passion for learning, a disinterested love of learning, in Scotland which they scarcely found anywhere in England. The link between the elementary schools and the Universities was the defective point in the education of Scotland. One cause was the highly centralised and too bureaucratic system under which education—especially secondary education — was placed. As long as they continued to maintain that system, a weak local body from its very weakness invited more stringent central control. As was said by the hon. Member for Dumfries, the Department was a benevolent despotism. The Department was consulted on a vast number of subjects and very often consulted, he believed, when it would rather not be consulted; but also he was bound to say, unless all that came to his ears was unfounded, the Department also interfered very often when it was not consulted, and its fussy and vexatious interference had been increasing in recent years. The result was that there was very little local initiative; the initiative came from Whitehall. No doubt that condition of things was not altogether displeasing to able permanent officials, who felt they could do immense good by having the whole thing in their own hands. The longer administrative reform, consisting in the enlargement of areas, was put off, the more the Department would be able to tighten its bonds and spread its net wider. From that point of view the Bill was a disappointment. He would now pass to the particular clause of the Bill which most concerned him, as having been formerly connected with one of the Scottish Universities—Clause 14, under which provision was made that certain monies should be allocated to the Universities under the direction of the Secretary for Scotland. Under this head the Secretary for War made some remarks which did not tend to allay his apprehensions. He himself believed in University freedom as the very first condition of University success, and he had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would have given the guarantees which were suggested in the speech of his hon. friend the Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities which might have removed their misgivings. Instead of that, the right hon. Gentleman, in spite of the sympathy which he always showed towards Universities in general, and in particular towards the Universities of his native land, yet used language which seemed to indicate that the Universities were placed in very real peril. He said "the Universities are capable of a great deal of improvement," "an atmosphere of conservatism hangs about them," "we have got to make the Universities efficient." In all that he agreed, but were they going to make them efficient through State or bureaucratic control? The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to describe the method by which this money would be allocated to the Universities. He told them that it was proposed to deal with the Universities of Scotland in a fashion analogous to that in which the newer Universities of England had been dealt with. But what would Manchester or Birmingham, or any of the new Universities of England say if they were put under the Board of Education in the allotment of their grants? At present these grants were considered by a Committee of the Treasury. Fortunately, however, the Treasury did not think it knew much about the details of education, but unfortunately the Scottish Department thought it knew everything about education, in all its forms. The Universities Committee would in practice probably be a Committee of the Department. This committee, they were told, would listen to the claims which were put forward by the Universities and proceed to allocate the money. The right hon. Gentleman said: "They will state their case and we will parley with them," and he added: "We hope to bring them to our way of thinking," or words to that effect. That was exactly the danger of which they were afraid. Further, the right hon. Gentleman spoke of the State control of the Universities in Germany in a way which made one feel that his own individual preference was for State-controlled Universities. All he could say was that the kind of control which the State exercised over the Universities in Germany would be repudiated by the people of Scotland. He might be told that the words of the clause which nominated the Secretary for Scotland and not the Department as the authority who was to be responsible for the allocation of the money, ought to be sufficient guarantee that the Universities were not meant to fall under the control of the Department. But the House must consider this fact, that in this clause there was a large list of competing claims for a share in the funds. All claims other than the claim of the Universities were to be considered and adjudicated upon by the Department. There was no suggestion of a definite sum of money being allocated to the Universities without previous consideration of all the other claims. Even though the Universities had precedence in their claim, the amount to be allocated must therefore depend partly on the question what surplus was likely to be left for the other claims. There the action of the Department was at once brought in, and the Department must thus have a real voice in deciding how much was to go to each University, and—what was more—on what conditions that money was to be allocated. His apprehensions as to the effect of this clause upon the freedom of the University were heightened by another fact. In other grades of education grants had been usual to give a certain bias to study. The same influences might be brought to bear on University education. At this moment, and for some years past, the administrative action of the Department had been all in the direction of giving less and less freedom to the schools and the localities, and of using the grants to carry out certain educational views of its own. The Department was now allocating the grants to secondary schools not so much for the purpose of producing efficiency of education, as of producing uniformity of type. A similar thing was happening in England, with this difference, that in England the thing aimed at was to produce uniformity of type in religious education, while in Scotland the object was to produce uniformity of type in secular education. The Department had undoubtedly disclaimed any such intention. But the practice of the Department was less elastic than the letter of the rules which it issued to the educational bodies. There was at work in the Department a bureaucratic instinct which preferred Chinese simplicity and symmetry. It was shown in the attempt to introduce into the secondary schools of Scotland what was call a typical curriculum. A typical curriculum was an excellent thing, no doubt, but the typical curriculum had been hardening into a fixed curriculum. It was a curious anomaly that while they had got rid of the fixed code for primary schools they should have imposed on the secondary schools a fixed and unbending curriculum. It was a curriculum which gave a strong bias in a particular direction and penalised those who did not conform to it. It laid down stringent rules affecting the whole period of a boy's school life. His years were mapped out, his time measured, his courses staged; the able boy and the dullard had to run side by side and neck and neck. Promotion was given not by efficiency, but by standing, and a boy was kept back, however forward and brilliant he might be, in order to go through the complete three years course which marked the first stage, even if he had already attained proficiency in all the subjects qualifying him to proceed the next stage. He had heard from schoolmasters in Scotland that many boys preparing for the Universities were sacrificed to boys whose school time came to an end after obtaining their Intermediate Certificates. The result of keeping the better pupils so long over the preparatory subjects was that the remaining two years were insufficient to bring them up to the required standard in subjects that were to form part of their University studies. Two examinations dominated this school course, the Intermediate and the Leaving Certificate, and the second was dominated by the first. The concrete effect of this administrative rigour as enforced by the grant was summed up in the letter of a headmaster who said that German would be entirely abolished, Greek considerably hurt and the average standard of education lowered. Of course, he recognised the high abilities of the officials who were conducting the Department, but he could not help seeing that, owing to the fact that education was centralised in this way in London, there were no larger administrative areas, no powerful and independent local authorities, which could stand up against the Department. The Department was becoming more highly bureaucratic, and for that reason he looked at its interference with University learning, as likely to be disastrous. One other point. For the last year or two a movement had been on foot in Scotland to secure greater autonomy and academic independence to the Scottish Universities. The ordinances framed by the Universities Commission imposed restrictions which were now regarded as vexatious, and draft ordinances were about to be submitted to the Privy Council which were intended to revoke the ordinances of the Commission, and to give the Universities greater freedom. Was it not a curious irony of circumstance that at the moment when the Universities were demanding this larger autonomy a Bill should come before Parliament under which, if he read it aright, the Universities were to be freed from the bondage of ordinances only to pass under the domination of the Department? The circulars of the Department might become a more irritating form of interference than the permanent ordinances. They could not imagine that this was the only money that would come from the State to the Scottish Universities. But if once this machinery were established, it would become the recognised means for allocating further grants. It was a method without parallel so far as he knew in any University of England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland; and he hoped the Universities before making up their minds to accept money, which indeed was always grateful to Scottish as well as to other Universities, would weigh well the terms on which it came to them. He had no right to speak for any University or for any members of the Scottish Universities. He only spoke as the question presented itself independently to his own mind. The fact that the Universities had not yet spoken was by no means decisive as to what was their opinion. The Bill came up during the holidays, and he did not believe it had yet been considered by any of the governing bodies of the Universities, although no doubt individual members of those bodies had given it consideration. For his own part, if he were a member of a Scottish University, and were offered money on the terms on which it seemed to be offered in the Bill, he would say: "*Tua tecum sit pecunia.*"

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) said he considered the Bill in many respects a great step in advance, but it was essential for him in the interests of his constituents to say a few words in regard to one or two points. One of the principal proposals in the Bill, from his point of view, was that regarding retiring allowances to teachers. A gentleman with whom he was well acquainted, and who was in full possession of his faculties, would, in a very short time, have to retire from the post he now held on a very small allowance. His salary was, he thought, only £143 per annum. The Government proposed to allow the school board to pay pensions to retiring teachers, and they were prepared to supplement them in a liberal fashion. There were some districts where the rates ran up to 16s. in the £, and even more, and it would be almost impossible for the school board there to grant pensions to retiring teachers. What they wished, therefore, was that the Department themselves should pay to the teachers in the poorer school districts where salaries were low, such pensions as they could afford, without any reference to the ability of the local authorities to start them. Anyone who had had practical experience of the matter knew that it would be almost impossible for the local authorities in those districts to take advantage of the Act. For that reason they thought the Government might well come down and where the salaries were low grant such pensions as they could afford; and in Committee he should certainly move an Amendment to that effect. He trusted it would be supported by all hon. Members for Scotland, or, at any rate, by those representing the poorer districts. In richer districts where the schoolmasters enjoyed higher salaries he had no doubt the provisions of the Bill would be largely taken advantage of and would be very acceptable; but if poor districts did not get some assistance in the way he had suggested, their position would not be improved. He did not speak for the teachers only, but also for the people in those districts. Above all they wanted the children to get the benefit of a satisfactory education; and they felt that the teacher would be as far as possible removed from all local petty jealousy and tyranny if the Department had this power of giving, in places where minimum salaries were paid, pensions irrespective of the local authority. The hon. Member for Mid Lanarkshire in his most interesting contribution to the debate had not touched upon a subject with which he dealt very largely in an address to his constituents recently. He was generally recognised as one of the chief authorities in the House upon the question, and he sincerely trusted that when the Bill got into Committee they would have the very able assistance of the hon. Member for Mid Lanarkshire in securing a little more attention for the poor districts than the Bill gave. Practically every Member for Scotland, he thought, was pledged to give to teachers a right of appeal against injustice. The provisions in the Bill would be perfectly satisfactory in the case of the large and wealthy districts. There would not be the smallest difficulty there for a teacher who had been unjustly dismissed to get thirty ratepayers willing to support his demand for an inquiry, but it would be quite impossible in the poorer districts for a teacher who felt himself justly aggrieved to get the requisite number of ratepayers to support him. He sincerely trusted that on both these proposals the Government would listen with a kindly and favourable ear to the representations of the poorer districts. They said, in the first instance, that the Department should give whatever they could to those teachers whose salaries were low, and, secondly, that the right of appeal to the Department for what a teacher considered was an unjust dismissal should be granted without the teacher's having to undertake the painful task of canvassing his friends and neighbours for support. He would not labour the other provisions of the Bill, many of which he considered most admirable, but he trusted those two points would not be lost sight of in Committee.

MR. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan) said that his hon. friend who represented the Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, had dwelt with emphasis upon the desire for more efficiency in the way of the physical training of the children of Scotland. He believed that England was very much ahead of Scotland in regard to physical training. The English schoolboy got a systematic training which, so far, had not developed in Scotland. We could not keep our place in the world if our boys were not more disciplined than they had been in the past. All the hon. Member's admiration for German methods, and for the scientific spirit which had carried Germans so far, and would carry them much further, was justified. The other subject on which he wished to say a few words was the danger that undue State action might cramp the initiative of the Universities. The University of Glasgow must be thankful for what Benjamin Disraeli did when he gave it £120,000, and helped to place it on that proud eminence on which it now stood. When a gift was given, something was surely expected by the giver, and rightly so. If the State gave the Scottish Universities money they had at least the right to indicate on what lines they would wish the Universities to be developed. But let it not be forgotten that we lived in an age of development. He had no hesitation in saying that development was the creed of Scotland. How had that development come about? By the exertions of individual men, and he would be a very superficial student of Scottish University life who did not see how much the Universities of Scotland had been indebted to individual discoverers—men who had extended the fields of knowledge, not merely for Scotland, but for the Empire and the world at large. The history of Scotland was bright with the names of great discoverers, and men who had fostered science and original research, and let them not enter upon a State system which would cramp that spirit of self-reliance and the extension of knowledge. He trusted the Universities of Scotland would be a credit and a help to Scotland in the future as they had been since the Middle Ages.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.) said it was totally unnecessary for the hon. Member for Cambridge University to apologise for taking part in a Scottish debate. To his mind, the most striking observation the hon. Member had made was when he drew attention to the lamentable fact that the efforts of that House, as regarded education in Scotland, might be stated to have been practically *nil*. It was more than thirty years ago that an Education Bill was passed for Scotland, and all educational development since then had been more or less the work of a bureaucratic Department. It might be said that the curse of education in Scotland had been centralisation, and he appealed now to the Government to take the utmost advantage of the great opportunity which lay before them, and to approach this subject with an open mind and make that debate and the Committee stage of the Bill a reality, instead of what it often was—a dead letter. Let them not follow the examples of the Committee stage of an important Bill last year, but allow Members to vote as they liked without being obliged, more or less, to follow party decisions. If Scottish education was ever to free itself from centralisation, Scottish Members must vote independently according to the wishes of their constituents and of the men who spent their lives in working for education, and not merely at the behests of prominent officials of the Scottish Education Department, voiced in the House through the Front Bench representatives. That was the most important point to which he wished to draw attention. He, personally, was strongly of opinion that effect ought to be given to the wish which had been expressed that the Education Department should be removed from Whitehall to Edinburgh. He could not understand the logic of the fact that this, the most important of all the numerous Boards which governed Scotland, should be carried out in London instead of in the Scottish capital. The question of deputations would be solved at once, to a large extent, if such removal took place; the whole Department would be more in touch with Scottish feeling, and, he believed, as did every educational enthusiast and every Scottish schoolmaster to whom he had spoken, that there would never be finality on the question of Scottish education until that reform had been carried out. He wished to say a word or two as to his personal views and predilections on the proposal to feed school children through the intermediary of the school board. He was entirely in sympathy with the views expressed by the hon. Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities. He thought it was a mistake to load school boards with a duty which was really foreign to them. He entirely admitted the necessity of feeding the children, but he would like to see it laid upon a body more directly suited for such a duty. It would be infinitely preferable to relieve school boards of the proposed duty. Let them put other duties upon them if they liked, and give them greater educational independence, but they should allow parish councils and local authorities to deal with that matter which was more germane and more directly connected with them, otherwise they would rather hamper the capabilities of the school boards for educational efficiency. He was also strongly in favour of the proposal to appoint a national advisory committee on education while this Bill was before the House. The Secretary for Scotland might congratulate himself on the fact that he had an opportunity, which very seldom fell to any Secretary for Scotland, to carry a measure of enormous benefit to his country and that opportunity was enhanced by the absolute absence of party feeling. He was sure that if the right hon. Gentleman would only approach the matter with an open mind, allowing Scottish representatives to express their views without too much feeling that they must follow Government decisions in place of Scottish sentiment, the measure ought to be a great success.

*MR. DUNDAS WHITE (Dumbartonshire) thought they might congratulate themselves on the Bill's having been brought in at this stage of the session. When it became law it would effect most useful reforms in Scottish education in systematising it, in providing for the children in various ways, and in bridging over that great gulf which now lay between the times when children left school and when they found some permanent occupation in life. In order to make the system efficient the question of areas was of very great importance. He approved of the present areas because they were necessary if Scottish education was to be kept along democratic lines, and his own view was that however perfect the system might be, if it lacked that democratic element of close touch with the people whose children actually came to the schools, that system was bound to wither and to die at no very distant date, so far as efficiency was concerned. He was rather surprised to hear some criticism of the proposal that there should be an audit. Anyone who followed the finance of school boards would see the necessity for an audit. With the new powers proposed to be given to school boards there was no reason why there should not be a very strict audit, and he was sure those school boards which were best doing their work would be the most willing to face the audit. Of course, owing to their small character certain boards were wasteful in various ways, but the Government was doing the most it could in giving practically unlimited powers of uniting and combining for common purposes. He knew there was not always great willingness to combine in that way. There were various local jealousies, but he believed in the long run the good sense of the people would prevail, a ndby that voluntary union of the smaller school boards they would really build up a system which would be extremely effective. He thought also the provisions as to better pensions for teachers were not only desirable but necessary. It seemed to him, however, that the provisions were perhaps too much in the nature of charity and too little in the nature of pay. They should recognise that these pensions were really in the nature of deferred pay. If they failed to recognise that, and simply put them as charity to be given after the teacher had left the service, they were not merely departing from sound financial lines, but they laid themselves open to difficulties in practice. It was desirable that teachers should be able to move from one school board to another, and to find those places for which their particular capacities best suited them. But if the system of pensions was developed too much on charitable lines there would be considerable difficulty in a teacher's getting a place under another school board after he had attained middle life, and it was very possible that some of the school boards might attach conditions to employment which might to some extent neutralise the intended benefit. The scheme, however, was an important step in the right direction. In the clause which followed he congratulated the Government on their extension of the pension system to teachers in voluntary schools. Those teachers were about the hardest worked and the poorest paid in our educational. system. They were an integral part of the educational system of Scotland, and he congratulated the Government upon having brought them into this scheme. He could speak more particularly for the teachers in the Catholic schools, many of whom were working under conditions less favourable than they might obtain elsewhere. The voluntary schools in Scotland had, to a very large extent, saved the ratepayers a good deal of expense, and there were over 80,000 Catholic children in those schools. The cost in the board schools was a little over £1 per head per child, and consequently they might claim that fully £80,000 a year was being saved in the cost of education, while the saving of expenditure in the matter of buildings probably came to about the same amount. That, of course, was not the object, but it was an incidental result, and it should be borne in mind. He was glad that these voluntary pensions provisions had been framed on such lines that these teachers could be brought in. There was one other point to which he desired to direct the attention of the

House. His hon. friend the Member for the Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities had referred to Clause 17 and said it was comparatively unimportant. There had recently been a good deal of talk about the growth of bureaucracy in Scotland, and Clause 17 afforded a good instance of how it worked. The Department had fixed an arbitrary line of 12s. per child, 10s. of which was to come out of the Parliamentary grant and 2s. out of the fund made up partly of what was called the Whisky Money under the Act of 1890 and partly of what was called the Probate Money under the Act of 1892. It was expressly stated in those Acts that these moneys should be added to the fee grants and distributed accordingly. Owing to the arbitrary action of the Department, however, in restricting the payments and accumulating the surpluses, and as the annual amounts of these grants had been increasing much more rapidly than the numbers of the children, no less a sum than £26,000 had been added to these accumulations in the course of last year, and the total of the accumulations now stood at over £140,000. Section 17 of the Bill now proposed that that money, which had been accumulated in the face of a direct statutory direction, should be handed over from primary to secondary and advanced education, and proposed to give statutory force to the 12s. limit for future years. He would be the last man to say anything against advanced education, but he thought it right to call attention to the way these funds had been treated. The result of that policy had been that the country districts had been impoverished for the benefit of the large centres where these advanced institutions were situated. Taking the Bill as a whole, however, it was excellent in its conception, and, with improvements in Committee, it would no doubt make a very important advance in the educational system of Scotland.

MR. WALSH (Lancashire, Ince) said it was with considerable reluctance that he intervened in the debate, because he recognised the right of Scotsmen to have a day to themselves when dealing with a purely Scottish measure. There was, however, one principle in the Bill upon which very little had up to the present been said, and he did not think it ought to be allowed to pass unnoticed. What he referred to was the principle of compulsion, the principle of making school attendance compulsory on children between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. That was a far-reaching precedent that might be extended to England. It was proposed to give the school boards power to make by-laws forcing children to attend who had been at work during the day, and that was to apply to children of fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age. When persons arrived at the age of seventeen he thought they were entitled to be called something more than children. It was proposed to give power to the school boards to compel the attendance of those children, many of whom might have been working very long hours during the day, at evening continuation classes. It was proposed to carry the matter even further than that, because there was also a proposal to make the parents responsible, and to mulct them in penalties if they did not carry out the desires of the school boards, and young persons were responsible themselves for a penalty of 40s. for the first offence, and £5 for subsequent offences after the age of sixteen and up to the age of seventeen. That to him seemed to be a very serious matter indeed. It might be right or it might be wrong, but personally he thought it was wrong. When a young person had been at work all day there ought at least to be some chance of that person developing his own individuality. Something had been said about stereotyping education and placing themselves too much under bureaucratic Government. He did not know whether there was any popular demand for this class of education in Scotland, but it was admitted that the Scottish people up to now were the best educated in the United Kingdom. That had been accomplished without any compulsion. The department of mining with which he was specially connected had without any compulsion established the finest technical classes in the kingdom. In the mining districts boys were down the mine before six in the morning. They did not return until four in the afternoon, and at the end of this arduous day they were to be compelled under the Bill to attend continuation classes.

*MR. HALDANE said that the clause was drawn to enable school boards to provide that the continuation instruction should take place in the working hours. Complete discretion was given in each locality to meet the circumstances of the case.

MR. WALSH said that discretion was given to the boards to arrange the time themselves, and it would not necessarily be within the working hours of the young persons affected. School boards, if they cared to, could arrange the time of attendance after the ordinary working hours, and it would not be straining the argument too far to say that some body of employers desirous of getting skilled workers might arrange the time of the ordinary working day in order that these young people might get a better knowledge of their craft or industry. He did not say anything as to the motives of this proposal, but he would like to know how they were going to exact the penalties? The parents were to be made responsible for the penalties up to the age of sixteen, but after sixteen and up to seventeen the child itself was to be individually responsible. The provision that penalties might be imposed on both parents and young people for non-attendance at these classes was legislation on entirely novel lines. How were such penalties to be enforced? Would they proceed by the ordinary County Court summons? The time had arrived when the rights of parents and even the rights of the children ought to be considered in matters other than education. Was there any demand for such a proposal? He had visited Scotland quite recently and he had not seen any effective expression given to any such demand. As a matter of fact they were taking from the parents, after they had borne the full responsibility of the upkeep of their children for fourteen years, the responsibility which really ought to rest with them during the most impressionable years of a child's life. It was weakening parental discretion and responsibility. While in many cases there ought to be compulsion in order to make education as effective as it could be made, yet the parent had still some rights, and one should not overlook the individuality of the child. He feared that there was a danger under the Bill of stereotyping education in many districts, as, for example, where mining was the staple industry. In Wigan there was probably the finest mining and technical college in the kingdom,and the result was that almost everybody was taught mining, and the value of skill and technical knowledge in mining was going down day by day. The pits were swarming with educated men, and their social *status* was decreasing. It was perfectly true that they were better men from the fact that they were educated. At the same time there ought to be scope for that individuality of choice, in the case of both parents and children, upon which the fortunes of the nation in the long run were based. He submitted that the policy proposed to be established in Scotland was a far-reaching one. If established in Scotland, it was bound to be applied to England, and possibly to Ireland also, and it was, therefore, desirable that a word of warning should be said at the present stage.

*MR. MORTON (Sutherland) said the representatives of Scotland might congratulate themselves, this House, and the people, that they could have a discussion on an Education Bill without the introduction of any sectarian feeling, which did not mean true religion. The clause referred to by the hon. Member for the Ince division of Lancashire was, after all, a Socialistic clause. He did not think it was one to which, for that reason, the hon. Member might strongly object. He (Mr. Morton) admitted that it was a clause which required careful consideration, because it seemed rather absurd that they should force education on a boy or girl after fourteen years of age. If they were not willing to be taught after that age, they had better go to work. As to medical examination, he thought there was more to be said in favour of that than of anything else. Unless it was done officially it probably would not be done at all. As to whether it should be optional or not on the part of the school board, he would not for the moment say, but he thought it was a wise provision that there should be medical examination. It was truly an unfortunate state of things in any country that there were parents who would not provide their children with food, but there were some parents who would not do so. He did not forget that the greater part of the difficulty was caused by the amount of money which was wasted in strong drink. At any rate, he hoped that parents would be compelled to repay the money spent in feeding their children if they could possibly afford it. As to the Universities, he did not agree that there was any need to Germanise our educational institutions. Let them get all the good they could out of what could be learnt from German methods, but, at the same time, he did not think it was necessary to Germanise everything in this country. As to pensions, it was admitted all over Scotland that something ought to be done in the way of providing for teachers. He supposed, therefore, it was wise that some attempt should be made to deal with the question of pensions in this Bill. Whether it would not be wise that teachers should be asked to contribute something towards their pensions as was done in the case of other officials, he did not know. That was a matter which ought to be considered in Committee. With regard to the question of an appeal, it would be unfortunate for the work of education if allowing an appeal tended to disturb the relations between teachers and local authorities. That also was a matter which could be considered in Committee. He was inclined to think the Government had acted wisely in keeping clear of the areas controversy. In the Highlands big areas were certainly not desirable. The distance that members of school boards would have to travel would prevent proper attendance, and the management would fall too much into the hands of officials. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would consider the desirability of providing classes for the teaching of Gaelic. What was wanted was that there should be regular classes for the teaching of Gaelic in places where parents required that kind of instruction for the children. They had heard a great deal about what was called the Department. The word "Department" occurred all over the Bill. He agreed with those who held the view that they should not leave too much to central boards or officials. Boards had been the curse of Ireland, and to some extent of Scotland. Unless they had a strong Minister at the head of a Department, the officials of the Department led and the Minister had to follow. The head office of the Scottish Education Department ought never to have been brought to London. It ought to be in Edinburgh, and he thought the present Secretary for Scotland would do a good piece of work if he celebrated his tenure of office by making a change of such vast importance as the removal of the Education Office to the capital of Scotland. At a time when there was so large a majority of Liberals representing Scotland, there would be no difficulty in making the change. He agreed with what had been said as to the desirability of having in Scotland something in the nature of Home Rule to deal simply with Scottish affairs. During the last few years there had been little or no opportunity on the Estimates of considering the local matters affecting Scotland.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is outside the scope of this Bill.

*MR. MORTON expressed a hope that there would be a full opportunity in Committee of considering the matters referred to in the Bill generally. The measure had been too long delayed, and he thought they were entitled to ask Parliament to pass it into law during the present session. He trusted that a fair amount of money would be allocated to Scotland to enable them to complete all the educational wants and interests of the whole of the people. Scotland had never been short in finding their share towards the expenses of the government of the Empire, and he trusted that in the apportionment of money Scotland would receive all that was properly required to enable them to carry out every necessary educational reform. In Scotland they actually suffered on account of the national virtue of economy among the people themselves, as Parliament thought they could do with less money than other portions of the United Kingdom because they were so economical. He believed that there was a great deal of truth in that, but that was no ground why Parliament should refuse the necessary grant of money to enable Scotland to carry out the educational reforms outlined in the Bill. The agreement as to "equivalent grants" should be honourably adhered to.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I hope I may be allowed before the debate closes to answer some of the questions put to me on the Bill which is now before the House. I am sure I have no cause to complain of the friendly and pleasant way in which the Bill has been criticised, and as responsible for the Bill I should like to recognise in the fullest measure the earnest desire expressed on all sides of the House that it should be made as good a Bill as possible, and that it should be passed into law if possible this session. At any rate there is a live interest in education among hon. Members who represent Scottish constituencies. If I am rightly informed on the matter there will be a real appreciation in the country at large of anything that Parliament can do to promote the interests of education in Scotland. In the first place, let me assure hon. Members that any criticisms to which I do not allude specifically will not be forgotten. I have done my best to make a note of the various suggestions made to the House and the Government, and they will be considered with all the care that can be given to them. The debate opened with a criticism from an hon Gentleman opposite, whom we are always glad to hear on this subject, with regard to areas, and disappointment has been expressed by more than one speaker that the Government have not seen fit to include in their measure a proposal for the alteration of existing areas in Scotland. The truth is that after most careful consideration the Government have come to the conclusion that there is no sufficient reason for departing from the well-tried system of direct and immediate local control of education in Scotland. It is 200 years old, and I believe I can show that it is not now acting in Scotland as an obstacle to the progress of education, as has been suggested tonight. No doubt there have been expressions of opinion during the debate in favour of the alteration of existing areas, but those who have heard the debate will, I am sure, readily recognise that there are now, as there were some years ago, very strong divisions of opinion in regard to this subject among Scottish representatives and the people generally; and I say frankly that to attempt any alteration of areas on the present occasion would be to invite the loss of the Bill. I am not expressing my own opinion, one way or another. It may be that opinion may in time become ripe for such a change, but I am confident that to attempt it at the present moment would bring about the loss of the Bill, and prevent the opportunity of doing the good provided for by the Bill. What would it mean? It would mean that in all insulated districts and in large towns school boards would disappear from that country; and I should like to know what such places as Perth, Greenock, Paisley, and other large towns would say if the Government proposed to sweep away their school boards which they know so well into a new organisation in the county. You may depend upon it that we have acted wisely in not attempting to deal with the question at the present time. Former Bills which attempted the change did not pass; and that change was the rock upon which they split. To attempt an alteration of areas is to land in the intricacies of rating and financial considerations instead of a discussion of educational questions on their educational merits. The system of school boards in Scotland has, on the whole, worked well; certainly it has worked well as regards primary education. It is only in regard to secondary education that doubt is expressed in some quarters as to whether the existing authorities are equal to their task. It has to be noted that the growth of this opinion dates from the year 1902, when the English Education Act was passed, establishing in England for the first time public education authorities on a county basis. The case of England is not really comparable with that of Scotland. In 1902 not only were there no authorities in England for secondary education, but over large tracks of the country there was no public authority for any kind of education whatever. It was necessary to set up some authority, and owing largely to considerations pertaining to secondary education, the county authority was chosen. Already there are symptoms that the county authorities in England do not meet the whole necessities of the case; and Bills are before Parliament proposing that for the assistance of these central county authorities local authorities should be established in the English counties. A Committee was recently appointed by the Board of Education to look into this very subject, the reference to which was—

> "To consider and advise the Board of Education what methods are desirable and possible under existing legislation for securing greater local interest in the administration of elementary education in administrative counties by some form of devolution and delegate to some kind of local authority."

*Mr. Sinclair.*

If hon. Members study the Report of that Committee they will find absolute confirmation of the fact that there is need in England of supplementing the county council authorities by some smaller local authorities. These considerations are sufficient to make one pause before lightly abandoning the local authorities in Scotland. The school boards have stood the test of time, and have always interested themselves in and promoted the subject of education. There is another difference between England and Scotland. I speak of the past. In England secondary education has been confined to what are roughly called "the classes." In Scotland for the last 200 years there has been no such break between the two stages of education. Of course, the proportion of those who have benefited by the opportunities for secondary education in Scotland are larger now than they were; they have varied from time to time. But opportunities for secondary education have been, and I trust will continue to be, the right and concern of all classes of the people. By presumption and by practice such opportunities for secondary education have been the right, and will continue to be the right, and hope and concern of all classes of people alike. It is this fact that the overwhelming majority in Scotland of those who pay the cost of secondary education have at one time or another in their career been in the primary schools—it is this democratic feature, if I may so describe it, which is so characteristic of the feeling, temper, and history of the people, which more than anything else, when you sit down to work out any scheme for the machinery of education, makes it impossible or at any rate highly undesirable, and extremely difficult, to separate secondary from primary education, and to place the one thing under one set of authorities and the other under another set of authorities. It is difficult, and in my opinion dangerous, to remove either the one kind of education or the other from that direct immediate and popular interest and control which are afforded by the school board. After all, these may be theoretical considerations, but let us look for a moment at what has been the progress in the last thirty-five years in secondary education in Scotland. The hon. Member for Leith Burghs spoke of administrative chaos and overlapping and other evils. Let us just see what foundation there is for the charge that no progress has been made in secondary education in Scotland under the present machinery. The school board is the unit which has really produced the requisite progress in Scottish education. In and before the year 1872 what was the state of secondary education in Scotland? Many parish schools sent their best scholars, haply one or two, and sometimes more, straight to the Universities. Besides that, there was a considerable amount of secondary education—higher education—given to those who did not go so far as to get to the University. And that kind of education was continued after that year, 1872, as hon. Members will remember, under the name of specific subjects taught by the board, but besides that there were in 1872 eleven schools in all Scotland scheduled as higher class public schools, and a few were added subsequently. In addition to these, there were about twenty-five endowed schools which were professedly secondary schools. An entrance standard for the Universities did not exist. There was no entrance standard, and, as a matter of fact, Universities were doing, so far as this standard was concerned, the real work, proper for secondary schools, and thus the level of University education was cut down; on the one hand, and on the other, the ground was cut away from the operations of secondary schools, and the organisation of any efficient system of secondary education was out of the question. Now, the Act of 1872, good as it was, new area as it opened for Scottish education, was framed largely under English influence, the influences surrounding the Act of 1870 which opened a new educational area for England, and unfortunately one of the concomitants of that change was that the powers of school boards in Scotland in regard to secondary education were greatly restricted, and for a time these restrictions prevailed. Encouragement was at first given to the idea that education was not a public concern, that those who were able to pay for it should do so, and that it was no concern of the community generally that as large a proportion as possible of its citizens should be trained in this higher education. But a better day came. The inspection of secondary schools came in 1886, and leaving certificate examinations were also instituted. A few years later preliminary examinations for the Universities were established, and then in 1892 came the first specific contribution towards secondary education given from public funds. What has been the result of that development? A great increase in the machinery under the present system, a great increase in the number of schools giving systematic secondary education, and, at the same time, complete recovery from the low level of attainment which prevailed years before. There are thirty-two higher-class public schools and twenty-four endowed schools giving a complete secondary education up to the doors of the University. Further, there are 169 higher grade schools giving a full three years course of education, and of these sixty-eight have developed a full five years course of education, being for all practical purposes secondary schools on a level with the higher class public schools, and in some instances more than rivalling those older established ones if the test of the leaving certificate be taken. That is a test of the standard of attainment which is now reached by these higher grade schools which have developed a five years' course. The entrance standard of the Universities is now what the graduation standard was thirty-five years ago.

Now, how have these developments, which I think must be regarded as satisfactory and as contradicting the statements that there has has been no progress, that there is administrative chaos, that there is nothing done for secondary education in Scotland, been obtained? They are not due to the establishment of a new authority nor the delimitation of artificial areas. It is the spontaneous and natural development of the working of the school boards. Larger resources have overcome the indifference of which complaint has been made, and on all sides there is eagerness to create and develop centres of secondary education in all parts of Scotland. Mention was made in the debate of the position of the secondary education centres. It was urged by one hon. Gentleman that if a school board established schools in the centre of a district, at any rate it ought to be adequately supported; but you must remember that there is another side to that, a healthy side; it promotes a healthy development and healthy competition and emulation if the charges are too high. This spontaneous desire and this eagerness to supply facilities for secondary education is not found in any one part of the country, but from John o'Groats to the other end of the country you can see the same thing going on, without any artificial delimitation of districts, or any attempt to establish symmetrical areas. The mainspring of the whole movement has been the activity of the existing parish school board responding to the popular desire for increased systematic secondary education. And there is no limit to this process. Pray, do not let me be understood as suggesting for a moment that we should rest where we are; we are still very far from having a profusion of secondary education facilities, and there is really no obstacle to the further development and multiplication of these higher grade schools where they are really required, wherever the school board is willing to incur the expense of the establishment of one of these schools to qualify students for entrance to the University. It depends upon whether you get local support to school boards, and if the secondary schools cannot be within the reach of all children, as the House knows, we are doing our best, by assisting bursaries and extending this Bill, to bring the children to the schools. Let me, before passing from this point, say one further word, and it is this. Parish schools, in the old days, educated their best pupils, it is alleged, and often had to sacrifice the main body of their students. That is now guarded against by the provision that where higher grade facilities are provided there must be a special staff, and the school boards are encouraged by special grants to provide a staff. By that means not only do we respond to the needs of the school board and the school, but we respond also to the needs of the continuation pupils, while the general interests of the main body of pupils are safeguarded. These considerations are what have influenced the Government in adhering on the present occasion to the existing organisation of education in Scotland. We have not attempted to alter the machinery. That is the answer to several small criticisms which were made on various parts of the Bill to-night. If we had attempted to alter the areas we should no doubt have been able to deal with several incidental points to which allusion has been made on this occasion.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON was understood to inquire if the right hon. Gentleman included his in the small criticisms to which he alluded. He had made a statement as to the weak and divided control between the board school and the parish school and the county committee in Fife, and had said that that was administrative chaos. Did he deny that?

MR. SINCLAIR: I do not deny the truth of what the hon. Gentleman says, and what he describes, but I say that on the matter of the general improvement of education the attempt to show that the system of administration in Scotland produces administrative chaos is absolutely devoid of foundation in fact I do not deny that there are differences between one authority and another.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: The right hon. Gentleman is not quite correct to say that I restricted my view of the system of administrative chaos. I said that in the administrative system we have administrative chaos, but I did not say that there was no good work done. All I say is that I made a good case of administrative chaos to which the right hon. Gentleman has given no reply.

MR. SINCLAIR: I was not thinking of the hon. Member particularly when I spoke. I should think there were eight or ten Members who spoke in the same way. I cannot imagine what the hon. Member means.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: You have not answered my point.

MR. SINCLAIR: I was doing my best to do so. I propose now, if I may be allowed, to pass from that subject to some other criticisms that have been offered to the Bill. Much criticism has been directed to the Education Department. With great respect I say that it is a wholly unconstitutional proceeding to single out a Department as distinguished from the Minister responsible for that Department. If hon. Members object to the policy of a Department their proper course is to condemn and complain of the action of the Minister. It is a wholesome feature of our Constitution and of this House that Civil servants should be immune from this criticism, which only leads to confusion of people outside who are not so well informed and who think from such criticism that there is some engine of destruction called the Department which the Government cannot control. Nothing is more misleading than these continued attacks on a Department, of which I am proud to be the manager. I do not wish to shirk my responsibilities in this matter and am only too glad to defend my Department so far as I am responsible for it. I was much struck with what fell from the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge who spoke, with not only a knowledge of the Scottish University conditions, but also a very wide knowledge of this subject through all its ramifications. I should be the first to recognise that when you establish a system of State education as you have in Scotland, there must be a tendency to uniformity, but the responsibility for the tendency lies, not with the administrative department, but with Parliament and the people of this country who sanctioned the passing of certain Acts of Parliament. If you establish a compulsory system of free education under the control of Parliament so that there is a clean sweep of all private education, you must take the responsibility for what you have done, and the real responsibility for this tendency to uniformity lies with Parliament. The Scottish Education Department, like any other department of the Government, has a very simple and limited duty to perform—a duty limited strictly by Statute and by regulations laid before and approved by Parliament. The Department administers money under statutory directions and under statutory directions alone. There is no capricious refusal of money to anyone. The Department is obliged to deal out even-handed justice to all schools. These matters are confined strictly by the regulations.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: Parliament has no control over them.

MR. SINCLAIR: The hon. Member is not quite correct; but, assuming that he is, the proper thing is not to belabour the authority which cannot help you, but to come to Parliament and alter the conditions and introduce conditions under which Parliament shall have full control. The hon. Gentleman complained of the Department.

**Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON**: No, the departmental system.

**Mr. SINCLAIR**: Then, so far we understand each other thoroughly. Another duty carried out by the Department is to see that the school board carries out the instructions of Parliament, which are to provide secondary free education, and that they carry out the instructions of Parliament in other matters. I can only assure the House of this, which is a very striking fact. Hon. Members have told the House to-day—the hon. Member for Dumfries-shire among others—that wherever they go in Scotland they meet nothing but complaints of friction and incidents between the Department and the school board. I can only tell them that there is always the avenue of Questions, and I cannot believe that there is this perpetual state of friction between the school boards and the Department in Scotland. I doubt very much if it exists. I have taken the greatest trouble to investigate it, and I can only say that Questions are very readily asked, and not least by hon. Gentlemen representing Scottish constituencies, on numberless occasions, and that the Questions to the Minister for the Scottish Education Department are singularly few in number. That is only to be accounted for by the absence of friction. The hon. Member for Leith Burghs says "Transfer the Department to Edinburgh." I say transfer it to-morrow if you transfer with it the Parliament which controls it. A Scottish Education Department, wth a Minister responsible to Parliament and under the control of Parliament, I can understand. School boards raising and administering public money, with the sanction of Parliament and responsible to Parliament, I can understand. At the other end of the scale I can understand school boards levying rates with the sanction of their electors; but a National Council, with no responsibility to Parliament on the one hand, or the local authority on the other, I can find no rational place for in our scheme of education. I know it has been suggested, and I ask hon. Members to consider this. Such responsible authority as they comprise between themselves, the British Parliament and their own school boards, makes for better education, but such a council would be bound to weaken Parliament or obstruct and delay it, and must end in confusion when it gets to the hands of the local authorities. In conclusion, I will just say this. This Bill does not touch the money which has hitherto been allocated to the Universities, and with regard to the future there will be no interference with them except on their own initiative.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

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## CHILDREN [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament of any Expenses that may be incurred and of any contributions that may be made under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury,*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after Eleven o'clock.

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Wednesday, 6th May*, 1908.

### BARON HOTHAM.

Ordered, That the Report of the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, made to the House of Lords on Tuesday last, that the right of the Baron Hotham to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to his satisfaction, be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, together with a certificate stating that such report has been made, and that the House has ordered it to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Glyncorrwg Urban District Council.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Rochdale Corporation Bill; Seaham Harbour Dock Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed.

Cambrian Railways Bill [H.L.].—Read $2^a$ (according to order).

Highgate Hill Tramways Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the Promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill; Order of the Day for the Second Reading read, and discharged. Ordered, that the Bill be not further proceeded with.

Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [H.L.]; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^a$, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Derby Gas Bill.—Read $3^a$, with the Amendments; and passed, and returned to the Commons.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### FEE FUND OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid on the Table the Annual Account of the Fee Fund of the House of Lords. The same was ordered to lie on the Table, and to be referred to the Select Committee on the House of Lords Offices.

### BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Regulations for the preliminary education of elementary school teachers :—Pupil teacher regulations; Bursary regulations; Student teacher regulations (in force from 1st August, 1908, in Wales and Monmouthshire).

### BANKRUPTCY LAW AMENDMENT.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into the Bankruptcy Law and its administration :—Vol. I.—Report; Vol. II.—Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL, 1908.

Preliminary draft of the articles of :—A charter for the college to have its seat in Dublin; A new charter for the constituent college at Cork; A new charter for the constituent college at Galway.

### IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Return of proceedings for the month of February, 1908.

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### ARMY.

Rules for military prisons in the field made by the Secretary of State for War. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

## OFFICIAL DIRECTORY OF NURSES BILL [H.L.].

[Second Reading.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

**Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH**: My Lords, although no proposal for legislation on any of the subjects connected with the Bill of which I rise to move the Second Reading to-night has been before your Lordships, I am quite certain that to the majority of the House the general questions affecting the subject must be perfectly familiar. Many of your Lordships are connected with London hospitals and others in the country, and I shall assume that those who are so connected have followed the discussions which have been taking place on this subject during the last year or two.

There are certain admitted evils—or shall I say disadvantages ?—incident to the present position of matters, and as to those evils and disadvantages those who are in favour of the method of dealing with them which is put forward in this Bill and those who are in favour of a more drastic and more ambitious scheme of registration will probably be found to be in more or less general agreement. Each of the schemes is supported by high authority. Those who are in favour of a scheme of registration have placed their views in the form of a Bill and introduced it into the other House of Parliament; but, as there seemed to be no prospect of securing even a discussion upon the subject, those for whom I am acting thought that it would not be unreasonable that a discussion should be raised in this House. We have high authority for that suggestion, and I am rather surprised that those who are apparently preparing to oppose the Bill should think it worth their while to make a point of the fact that there has been no public discussion, as they describe it, concerning the proposal which I put before the House.

I understand, although I have not seen an actual copy of it, that a summons to oppose the Bill has been circulated to many of your Lordships by the noble and gallant Field-Marshal whom I do not see in his place on the cross benches, and by one or two other peers. It seems to be made a grievance that we should introduce this Bill when there has been no public discussion upon it, but it is for the purpose of securing a public discussion before and by what I believe to be on this matter a perfectly impartial Assembly that those who have advised me have suggested the introduction of this Bill; and, as I said a moment ago, we received a hint from a high authority that this might not be an unwelcome method of procedure. There were deputations to the Lord President of the Council, now the Leader of the House, two years ago, both from those who are in favour of registration and from those who favour the less ambitious scheme which I am advocating to-night; and, in the course of his reply to the deputation of those who are in favour of a Directory, the noble Earl said—

> "There was, or shortly would be, a Bill for the registration of nurses before the House of Commons. He did not know whether the present deputation thought of placing their views before Parliament in a similar way. If so, he supposed they would introduce a Bill empowering the Privy Council to start a Directory."

Later on in his speech, after mentioning that there was little time available in the House of Commons, the noble Earl said that the House of Lords was open to discussions of such a nature. That was a hint given to a large and influential deputation, and it does not seem to me unnatural that it should have been acted upon. I may mention that this deputation was composed of persons of no less authority than Sir Thomas Barlow, Sir Frederick Treves, the Duchess of Bedford, the Marchioness of Salisbury, the Countess of Pembroke, Lady St. Aldwyn, and the matrons of the following hospitals—London, St. Thomas's, King's College, St. Mary's, Seamen's, St. Marylebone Infirmary, Derby, Bristol, Oxford and Cambridge. It cannot, therefore, be said that even amongst those who are interested in the nursing profession the Bill which I have placed on the Table is altogether without authority.

As I have said, those who are in favour of what I have described as the more ambitious, and, perhaps, even the more complete, scheme have placed their views before the other House of Parliament. I am prepared to give, without the slightest reservation, the fullest credit for the best intentions to those who differ from those whom I represent on this subject. I wish that I could think that our good intentions are equally believed in by those on the other side. I wish, before I sit down, to show your Lordships that we have, I think, some reason to complain of the sort of imputations of bad motives which have been freely circulated amongst some of your Lordships. Now, what are the existing circumstances? What are the evils which those who support both of these schemes are anxious to remedy? There are certain evils and certain disadvantages at present existing, and we hope to remedy those and to gain certain advantages. There is a difficulty undoubtedly felt by large sections of the public and by the medical profession in no small degree on the ground that they cannot easily ascertain the competence of nurses whom they may wish to engage. They cannot find out very easily what are their special qualifications, and whether they are in particular specially suitable for the class of case which may be under consideration at the moment.

I suppose it is generally the case that the medical profession are more or less responsible for recommending the nurse for the case which may be in hand. Sometimes the nurse has to be summoned suddenly; at other times, in the case of an operation or something of that kind, there is opportunity for inquiry and consideration. But the difficulty which is felt is this, that after the nurse has left the hospital where she has been trained, after she has, so to speak, set up in business either for herself or in one of the numerous co-operative societies, there is at the present time great difficulty in ascertaining what are her real qualifications or experience. Now it seems an elementary right that the public should have an opportunity of conducting their own investigations. The Bill, the Second Reading of which I am moving to-day, provides that there shall be a Directory, as it is called, on which shall be inserted such particulars as the Privy Council may think necessary, and which will be, we hope, an accurate statement of facts upon which those who want to make inquiry can proceed. All that is suggested is that there shall be a clear statement of facts, and that it shall be put forward on official authority. We want to know what are the qualifications of the individuals who pose as nurses, and for what they are competent and for what they are not. I venture to say that, so far as the nursing profession is concerned, that must be a benefit to those who have satisfactory qualifications, and to a certain extent, equally, it must be a disadvantage to those who have not satisfactory qualifications; but it seems to be perfectly legitimate that those who have qualifications and choose to enrol themselves on the Directory should get the advantage of the qualifications they possess.

I now come to the first point where I think there will be a divergence of opinion. Nurses may be unsatisfactory from more than one cause. Speaking generally, they may be unsatisfactory on account of their not having sufficient professional qualification. That is a thing which you could remedy either by a Directory which gives the qualifications of the individual, or by a register upon which the nurse's name is entered. But there is this difference between the two schemes, that, although I do not suppose those who favour the registration scheme mean to do it, it is almost, I think, unavoidable that the fact of the name being on a register, with qualifications set out, with penalties upon those not registered, would almost certainly lead the public to believe that there was a guarantee of the fitness of the nurse, and a continuing guarantee, not only of her fitness, from professional qualification, but of her personal character and suitability for employment. The other point raises great difficulty. It is easy enough to certify and put in definite language the qualifications of the nurse so far as training is concerned, but it is not easy, in fact I go so far as to say it is impossible, to set forth upon a register the personal aptitudes of the lady. As between these two schemes the question is really one of degree.

Is it possible at the present time to have a register of nurses analogous to that of medical men, dentists, and so on, and to say that there shall be penalties against those who, not being on the register, practice as nurses? I venture to say it is impossible. I do not think it would be possible in the near future; I am certain it is impossible at the present time. I quote as a witness for that view the noble Earl to whom I have already referred, who, in answering a deputation in favour of a registration scheme, used these pregnant words—

"The history of the demand for registration showed that it was not seriously suggested that registration of nurses should be compulsory. It would be impossible, for instance, to make the giving of a glass of barley water a criminal offence."

That is an extreme instance, but it is what, in fact, it would amount to if you attempted to lay down a rule that only those who are registered with a certain minimum of training shall set themselves forward to act as nurses in any capacity.

It is commonly suggested that those who take the view which I represent to the House have no nursing or professional authority behind them. I hold in my hand a Paper that was presented to the Select Committee of the other House of Parliament which sat on this subject a year or two ago. This Paper has two lists of signatures. Upon the first list there are 33 matrons in London hospitals and 60 matrons in various hospitals and infirmaries throughout the country, and there is a second list of 71 matrons of hospitals all over the country, or more than 160 matrons of hospitals in all. There are also the names of many well-known medical men and others besides. I need only mention one or two. I quote the names of Lord Sandhurst, the chairman of a London hospital; Lieutenant-General Lord Methuen, Lady St. Helier, and others. There are also Lord Lister, Sir James Reid, Sir Thomas Barlow, Sir Dyce Duckworth, and, amongst those who have taken an interest in the nursing profession, though not themselves engaged in it, the Marchioness of Salisbury, the Marchioness of Lansdowne, the Countess of Pembroke, Lady Francis Balfour, and many others. Now, what is their testimony? They say this—

"Inasmuch as any system of registration must be based on the results of testing by examination the technical capabilities of a nurse, it of necessity raises to a predominant position this side of her work, and leaves entirely unconsidered those personal qualities upon which her main value depends, such as good temper, manner, tact, discretion, patience and unselfish womanliness. It is these characteristics which cannot be ascertained by examination, and which no system of registration can include. The experience of those concerned in the training of nurses and supplying them to the public, shows that it is the want of these qualities in a nurse which gives rise to complaints on the part of patients and their friends. It is seldom that a want of adequate technical training is the ground of fault-finding. Moreover, it is the difference in the comparative value of the technical skill and the personal qualities in the making of a nurse which constitutes the essential difference between her and a doctor as regards the applicability of a system of registration, and renders the analogy, so often made, entirely fallacious."

And again they say—

"Those who realise that the ultimate success of a nurse must depend upon her personal suitability for her work already deprecate the growing tendency to attach undue importance to the passing of examinations at the expense of the cultivation of those qualities of power of observation, of sympathy, cheerfulness, and self-control, without which the services of a technically-trained nurse can never be acceptable to a patient."

I apologise for reading so long a quotation, but it puts the point which I want to make so much better than I can put it myself. It puts it on the high authority of those whose names I have mentioned, and it seems to me to sum up the point of contention between the advocates of the two schemes in a way upon which it would be impossible to improve. I feel the danger of putting too much stress upon mere examination. Therefore, my point would be this, that, however elaborate your system of registration, to whatever extent you can raise the minimum qualification for a place on the Register, there will still remain the necessity for careful personal inquiry, while you will not get over the danger that a State Register involves a certain amount of guarantee and control which a mere Directory does not pretend to provide and will not seem to give. I think I may fairly say that any uniform test of training at the present time is impossible. Public opinion is ripening. The training is getting better and better by a natural process of evolution. For surgical cases, for intricate medical cases, you require the highest training, but there are many classes of cases and many women at present engaged in those cases who are perfectly fit for the work they are doing and to whom it would be a grievous injury and a great handicap if they had the slur cast upon them of not being upon the Register because they had not a certain minimum of training which some people think is essential.

I turn to the question of what is to be said against the proposal which I make. I am quite aware that the Select Committee of the House of Commons passed a bare and abstract recommendation in favour of a system of registration. They

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*

had full evidence before them, but they do not themselves in their Report, I think, in any way at all, certainly in any adequate manner, attempt to outline the scheme of registration which they recommend. There is no attempt in the Report of the Select Committee to meet the difficulties which I have put before you on the authority of the ladies and gentlemen whose statement I quoted. There have been letters sent and resolutions passed, of which, I have no doubt, your Lordships have received a great many. They take, in the main, two points. First, that those who are recommending this Bill are a mere association of employers, and that they have not consulted the ladies themselves. I think I have disposed pretty largely of that contention, for I have shown you that a large proportion of those who are interested in the nursing profession are in favour of the scheme in this Bill rather than the other one; and it will not do to say, when I can produce evidence such as I have done of those who went on the deputation to the Lord President of the Council, and those who have signed and committed themselves to this statement, that the authority of the nursing profession is entirely upon one side.

It is made a grievance that in this Bill no ladies are associated with the Privy Council in the formation of the Directory. All I can say is that so far as I am concerned, and so far as those who advise me are concerned, if that will get over the obstacle, and if the Privy Council are willing to consent, there need be no difficulty on that head. But extravagant ideas have been promulgated as to what it is we propose. I received a printed paper yesterday from the Society for the State Registration of Trained Nurses. They object to the Bill for three reasons. The first is that—

> "It has been privately promoted by the Central Hospital Council for London without consultation with the class for whom it is proposed to legislate."

I should like to say that I am not sure whether you can find out adequately at the moment what is the opinion of the class for whom it is proposed to legislate. I venture to suggest that as a preliminary step to that end such a Directory as is suggested in this Bill would be most useful. I have not been able to find out how many trained nurses there are at present in this country. Some people say 20,000, others put the number as high as 60,000. So far as I can gather, at the most not more than 5,000 have joined the associations who are representing the opposition to this Bill.

The second reason for which the Society for the State Registration of Trained Nurses object to this Bill is that—

> "It affords no guarantee of a nurse's efficiency to the public, as no minimum standard of professional knowledge is required."

I have dealt with that point to the best of my ability. The third reason is that—

> "It makes no provision for a central governing body upon which trained nurses are represented, and which would maintain standards of education and discipline as required in the Bill promoted by this Society, and now before the House of Commons."

I suggest that you must walk before you can run, and that this Bill is as far as you are likely to be able to go in the present state of public opinion. Even if I am wrong, I believe it to be an essential preliminary for such a proposal as the other one I have mentioned, because I do not believe that in these days Parliament will legislate so as to put control or regulations upon a body such as the nurses unless they find out in some way or another what their feelings on the subject are.

I should like to read one letter as a test of the sort of communication which has come to me. I have two or three dozen of them, and it is pretty plain that they have been engineered from a common centre. They are not in a sense spontaneous; they are not absolutely in the same terms, but they go over the same ground with such slight variation that it is perfectly evident that an organised attempt has been made to get as many representations as possible put forward. Here is a letter dated from the Swansea General and Eye Hospital—

> "As a trained nurse who is keenly interested in the training of sick nurses I beg to protest against the Bill which has recently been introduced to provide for the establishment of an official directory of nurses. Such directory would be a danger to the public and an obstacle to progress in the training of nurses, since it fails to provide for a minimum standard

> of certification and would place the trained and the partly-trained nurse on the same level. Moreover, we are a large body of skilled workers, and we may surely claim the right to have a voice in a matter which so nearly concerns us. We are more keenly interested in maintaining a high standard of efficiency and conduct in our ranks than it is possible for any lay officials to be. We therefore think that it is only right and politic to demand that we should be well represented on any central board or council which may be formed for the purpose of organising or controlling our profession."

In the first place I am not proposing a body which is to organise or control the nursing profession. I am proposing a means by which the public and the medical profession can get the information to which they are entitled. I have dealt with the question of a minimum standard of certification, and I deny that the proposal made in this Bill would in any shape or form place a trained nurse and a partly-trained nurse on the same level. It is to prevent their being on the same level, it is to give the medical profession and the public the opportunity of discrimination which they have not now, that I propose this Bill. No one can object to the tone or the temper of such a letter as that, but I do suggest that it proceeds from insufficient information as to the real scope and object of the Bill.

I am afraid I cannot give the same praise to the letter which I am now about to read. It was not written to me, but to an official of the Central Hospital Council, for whom I am to some extent acting. It contains the sort of imputation upon our motives which I think we have a right to resent. It states—

> "The intolerable tactics of the few men who control the Central Hospital Council for London to subject the whole nursing profession to the *status* of serfs in the body politic will be strenuously and determinedly opposed. Autocracy, subterfuge, and sweating, rampant in connection with the nursing departments of some hospitals, will be resisted by the organised nurses of the country. Quite frankly, they do not intend to submit to any form of official tyranny, as embodied in the privately promoted legislation of the Central Hospital Council; and it is a serious scandal that a few employers of nurses should have attempted such an outrage."

I do not grudge the lady the pleasure which it must have given her to write this letter, but I do suggest that some, at any rate, of the adjectives and attributes employed are a little in excess of what the actual requirements of the case seem to me to render necessary.

I can assure your Lordships that those who have promoted this Bill have done so with a genuine desire to put the noble profession of nursing upon a better footing than it occupies at the present time. I can truly say that we desire the co-operation of all who will give it. At the worst, as I have said, it would pave the way for more, and you would know really once for all to whom to appeal for their opinion. You cannot, in my opinion, make any scheme, whether of this kind or of registration, compulsory. All you can do is to appeal to the personal advantage of those concerned. I believe honestly that this Bill would be found to the advantage of those who are best qualified to have their qualifications set forth. I put it forward as a step in advance compared with the present position of matters. I believe it is as long a step as public opinion will allow you to take at the present time. You may possibly set up a fixed standard with a minimum qualification by-and-by, but to attempt to do so now would, in my opinion, be productive of grave injustice. Whether this House accepts the Second Reading or not I have done by best to explain clearly the objects of the Bill, and I ask your Lordships to give it a fair and dispassionate consideration, and to judge of it on its merits.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read $2^a$."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

***Lord AMPTHILL**, who had given notice on the Motion for the Second Reading, to move that the Bill be read a second time this day six months, said: My Lords, I regret very much, on personal grounds, to stand in the way of my noble friend, whose intentions I do not doubt are as benevolent as they are disinterested and straightforward. I gladly pay him the compliment which he sought, but I do not know that I feel inclined to pay a similar compliment to those who have persuaded him to espouse their cause. I must confess, however, to some surprise that the noble Lord himself has been willing to espouse yet another losing cause, and that his chivalrous knight-errantry has brought him to take up a case of this kind. It is also to be regretted that his adherence to the Cobdenite doctrine of *laissez faire* extends so far that he would refuse to a great profession and to the general public that protection which has become an established principle of legislation, not only in this country and in the Colonies, but also in a great many foreign countries.

But perhaps your Lordships will allow me first of all to explain my own position, for reasons which I think will be apparent. Although I am associated with hospital work and with the organisation of the nursing profession, as chairman of a county hospital and president of the Colonial Nursing Association, I am not the mouthpiece of either of those bodies. Nor am I the spokesman of any association or organised body of individuals. I am acting in accordance with what I conceive to be my duty as an ordinary Member of this House. On account of my frequent intercourse with medical men and with nurses I happen to know the facts. I became keenly alive to the strong feelings of indignation and resentment excited by the introduction of this Bill, and it seemed to me that even a provisional approval of the principles of the Bill would discredit your Lordships' House certainly in the eyes of two great and important professions. I realised also that what is everybody's business is very frequently not the business of anybody in particular; and having waited to see whether any Member of this House would undertake to oppose the Bill, and having waited for a while in vain, I deemed it my duty to show that there were those in this House who would take action in a matter of this kind without being solicited by interested parties. I trust that after this explanation I shall be absolved from any charge of having exceeded the bounds of modesty, or of having violated the custom of this House which enjoins reticence on those who have no special claim to speak on a subject.

This Bill is objectionable in two ways—it is objectionable in matter and it is objectionable in manner. The substance of the Bill is objectionable, and the manner in which it has been introduced is objectionable; but your Lordships will, of course, understand that I am very far from referring to the impressive eloquence and the courteous dignity of my noble friend who moved the Second Reading. In order to prove these two contentions I must do what the noble Lord omitted to do—namely, briefly relate the antecedent circumstances. A movement to obtain the State registration of nurses was initiated some twenty years ago, and during the time that has elapsed it has received the support of an overwhelming consensus of opinion on the part of the medical profession and of practically all the organised bodies of nurses. The noble Lord endeavoured, I think, to throw dust in your eyes by quoting a certain number of names of individuals who supported his Bill, but I would call attention particularly to the fact that he was not able to quote the approval or support of any single organisation either of medical men or of nurses. He hinted vaguely that he was acting for certain persons who could claim high authority, but he did not give you their names.

Now, my Lords, I will do what the noble Lord has not done. I will tell you exactly by whom the principle of State registration is approved. It is approved, in the first place, by the General Medical Council, the governing body of the medical profession in this country; it is approved by the British Medical Association, a body which, I think, contains a greater proportion of members than the organisation of any other profession, for I believe I am right in saying that out of 30,000 medical practitioners no fewer than 21,000 belong to the British Medical Association. At the annual representative meeting of the British Medical Association in 1906 the principle of State registration was approved by a vote of 90 out of 93, and I would call your Lordships' attention particularly to the fact that this was not the vote of an executive committee or a general council, but the vote of representatives of constituencies in all parts of the country. The Royal College of Physicians of Ireland have also approved of the principle of State registration, as also have the International Council of Nurses, the Matrons' Council of Great Britain and Ireland, the Society for the State Registration of

Trained Nurses, which has a membership of 2,000 and represents the opinion of a great many more; the Scottish Registration Committee, the Royal British Nurses Association, the Irish Nurses Association, the League of St. Bartholomew's Hospital Nurses, and the Fever Nurses Association. I think I have now exhausted the names of the principal medical and nursing associations, but there has been support from other influential quarters. The Asylums Workers Association, the National Union of Women Workers, and the Women's Industrial Council are all on the side of those who advocate State registration. My noble friend quoted a few individuals, and I am sure your Lordships will know what weight to attach to the argument to which he was driven when he attempted to excite prejudice by reading to you a letter from some individual matron whose feelings on the subject had become too much for her. But I will leave that alone and proceed with my history of this question.

This principle of State registration, which is supported practically by the whole of the organised opinion of the medical and nursing professions, obtained the approval, in 1905, of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which took exhaustive evidence. My noble friend went so far as to insinuate that the verdict of that Committee was vague and inconclusive. He suggested that they advocated some sort of registration. The opinion of the Select Committee was very definite indeed, and, with your permission, I will quote exactly the form which their recommendation took. They said—

> "Your Committee are agreed that it is desirable that a register of nurses should be kept by a central body appointed by the State."

That is the whole point—"by the State." That shows exactly the issue between the advocates of State registration and those who have persuaded my noble friend to introduce this Bill, which is actually hostile to that principle of State registration. Two Bills to carry out the principles approved by the Select Committee of the House of Commons are now before the other House, and their consideration has only been delayed by the ordinary causes which tend to retard even legislation approved, as this is, by men of all parties and of all shades of opinion in the other House. Those two Bills are approved by the immense weight of professional opinion I have just quoted, and every one of those associations of doctors and nurses which I have named are strongly and earnestly opposed to the Bill now before your Lordships' House, because they regard it as deliberately, avowedly, and wantonly hostile to the principle of State registration which they have at heart.

Every day for the past month, since my noble friend gave notice of the Second Reading of his Bill, I have received resolutions from numerous bodies, which I will not delay your Lordships by naming, against this Bill, but I have not received a communication of any sort or kind expressing approval of my noble friend's Bill. The reason is not far to seek. The advocacy of this Bill, which is in opposition to State registration, comes from a small group of individuals—I might almost say from one single individual, and their reasons for objecting to the principle of State registration have never been made clear, chiefly, I think, because they have been afraid to put them to the test of public discussion. My noble friend endeavoured to anticipate that argument, and affected to believe that the introduction of his Bill into this House would be the equivalent of public discussion. But he must know perfectly well that what is meant by public discussion is a discussion among those who are most intimately concerned, and who are most likely to be affected by any intended legislation; and I think it has always been the custom in regard to legislation in this country that the opinions and the feelings of those who are likely to be affected, and who are most concerned, should be consulted before any Bill is introduced into Parliament.

The advocates of my noble friend's Bill, baffled by the verdict of the Select Committee of the House of Commons and also by the judgment of a Board of Trade inquiry held in 1905, found that a policy of mere resistance was useless, and therefore they assumed the offensive in the form of this Bill, and have inveigled my noble friend, I know not how, into undertaking the somewhat undignified task of drawing a red herring across the scent of true legislation. It is not a compliment to this House that the attempt to draw off the legislative pack on a false scent should have been made here, but I trust that your Lordships will not be misled by the fact that so sagacious and trusted a leader of the pack is for once in a way "throwing his tongue" in the wrong direction. This Bill is in effect a blocking Bill—an anti-registration Bill, and that is why I object to the manner of its introduction. Another reason for objecting to the manner of its introduction is that nobody outside the inner ring of the small self-constituted body calling itself the Central Hospital Council for London has been consulted. The opinion of neither doctors nor nurses has been sought or obtained.

In these circumstances I might ask your Lordships to refrain from approving the principle of the Bill on the ground that it is not supported by any public demand, and that, on the contrary, it is objected to by a very large and influential body of public opinion. I might suggest that the right course for your Lordships to take would be to say that you would not spend time in discussing it unless and until it comes back with some show of public support. I think that that would be a fair and reasonable course to adopt in a case of this kind. But my task would not be complete unless I showed that the Bill was also objectionable in principle. The object of registering nurses is, of course, to protect the public and the nurses themselves. I need not take up your Lordships' time by explaining why that protection is necessary. The reasons must be familiar to most Members of this House who are so largely concerned with questions of this kind. It would be more appropriate to dwell on the necessity for that protection in discussing a Bill which proposed to give protection to the public and to the nursing profession; it is not so appropriate in discussing a Bill which is intended to deny that protection.

My noble friend objected to registration as a means of protecting the public and the profession on two grounds. The first of these was that you could not register the character of a nurse, and the second was that examination was no test of character. I think that argument is very easily disposed of. It will be sufficient to remind your Lordships that the need for protection in regard to the nursing profession is similar to that which exists in other professions, and therefore the method adopted might very well be analogous. In the Medical Acts, the Solicitors Acts, the Dentists Acts, the Pharmacy Acts, and the recent Midwives Act, uniform principles have guided legislation in this country and throughout the British Empire; and if it is an objection to the principle of registration to say that you cannot register the character of a nurse and that examination is no test of character, or temper, or tact, or any of those other qualities which my noble friend enumerated in his most impressive manner, it is also an objection to the legislation which has taken place for the registration of doctors, solicitors, dentists, chemists, and midwives. The main principle of that legislation has been to establish registers which guarantee the efficiency of the members of the profession, and I think it is fairly obvious that the same principle could be followed and should be followed in regard to nurses.

My noble friend's Bill does not provide in any way for the establishment and the maintenance of a proper standard of training and conduct among nurses, and that alone could adequately protect the public interest. It is for that purpose that the advocates of State registration, the promoters of the two Bills now before the House of Commons, propose the creation of a council having statutory duties and powers, subject only to the general control of the Privy Council, and not merely an advisory committee like that suggested by my noble friend. Again, this Official Directory of Nurses Bill does not provide, as do the Bills before the other House, for the proper representation of those best qualified to advise. It does not provide for the proper representation either of medical men or of nurses themselves. It ignores altogether the experience of those members of the medical profession who are not attached to hospitals, but who, nevertheless, have a greater practical familiarity than have the staffs of hospitals with the actual work of nurses in those very circumstances in which the protection of the public is most needed.

The Bill in no way provides that the nurses themselves should be represented, and that their experience should have weight in determining the conditions of their registration. It does not provide explicitly for a Central Nurses Board, which would be following the precedent of the Midwives Act and the other Acts I have quoted, and it does not provide the essential test of a State examination. For these reasons I submit to your Lordships that the Bill would in no way remedy the evils which my noble friend admits to exist, and which it is the object of the advocates of State registration to remedy. It would be misleading to the public and useless to the nurses. There is yet one minor objection which I should like to point out. The Bill does not provide for an appeal on the part of a nurse who is erased from the register, and that kind of appeal could only be provided if you had a statutory body following the precedent of other similar bodies. I assert, in spite of all that my noble friend has said, that the promoters of this Bill have deliberately refrained from making any attempt to ascertain the opinion of any organised bodies representative of the medical and nursing professions. And why? I do not think the reason is far to seek. It is because they knew full well that they would not meet with any encouragement or support.

My noble friend referred to his daily letter bag. I, perhaps, may also be permitted to refer to mine. Every day for the past month I have received unvarying encouragement from every sort and kind of body and individual connected with the medical and nursing professions and interested in this question. I should be inclined to lay a very heavy wager that my noble friend has received very little, if any, similar encouragement. The object of this Bill is solely to put an obstacle in the true path of legislation—that is to say, legislation on the sound principles formulated by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, embodied in the Bills now before that House, approved by the two great professions concerned, and authorised by every kind of precedent in our own legislation and in the legislation of other countries and our Colonies. The House of Commons have a prior right in this matter. They have taken the initiative, they have studied the question, and they have mapped out a course. I submit that we ought not to impede them without better reasons than those which have been shown by my noble friend. I conclude, as I begun, by affirming my humble opinion that it would discredit this House in the eyes of a very large and important section of the community if this Bill were even approved in principle, and therefore, I beg to move that it be read a second time on this day six months.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out the word 'now' and to add at the end of the Motion the words, 'this day six months.'"—(*Lord Ampthill.*)

Lord ASHBOURNE: My Lords, like my noble friend who has just spoken, I have received a considerable amount of correspondence and printed matter in reference to this Bill, and until I received these communications I had not directed my attention at all to the subject. I am bound to say that I have only received representations against the Bill. Not one correspondent has communicated with me in its favour. I regret that there should be this antagonism between two bodies of opinion on this important subject. I think it is desirable that a question of this kind should be settled by a common general understanding. The whole country is interested in seeing the nursing profession attain a contented and thoroughly recognised position; but if all proposed legislation is to be made the subject of acute contention, it is unlikely that any legislation at all will be passed. There must be a kind of common understanding. The nursing profession has increased and developed in such an extraordinary way that it commands our respect and wins our sympathy.

The noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of this Bill quoted the testimony of three or four highly placed and respected ladies. I fully agree that a nurse has to possess many qualities that cannot be tested by examination, such qualities as sympathy with and attention to the patient. The nurses have struggled to improve themselves in the homes, in their education, and in their qualifications for the duties of their calling. They submit themselves to two, three, and four years of training, and have done everything that conceivably could be done to win public respect. Their final step is to urge that they are entitled, for their own protection and for the assistance of the public, to have a State Register setting out a full statement of their qualifications and under proper supervision. They ask that as a public-spirited body. They claim that they are entitled to ask the State to provide for them a method of registration that will be a protection for themselves and the public. I think there is a good deal to be said for that. The subject was dealt with by a Select Committee of the other House, and that Committee, after hearing the evidence and considering the case thoroughly, declared that the claim was reasonable and fair. I daresay that in time such a Bill may pass through the House of Commons and be presented to your Lordships' House. But the Bill of my noble friend, of which I do not desire to speak harshly at all, is really intended to prevent the views of the nurses from being carried out.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: What authority has the noble and learned Lord for saying that?

LORD ASHBOURNE: From the mass of correspondence which I have received and which I will send to my noble friend if he would like to read it. The noble Lord put forward his case with the greatest possible skill and in a most exhaustive way, but he was not able to mention the name of a single medical corporation or body supporting his Bill. He mentioned several members of the medical profession whose opinion is entitled to great respect, but they did not speak the views of any body of their profession. I believe, therefore, accord- to my experience as a man of the world, and judging by the mass of correspondence I have received, the great body of the nursing profession are opposed to the noble Lord's Bill. They take their stand upon the registration of trained nurses as provided by a Bill in the House of Commons, and they believe that this Bill has been introduced to stop the measure that they desire. Again, there is not the slightest suggestion in this Bill from beginning to end that the nurses are ever to be heard with reference to its administration; whereas in the Bills that have been introduced in the other House ample provision for this is made.

There is nothing novel in the suggestion of registration for nurses. It is not proposed that they should be compulsorily placed upon the Register but that they might ask to be placed upon it with a statement of their qualifications. There is no suggestion put forward by the nurses that those who have not the qualifications entitling them to be placed on the Register shall be excluded from practising. Any one could employ what nurse he pleased, registered or unregistered, qualified or unqualified. As I say, there is nothing new in the suggestion that nurses should have facilities for registration. Colony after Colony has adopted the principle, and thirteen or fourteen of the States of America and several countries in Europe have followed the same policy. Is it not, therefore, reasonable, in the interests of the community, that everything should be done to encourage nurses to improve their education and to allow them to be registered? I do not object to the principle of a Directory for the purpose of giving information to anyone wishing the aid of a nurse, but at the same time it is reasonable and just that the nurses themselves should have an opportunity of obtaining the registration of their qualifications. They have not asked for a Directory, and the concession of it would not meet their wishes.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (LORD TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, the subject raised by this debate is of very great importance. The profession of nursing is a very useful and honourable one. The number of nurses increases every year, and the duties they are called upon to undertake are becoming increasingly onerous. The nurse is the help both of the patient and of the doctor, and without her the work now done for the sick in this country would be immensely hindered. But when noble Lords speak of the protection of nurses, they should not forget that the public have also to be considered. Great though the services of nurses to the public are, there are occasions when the position is reversed and when trouble arises between the nurse and the patient.

Whilst I cannot propose that this should be treated as a Bill that is officially supported by the Government, I must say I look upon it with some benevolence. I do not at all admit the force of the argument put forward by the noble Lord who moved the rejection of the Bill and by the noble and learned Lord who has just sat down. This Bill does not in the least interfere with the registration of nurses; indeed, it is a distinct step towards registration. There is very great controversy upon the matter, and it is not true to say that the nurses are unanimously in favour of the registration proposal. I do not think it has been attempted to be shown that more than about 5,000 of the nurses of this country support the particular proposal now before the House of Commons.

But the nurses, after all, are not the only persons interested in this subject. The interests of the medical profession must also be considered. It is not the business of the patient to choose the nurse; it is the duty of the doctor to advise on the choice. The patient, as a rule, cannot tell what the qualifications of the nurse are, and it must be left to the doctor to recommend the nurse who is particularly adapted by her qualifications for any particular case. Then it is the business of the hospitals to train the nurses, and, whatever arrangement is eventually made, the views of the hospital authorities must be taken into account. There is another point. The Poor Law authorities are probably the largest employers of nurses in this country, and the Local Government Board therefore are also interested in this legislation. I do not regard the Bills in the other House as being in antagonism to the Bill of my noble friend; but, after all, this is essentially a case where the Government's procedure should follow the maxim of *festina lente.* It is better in a case such as this to begin quietly and within comparatively restricted limits. Registration could very well be introduced under this Bill hereafter, for there is a power to make alterations in the arrangements by Order in Council.

As regards the question of appeal, the intention of the Bill is that the nurse's name should only be capable of being excluded or erased from the Directory in the case of his or her actual conviction of some definite offence which would be specified in the Order in Council. I urge your Lordships to support my noble friend Lord Balfour's Bill as a practical and direct step towards what noble Lords opposite are desiring, namely, the registration of nurses. I believe the best way to arrive at that is to begin on a small scale and to extend afterwards if it should seem desirable.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: My Lords, I desire to support the action which Lord Ampthill has taken in regard to this Bill, because I cannot see that, if passed, it would be of the slightest advantage to any one. I have the honour of representing two large institutions—Guy's Hospital and Queen Victoria's Institute of Jubilee Nurses. Both of those institutions are opposed to this Bill, yet I think I may claim for them that they desire to maintain the highest possible standard of nursing, to promote the efficiency and further the interests of nurses, and to protect the public. I do not see that this Bill if passed would contribute to any of those ends. I think we are in some difficulty with regard to this discussion, because the Bill as it is before us is more in the nature of a skeleton, the most important details of which are to be filled in afterwards by Order in Council. It is extremely difficult to discuss the Bill without knowing the manner in which those details will be filled in. This Bill simply provides that a nurse who has received training at a hospital, infirmary, or other institution can have her name entered in a Directory. Nothing is said as to the size of the hospital or the nature of the training, and I should like to know whether the hospital training has to be completed by the nurse before it is proposed that her name should be entered on the Directory. The noble

Lord in charge of the Bill expressed the opinion that the measure would be in the interests of the most capable nurses, but I venture to think that if it is in the interests of any, it will be in the interests of the less efficient nurses. I cannot see how it is to be in the interest of the capable nurse if the measure of her capacity is not to be any inducement to her to place her name on the Directory.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: Surely the measure of her capacity is just the thing that would be placed on the Directory.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: That is one of the questions on which we are in a difficulty, because the qualifications to be inserted are to be decided by Order in Council after the Bill has passed. I will take a concrete case. Take the case of a nurse who enters a hospital where the period of training is four years. Having completed that period the nurse receives a certificate. Supposing at the end of two years, either because her strength would not hold out, or because the hospital authorities did not think she was sufficiently capable to make a good nurse, she was compelled to leave without a certificate. She would have received training at a hospital. Would she be allowed to put her name down as having received training at that hospital? That is really a most important question, to which I should be very glad if the noble Lord could give me an answer.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: That is a point which will depend upon the regulations to be prescribed by the Privy Council, but I cannot myself conceive that such a thing would happen as that the Privy Council would allow a nurse who had only received two years training to masquerade as having received four.

LORD ASHBOURNE: No, but they might allow her to masquerade as having received two.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: The public at large has very little knowledge of the regulations which prevail at the various hospitals with regard to training, and if it were not necessary that a nurse should receive a certificate before her name was entered on the Directory the public would be no wiser if her name was there than it would be if it was not. The certificate of efficiency should be the only gauge as to whether a nurse's name should appear on the Directory or not. It is difficult for us to vote for a Bill when such important details as these are not before us, but are left to be dealt with afterwards by an Order in Council. There are many arguments for State registration, and there are many arguments against it, but this Bill is neither one thing nor the other. Those who are opposed to State registration ought to oppose this Bill, because it contains that which they most object to in State registration, without, I venture to think, containing any of its guarantees; and I think those who support State registration ought to oppose this Bill because it does not carry out the objects they desire. Therefore, I claim against the Bill the votes both of those who are in favour of State registration and of those who are against it.

LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, it appears to me that the noble Lord the Lord President of the Council and the noble Lord who moved the Second Reading are the only persons who look upon this Bill as a stepping stone towards State registration for nurses. It is clear that this Bill is drafted on totally different lines. The view of the House of Commons Committee is that it is extremely desirable that an unqualified nurse should not be held out to be a qualified nurse, but this Bill proposes to put the unqualified nurse in precisely the same position as regards the Directory as the qualified nurse. That is a very serious thing. Any nurse of good character, as far as we can see, could get her name placed upon the Directory, and having got there she would have a distinct pull as against a nurse who was not on the Directory; and if in future an Act was passed for the State registration of nurses you would have these two things running concurrently, and the public would be liable to get confused. I certainly agree with the opinion expressed to me by a lady who is a very great authority on nursing, and who thinks it is the more enlightened nurse who will be in favour of registration and the less enlightened, not possessing the same training, experience, and ambition, who will be content with the Directory; and I think it is extremely desirable, in the public interest, that there should be a Register setting forth the qualifications of the nurses rather than a mere Directory. I am entirely at one with the noble and learned Lord who spoke from the Front Bench opposite that the registration should not be compulsory. If we give this Bill a Second Reading we shall be acting against the opinion expressed by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, who considered this matter for two years, against all logic, and certainly against the opinion of the important bodies enumerated by Lord Ampthill. For some time I was treasurer of University College Hospital; for many years I have been on the committee of the hospital, and I am certain that if any member of the medical staff or of the committee had wished to support Lord Balfour's Bill I should have heard of it. But, as a matter of fact, I have not heard of one single doctor, nurse, or member of the hospital committee who is in favour of this Bill.

**EARL RUSSELL**: My Lords, this Bill has been extremely fortunate in the personality of its introducer, and also in its unexpected support from the front Ministerial Bench, but I think there its good fortune comes to an end. I submit that a Bill of this character, introduced confessedly without the assent or the concurrence of any of the persons most interested in the subject with which it deals, is hardly one likely to commend itself to your Lordships. You have been told that the nurses themselves are not to be found, through any recognised association, to support this Bill, and your Lordships have also been told that medical men, who have the next best knowledge on the subject, are also not to be found in its support. I have received many communications regarding this Bill, but I have not received a single one in its favour. I can hardly think that your Lordships would be likely to pass a Bill for the regulation of a large class of this character when that measure is entirely without support from those chiefly concerned and is not put forward after any considerable public discussion on the subject. I speak entirely as a layman; but the whole balance of the evidence, so far as I am able to form any opinion upon it, is that this Bill is not desired by those who know most about it, and, in spite of what was said by the noble Lord the Lord President of the Council, must necessarily prove a hindrance and obstacle to that State registration of nurses which we all desire.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES** (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, I had not intended to take part in this debate, but, having some little knowledge of the subject from the position which I previously held, I intervene at this point to say a few words. The question is not really such a simple one as it has been made out to be, either by the noble Earl who has just sat down or by the noble and learned Lord on the Front Bench opposite. The noble and learned Lord said he spoke as a man of the world, and one is always delighted to hear him in that or any other capacity. But I would rather have heard him as one who had looked into this matter and realised the difficulties. The noble and learned Lord seemed to imply that it was a question between passing this Bill now and passing a Registration Bill in the immediate future, and he very naturally, and I think very properly, preferred the Registration Bill of the two. But, my Lords, that is not exactly the position. It may be that it is a question of something of this kind or of nothing at all, because the path of a Registration Bill is by no means quite so easy a one as Lord Ampthill and others have attempted to make us believe.

There are two principal difficulties, which were brought before me when I was Lord President. One has to do with machinery, and it is a difficulty which has not been got over. The kind of registration wanted by the medical profession is not the same as that wanted by the nursing profession, because each profession insists that their profession should have the majority upon the council to be formed. That is a difficulty which, so far as I know, has been by no means solved, and your Lordships would find that if a Bill came up to this House containing provisions either for a medical majority or for a nursing majority it would be hotly opposed by those who consider themselves entitled to speak on behalf of the one profession or the other. Then there is the inherent difficulty which has always seemed to me the main obstacle in the way of registration — How can you avoid people regarding registration as a guarantee of permanent efficiency?

The noble Lord who moved the rejection of the Bill quoted the Medical and Solicitors Acts as being analogous to a system of registration for nurses. That is not so. A doctor practises in a certain place and works, so to speak, in the light of day. If he gets drunk, if his character is such that people dislike to see him attending their wives and daughters, the fact soon becomes known and people cease to employ him. He may possibly be still on the Register, but his character can be perfectly well known. But there is no such means of ascertaining the character of a nurse. She is sent for very often from a distance and in a hurry, and in nine cases out of ten her past and also her present are absolutely unknown to the people who send for her. Therefore it seems to me that the analogy entirely breaks down. I have never heard a suggestion as to how you are to maintain any sort of inspection which will guarantee that a registered nurse is an absolutely proper and desirable person, quite apart from those questions of temper and other important matters to which Lord Balfour alluded.

The noble Viscount opposite asked whether it might not happen that a person who had had no training would be, upon the Directory, in as good a position as a fully trained nurse. As I understand it, the object of the Directory is to give a sort of "Who's who" in the nursing profession. If a nurse had had only three months training, the Directory would show that, and the person sending for her would do so at his own risk. If she had successfully passed a four years course at St. Bartholomew's or some other well-known hospital, that fact would be stated. It is very difficult to see how you can go beyond the statement of what the training has been unless you are prepared to regard the fact that the nurse is on the Register as a guarantee of her being at the time you send for her the kind of nurse you should have in your house. I am not in any way opposed to registration; on the contrary, I most heartily favour the principle; but I do not see any possibility of a Registration Act being passed within the next few years, not only on account of the Parliamentary obstacles, but also on account of the inherent difficulties I have just mentioned. I therefore regard this Bill as something in the nature of a step in advance, and I cannot see in what respect it would be an obstacle to registration in the future. On the contrary, it appears to me that it would be of assistance to registration, and therefore, if a division takes place, I personally shall give my vote with my noble friend in favour of the Bill.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I wish to say a very few words on the subject of this Bill, and I shall be brief, partly because I confess I have not that intimate knowledge either of the subject or of the origin of this proposed legislation which is enjoyed by the noble Lords who have already spoken. We have had statements to the effect that there has been a failure to consult those who ought to have been consulted. Again, motives have been imputed to those from whom this Bill originated. I know nothing of these matters, and what I have to say has reference only to the simple text of the Bill as I find it on the Table.

The noble Earl who has just sat down referred to the preference which had been expressed for another Bill now before the House of Commons. He met that argument by the observation that there was no security whatever that we should get that Bill, and I understood him to suggest that this Bill was better than nothing. But is it quite clear that this Bill is better than nothing? I confess to having some doubts upon that point. The Bill, as has been truly said, deals with a matter of very great importance —a matter of importance not only to the nursing profession, a profession of which I desire to speak with the utmost respect, but also to the medical profession and the public at large, and it seems to me that we cannot be too careful in approaching legislation upon a subject of this kind. I confess I should myself prefer to leave it entirely alone rather than resort to legislation which might increase the confusion which apparently already exists and add to those rivalries and antipathies which have been disclosed during the course of this debate. There are two points in particular as to which I should like to say a word. In the first place, is not the title of this Bill rather a misleading title? The noble Lord who moved it dwelt repeatedly upon the fact that it was a Bill merely for establishing a Directory of Nurses, and he drew a sharp contrast between such a Bill and what he called the more ambitious and drastic scheme of registration which others prefer. But this Bill is really a Registration Bill. It is a Bill for creating a Directory; but behind the Directory there is an official registrar, there are conditions to be attached to registration, and there are penalties to be imposed upon those who do not comply with those conditions. Therefore, I venture to submit to the House that this is a Registration Bill, and that you must consider whether it is or is not a good Registration Bill.

The second point to which I wish to invite the attention of the House is this—that this registration, for I prefer to call it registration, is not compulsory. It is, as I understand it, entirely optional upon a nurse whether she has her name included in the Directory or not. A nurse whose name is not in the Directory will be allowed, I apprehend, to practise as at present. If that is so, does it not clearly follow that the nurses who will be upon the Directory will claim for themselves, and may appear to the public to be, a kind of *corps d'elite* amongst the nursing body? But will they have a right to claim that they are really a *corps d'elite*? Is it not clear from what we have heard to-night that a great many of the best qualified nurses will decline to have anything to do with the Directory? To the public, however, the presence of a nurse's name on the official Directory will appear to involve some kind of guarantee of her fitness to practise as a nurse. What is there in this Bill to afford any security that she really will be fit to practise in that honourable and difficult profession? Clause 3 says—

> "Every nurse who has received training in nursing at a hospital, infirmary, or other institution for the care of the sick . . . . not being an institution carried on for private gain, shall be entitled to have his or her name entered in the Directory."

But nothing is said as to the amount of such training. It may be of the most perfunctory and insufficient nature. My noble friend who moved the Second Reading of the Bill suggested to us that people would refer to the Directory in order to ascertain the competence, suitability, and qualification of the nurses, but I fail to find anything in the Bill to provide that the Directory shall, in itself, afford any guarantee whatever.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: It is not intended to.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: It is not intended to, says my noble friend. That is my argument. I certainly gathered from him, both when he spoke at first and also when he answered an interrogation from the benches behind me just now, that the Directory was intended to supply a measure of the nurse's capacity. I think that was what he said at the Table a moment ago, but I fail to find in this Bill anything which really bears out that statement. What is likely to be the result of passing this Bill? After what we have heard this evening as to the marked division of opinion in the nursing profession, it seems to me quite obvious that a large number of the most qualified nurses will remain outside the Directory altogether, and if that should happen, surely we may say that none of the three interested parties—the nurses themselves, the medical profession, and the public—will really gain very much by our legislation.

We know that another Bill dealing with this matter is before the House of Commons. I am not going to discuss the details of that Bill upon this occasion. Those of us who have had an opportunity of examining it are under the impression that at some points it compares favourably with the Bill upon your Lordships' Table. But be that as it may, I cannot help doubting whether my noble friend who is responsible for this Bill is wise in pressing upon Parliament a measure which is evidently regarded with great suspicion. If there is to be a settlement of this question of registration—a difficult and a thorny question—surely we should endeavour to obtain a settlement which would be generally acceptable to all parties concerned; and it is because I am afraid that this Bill, instead of affording the material for such a settlement, will aggravate the existing difficulty, that I shall very reluctantly, if my noble friend presses his Motion to a division, vote, not with him, but with my noble friend Lord Ampthill.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I daresay the House will give me their indulgence for a few moments for a reply. I am very much in the hands of the House as to whether or not a division should be taken on this matter. I have received a certain amount of support from those who are well entitled to speak, and from those who are officially responsible in this matter, and I should be sorry not to take the sense of the House in respect to that support. I frankly admit that whether the House accepts the Second Reading or not it will not make any real practical difference. There is such a divergence of opinion in regard to the Bills before the other House that they are not likely to come to a successful issue during the present session; and it is also certain that, if your Lordships were ultimately to pass this Bill, it would not have much chance of acceptance in another place, having regard to the conditions under which business is there transacted. Therefore, it is purely a matter of academic interest whether we have a division on the Second Reading or not. Personally I am inclined to test in the division lobby the amount of support to be given to this Bill, because I believe there has been a considerable amount of interested clamour against it.

I should like to say a word in regard to what my noble and learned friend said on the point of the authority which is behind the opposition to this Bill. Undoubtedly certain resolutions passed by certain bodies of organised nurses have been quoted both by him and by the noble Lord who moved the rejection of the Bill, but there is more than a suspicion that in some of these cases they are only a stage army. There are some individuals who are responsible for more than one of those resolutions. I am not very learned in the names of the different nursing associations, but I have had some education in regard to them. I have had interviews with some of the ladies who are opposed to the Bill, and, so far as I can see, the management of these different associations which have passed resolutions is in hands not very dissimilar one from the other. I have not been able to find out how many nurses the opposition to this Bill represents. I do not for a moment deny that they represent a considerable number, but my contention is that in regard to the total profession they are not by any means so representative as they would like to make out, and as, perhaps, they genuinely think themselves. If we once have a Directory of Nurses, we shall be able, by some means or other, to find out what their real opinions are on this subject. It was on that ground mainly that I took up this measure.

I suppose to some extent I am in the dock as one of those who desire to oppose the more ambitious schemes. I do not know whether any disclaimer on my part will convince those who have cast that stone at me; but that is not really the case. I have read the evidence that was given before the Select Committee of the other House, and I am convinced that there is a great deal more to be said on this Bill as a real step in advance than is admitted by those who are in favour of the larger schemes. I agree with the two noble Lords who spoke opposite that, even if we passed this Bill, it might not advance very much the cause of those who want the larger schemes. I can assure them, honestly, that it is not put forward for the purpose of blocking those schemes, but for affording a means of improving the present position of matters. Lord Monkswell said that he was connected with University College Hospital, and seemed to imply that no one connected with that hospital would have anything to do with such a Bill as mine. But his hospital is not unanimous about registration, for in the Appendix to the Select Committee's Report I find a list of resolutions in opposition to the Bills which were then suggested, and amongst them is one passed by the Committee of University College Hospital.

LORD MONKSWELL: My statement was that I had received no communication from any member of University College Hospital in favour of the noble Lord's Bill.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I think that may be quite possible. I do not know whether noble Lords will concur with me, but in my experience I find that those who are in favour of a measure are much less active than those who are against it. The noble Marquess who leads the Opposition made some observations in regard to the Bill. He objected to the title, which, he says, is registration in disguise, and he commented upon the fact that the entries upon the Directory would not be compulsory. No one proposes that registration, if you choose so to call it, under this Bill, or under the other Bill, should be made compulsory, because the only way in which you could make it compulsory would be by providing that those who were not on the Register or Directory should not be allowed to practise.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I hope my noble friend did not imagine that I was in favour of compulsory registration.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I have far too much belief in my noble friend's knowledge of affairs to suggest that he would ever advocate so absurd a proposal; but I differ from him in this, that I do not believe there is any evidence to show that only the less good nurses would go on the Directory. I believe it would be a great advertisement of their qualifications; and, although it would not be a guarantee, it would give the medical profession and the public the means of finding out the qualifications, antecedents, and attainments of nurses, which they do not possess at the present time. Although the matter is of an academic kind, I desire to take the sense of the House in regard to this Bill. The more I have looked into this question, the more convinced I am that there is a real grievance to be remedied; and I concur most cordially in the statement that it is a great pity opportunity is not taken, by conciliation, to arrive at a better understanding on this important matter.

On Question, whether the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion,

The House divided:—Contents. 20; Not-Contents, 53.

## CONTENTS.

Tweedmouth, L. (*L. President.*)

Ripon, M. (*L. Privy Seal.*)

Wellington, D.

Bath, M.

Beauchamp, E. (*L. Steward.*)
Carrington, E.
Crewe, E.
Cromer, E.
Nelson, E.
Cross, V.

Armitstead, L.
Balfour, L. [*Teller.*]

Denman, L.
Glantawe, L. [*Teller.*]
James, L.
Killanin, L.
Kinnaird, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Stanmore, L.
Welby, L.

## NOT-CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Abp.

Bedford, D.
Devonshire, D.
Rutland, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Lansdowne, M.

Amherst, E.

Clarendon, E.
Dartrey, E.
Denbigh, E.
Jersey, E.
Lauderdale, E.
Liverpool, E.
Onslow, E.
Russell, E.
Waldegrave, E.
Westmeath, E.

Churchill, V.
Falkland, V.
Goschen, V.
Hill, V.
Iveagh, V.
Milner, V.

Ampthill, L. [*Teller.*]
Ashbourne, L.
Atkinson, L.

*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*

Belhaven and Stenton, L.
Belper, L.
Colchester, L.
Colebrooke, L.
Courtney of Penwith, L.
Faber, L.
Fairlie, L. (*E. Glasgow.*)
Granard, L. (*E. Granard.*)
Haversham, L.
Heneage, L. [*Teller.*]
Herschell, L.
Hindlip, L.
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Lawrence, L.
Monkswell, L.
Montagu of Beaulieu, L.
Newton, L.
Playfair, L.
Rathmore, L.
Ravensworth, L.
Reay, L.
Saltoun, L.
Sanderson, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Sinclair, L.
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Weardale, L.

Bill to be read 2ª this day six months.

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## TERRITORIAL HORSE ARTILLERY.

THE EARL OF DENBIGH: My Lords, I rise to ask His Majesty's Government: (1) To give particulars as to the amount of training undergone annually by officers and men of the Canadian and Australian Volunteer Field Batteries; (2) to state whether, by the last Reports received at the War Office, these batteries are regarded as efficient or inefficient; (3) whether it is proposed to issue to the Horse and Field Territorial Batteries old pattern collar harness or the new pattern breast harness; (4) with what gun it is proposed to arm the Territorial Horse Artillery; (5) what are the respective weights of the 15-pounder converted quick-firing and the 18-pounder quick-firing gun and limber fully packed and with shields; and (6) what arrangements are being made for the provision of proper artillery land ranges where the Territorial batteries may carry out their gun practice, and how many such ranges the authorities contemplate being able to obtain.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord LUCAS): My Lords, in answer to the first Question, I have to say that there are no "Volunteer" field batteries in either Canada, or Australia. The "Militia" Field Artillery of Canada has to do twelve days annually in camp and an additional four days practice at an artillery camp to qualify for efficiency. Pay is drawn for sixteen days only, but a number of voluntary drills are usually performed in addition to those required for efficiency. In Australia the number of days training required for efficiency by the Field Artillery is sixteen, which includes four days practice. Here also additional voluntary drills are performed. As to the second Question, copies of the reports of the Military Council of Canada and of the Military Board of the Commonwealth of Australia are laid annually before the Parliaments of Canada and Australia respectively. His Majesty's Government have no control over the forces raised in the self-governing Colonies, and it does not, therefore, seem desirable that the War Office should make any statement on the subject of efficiency of these forces. In reply to the third Question, collar harness is going to be provided for the batteries of the Territorial Force; and, as to the fourth Question, it is proposed to arm the Territorial Horse Artillery with the converted 15-pounder and with the Mark IV which is slightly lighter than the Mark I gun. I now come to the fifth Question. The weight of the new 18-pounder quick-firer with the shield is 40 cwt. 16 lb.; the weight of the converted 15-pounder, Mark IV, is 40 cwt. 1 qr. It is at present under consideration to lighten the guns of the Territorial Horse Artillery by taking out a certain amount of ammunition from the limber. About 6 cwt. of ammunition is at present carried on the limber, and the gun in action is supplied from the wagons, and therefore the important thing is to carry the immediate supply in the wagons. With the 15-pounder you can carry in the wagon alone almost as many rounds as you can with the Horse Artillery gun in both limber and wagon. The answer to the sixth Question is that the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief have been instructed to place themselves in communication with the County Associations in reference to possible artillery ranges. It is considered at the present time, whilst this artillery is in its infancy, that the present range accommodation, most of which is at coast ranges, should be sufficient to provide accommodation adequate for its batteries for the first two years of their existence, and while they are really learning the rudiments of their work. By the end of that time it will, of course, be desirable that they should have ranges which will afford them not only better facilities for manœuvring than the coast ranges do, but also that they should have the opportunity of firing across land. The County Associations have already received from the War Office a letter giving information with regard to the possible sites for new artillery ranges, and also there is a new clause in the Public Works Loan Commissioners (Annual) Bill this session to facilitate the purchase of artillery ranges. It is impossible to say what number of inland ranges it is hoped to provide, but everything is being done to provide them when the time comes, and it is hoped that in two years time we shall have made considerable provision with inland ranges.

THE EARL OF DENBIGH: I should like to ask if the noble Lord is aware that it is infinitely more important for horse artillery to have as much ammunition as possible in their limbers than with field artillery, because one of the most important functions of horse artillery is to act with cavalry, and to get over the country quickly, and very often the wagons cannot keep up with them. The reduction of the amount of ammunition is one of the most extraordinary propositions I have ever heard of.

*LORD LUCAS: The total amount of ammunition carried with the battery will be practically the same. As I understand it, it is the wagon that is used at the time when the battery goes into action.

THE EARL OF DENBIGH: There are many occasions with the horse artillery when it is preferable to use the ammunition from the limbers. I hope the authorities at the War Office will give due consideration to that fact.

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INDIANS IN NATAL.

*LORD AMPTHILL rose to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would lay on the Table of the House any correspondence that might have passed recently concerning the Municipal Corporations Act and the Dealers' Licences Act of the Colony of Natal. The noble Lord said: My Lords, I do not propose to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies to discuss, or to make any statement upon, the very important subject referred to in the correspondence for which I ask. In the first place I do not think it would be fair to do so immediately on the accession of the noble Earl to the supremely important office in which, if I may say so without presumption, we are all glad to see him. Secondly, I do not think it advisable that a question of this kind should be discussed in this House without full official information. I would merely, therefore, put my Question to the noble Earl and ask him to allow me to do so on the understanding that if the Papers, by any unfortunate chance, cannot be presented, or cannot be presented within reasonable time, say a fortnight, I may consider myself at liberty to raise the question either with or without the official information I hope to obtain.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, I am very much obliged to the noble Lord opposite for his consideration, but I think I may be allowed to state how the matter stands at this moment, because it will be a guide to him if he wishes to refer to it on some future occasion. The two laws referred to are the Municipal Corporations Act of Natal and the Dealers' Licences Act, and I can quite understand that the noble Lord, having held the high position he did in India, takes a keen interest in the lot of Indians who have migrated, for trade or other purposes, to Natal. So far as regards the Municipal Corporations Act, that Act, as I daresay the noble Lord knows, is not in operation. It was reserved, and therefore it does not affect any Indians in Natal at this moment. There has been no recent correspondence on either of the Acts: Lord Elgin addressed the last communication to the Natal Government at the beginning of September, and so far no reply has been received. Two objections were taken by my noble friend and the Government to the Municipal Corporations Act. The first was that the definition of a coolie included persons to whom the term was never intended to apply—namely, persons outside the classes of labourers and domestic servants; and, therefore, strong objection was taken to it. On that point the Natal Government were willing to meet my noble friend Lord Elgin. They were prepared to alter the wording of the Act in terms which would make it clear that only actual labourers and domestic servants would be included. But there was the further point that the Indians, who, as the noble Lord knows, are already excluded from the Parliamentary franchise in Natal, would also have been excluded from the municipal franchise. The latter is, in the opinion of the Colonial Office, a more domestic matter than the Parliamentary franchise, and therefore, there is a sort of *a fortiori* reason for not pressing the Natal Government to change their mind on this question of excluding Indians from the municipal franchise. But on one condition. If the Indians are to be excluded from the municipal franchise—and my noble friend did not stand out on that point—it could only be on the understanding that the ratepayers, who would not include the Indians, were prepared to treat the Indians fairly in every way. At the present time Indian traders can be deprived of their licences by the Licensing Board, on which they, of course, have no representation. That is provided for under Section 6 of the Dealers' Licences Act, and there is no appeal from the Licensing Board. My noble friend Lord Elgin intimated that the Secretary of State for India regarded it as essential that if the Indians are to be deprived of the municipal franchise, they ought, in return for that deprivation to have an appeal to the Supreme Court on this question of licences, the matter where they think their interests are likely to be most seriously affected. The noble Lord sees how the matter stands. That alternative was offered to the Natal Government, and so far they have made no reply. The question is, therefore, in so incomplete a stage at the present moment that there would be no advantage in laying Papers on the Table. But if the noble Lord will not press for Papers now, I will take care that he is informed when anything further occurs; and meanwhile the Municipal Corporations Act is not in operation.

### COMPANIES (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

### POST OFFICE (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

Moved to resolve, "That after the Companies (Consolidation) Bill [H.L.] has been read 2ª it is desirable that the said Bill together with the Post Office (Consolidation) Bill [H.L.] be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament"—(The Lord Granard (*E. Granard*) )—; agreed to.

House adjourned at five minutes before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Wednesday*, 6*th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act for extending and varying the powers of the Great Western Railway Company in respect of certain authorised railways and works; and for other purposes." [Great Western Railway Bill] [Lords.]

Great Western Railway Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

## *PETITIONS.*

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Glasgow, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petition in favour; From Broadstairs; and Glasgow; to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Bersham; Broomhouse; Chapel; Clifton Hall; Garwood; Garwood Hall; Gilfach

Goch; Hanley (No. 5); Tollcross; Vauxhall; and Wynnstay; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Brenton; Lincolnshire; Pensilva; Ripponden; and Lancashire (South-West); to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSED PREMISES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN).

Petition from Gosforth, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Abingdon; Aston (two); Birmingham; Chichester; Ganton; Gloucester; Gosport; Havant; Houghton le Spring; Hull; King's Heath; Nottingham; Oldbury; Ottringham; Portsmouth (nine); Ross; Stone; Tonbridge; and Whitehaven; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Three Petitions from London, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdare; Acrefair; Ady's Clawr; Amlwch; Ansty; Ashton-under-Lyne; Atherstone; Bangor (two); Barnard Castle; Beaumaris; Beccles; Berw Gaerwen; Bexley Heath; Blackburn (two); Bodedern; Bodorgan; Bolton(two); Boultham; Bradford (three); Brecon; Broadstairs; Brotton; Brymbo (two); Burton Latimer; Bute; Caelusham; Carmarthen; Carnarvon; Castleton; Cefn (three); Chard; Chirk; Clapham; Cleckheaton; Coedpoeth (two); Crickadarn; Crieff; Crook (two); Dalmuir; Dalston; Dartford; Denholm; Dennistown; Dowlais; Dulwich; Egremont; Eye; Falkirk; Fetterangus; Fodwick; Four Lanes; Glasgow (thirteen); Glastonbury; Gloucester; Golborne; Gomersall; Grantham (three); Grays; Greenwich (two); Gwenddwr; Gwersyllt; Hallfield; Hanley; Harrow; Heckmondwike; Heywood; Hexham; High Wycombe (two); Holmbush; Hounslow; Huddersfield; Hundon (two); Islay (two); Kennington; Kilmarnock; Kingsbridge; King's Heath; Kislingbury; Leeds (two); Levenshulme; Lincoln (four); Llanbedrog; Llandegfan; Llanelly (three); Llanerchymedd; Llangollen; Llannon; Llanwrtyd; Llanwyrtyd; Llwynhendy; Lockerley; Lockwood; Lowestoft (three); Luton; Macclesfield (five); Manaton; Manchester; Marylebone; Middlesbrough; Milnathort; Montrose; Moorland Road; Mynytho; Nantmel; Newland; North Shields (two); Norwich (three); Nunthorpe; Oswestry; Parkstone; Peasedown; Pencoed; Penrhos Feilio; Pitlochry; Reading; Rhos; Rhosllaerchrugog; Rhosllanerchrugog; Rhosymedil; Rothwell; Ruabon; Rushden; Ruskington; St. Mary Cray; Sawtry; Seacombe; Shettleston; Shirebrook; Skelton in Cleveland; Shrewsbury (seven); Sleaford (two); Southall (four); Southport (two); Southsea; South West Ham; Stanhope; Stockport (four); Stonehaven; Stowmarket; Strathavon; Summerhill; Sunbury; Sunningdale; Thetford; Tiree; Tow Law (two); Troedrhiwdalar; Vaynoz; Watton; West Kensington; West Wycombe; Whitehaven; Wigton; Wimborne; Wishaw; Wrexham; Wyke; and Yatton; to lie upon the Table.

### LIGHTS ON VEHICLES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Renfrewshire, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions against: from East Lothian; Girvan; Johnstone; and St. Andrews; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Ayr; Border District; Conon Bridge; Dingwall; Glasgow; Gorbals (two); Grand Lodge of Scotland of the International Order of Good Templars; Islay; Ringford; and Shettleston; to lie upon the Table.

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Filey; and Whitehaven; to lie upon the Table.

## RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

### DEATHS FROM ALCOHOL (IRELAND).

Return [presented 4th May] to be printed. [No. 135.]

### IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings during the month of February 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### MILITARY PRISONS.

Copy presented, of Rules for Military Prisons in the Field, made by the Secretary of State for War [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### BANKRUPTCY LAW AMENDMENT.

Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into the Bankruptcy Law and its Amendment, Report, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Copy presented, of Preliminary Draft of the Articles of a Charter for the College to have its seat in Dublin [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Copy presented, of Preliminary Draft of the Articles of a New Charter for the Constituent College at Cork [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Copy presented, of the Preliminary Draft of the Articles of a New Charter for the Constituent College at Galway [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### LABOURERS (IRELAND).

Return ordered, "showing: (*a*) The number of cottages and allotments provided under the Labourers Acts by each district council in Ireland; (*b*) the rents reserved in letting under those Acts; (*c*) the number of cottages or allotments unoccupied within each district council area; (*d*) the number of cottages or allotments the rent whereof is in arrear, and the total amount of such arrears within said area; (*e*) the number of cottages applied for in each rural district under the last completed scheme under the Labourers Acts, together with the number of applications for extra half-acres to cottages already built under the said scheme, the number of applications for cottages and extra half-acres sanctioned, the amount of the official, legal, engineering, clerical, and other expenses incurred in connection with the preparation and confirmation of every such scheme and the particulars thereof; and (*f*) the number of cases where advances have been made under section two of the Irish Land Act, 1903, as amended by the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1906, to agricultural labourers."—(*Mr. O'Shaughnessy.*)

### ULTIMUS HÆRES (SCOTLAND) (ACCOUNT AND LIST OF ESTATES).

Return ordered, "of Abstract Account of the receipts and payments of the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Scotland, in the year ended the 31st day of December 1907, in the administration of Estates and Treasure Trove on behalf of the Crown."

"And of Alphabetical List of Estates which fell to the Crown as Ultimus Hæres in Scotland, administered by the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, in the same year."—(*Mr. Hobhouse.*)

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

### Clerks to Justices of the Peace—Extra Outlay involved by passing of New Acts.

MR. BARKER (Penryn and Falmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that, in various counties in England and Wales, the clerks to county justices have been, and are being, put to additional expense in providing the books and forms required in connection with the administration of justice caused by the passing of various Acts of Parliament, among others the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, the Lights on Vehicles Act, 1907, the Dogs Act, 1906, and the Licensing Acts, 1902–1904, without any corresponding allowance or increase of remuneration being granted to defray the extra outlay imposed upon the clerks; and whether he will communicate with the local authorities concerned setting forth the manner in which such outlay, both present and future, should be borne.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I have no reason to suppose that the local authorities are not fully aware of the increase in work and expenses which statutes of the nature indicated by my hon. friend may cause to justices' clerks. Where the increase so caused is substantial I am always prepared to consider a recommendation from the responsible local authority for an increase of salary, but I do not think I should be justified in suggesting that such recommendations should be made generally.

### Notice of Application for Marriage Licences in Ireland.

MR. HUGH BARRIE (Londonderry, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the provisions of Section 25, cap. 49, of the Act 34 and 35 Vict., respecting notice to be given of application for marriage licences, are very commonly disregarded in Ireland; whose duty is it to enforce the giving of such notice; and will he take steps to see that the law is observed by proceeding against persons who disobey it.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Registrar-General for Ireland informs me that he is not aware that the provisions of the section quoted are very commonly disregarded in Ireland, though complaints have reached him from time to time of alleged failure in particular cases to send copies of the notices of marriage required by the section. The Act makes no provision for enforcing the sending of such copies of notices.

### Roughfort National School—Average Attendance.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state what has been the average attendance at Roughfort national school, county Antrim, during each of the last two quarters; and can he say why the National Commissioners continue a grant to a school with so small an attendance, seeing that two other schools exist only a mile distant.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The average attendance during the last two quarters was 27 and 24 respectively. The Commissioners of National Education understand that the recent decline in the attendance is but temporary, and is due to local circumstances of an exceptional character. The average attendance for the year 1907 was 60, and the average number on the rolls was 95. If the school were closed this number could not be accommodated at the two other schools in the locality.

### Gorton (Lancashire) Licensing Statistics.

MR. HODGE (Lancashire, Gorton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many licences have been remitted for compensation under the Licensing Act, 1904, by the licensing authorities in the Gorton (South-East Lancashire) Parliamentary Division, the amount of compensation paid in each case, and how distributed between the parties interested in such licences; can he state how many licences have been given up by brewers by way of barter in the division above referred to, and separately for the district covered by the licensing authority of the county borough of Manchester, for full licences in the same districts covered by such licensing authorities or for rebuilding of unsuitable premises with extended drinking or other facilities, and how much compensation, if any, was paid to the licence-holder of such licences so given up in barter, or what compensation, if any, was given to the owners of the property in which such licences existed; and will he state in how many cases the magistrates in the districts named, being dissatisfied with the suitability of the premises in which licences existed, gave opportunity of improvement to the licence-holder or owner, interfered for the protection of adjoining tenants warned out so that such premises could be utilised for such improvements, if the magistrates had not so interfered would compensation have been paid, and did the notice given except in the case of a lease never exceed four weeks.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I regret that the information at my disposal does not enable me to answer any part of this Question. All the available particulars as to the operation of the Licensing Acts, including compensation proceedings under the Act of 1904, are given in the annual volumes of Licensing Statistics; but those particulars are necessarily compiled according to licensing districts. The Gorton Parliamentary Division comprises small parts of three licensing districts; and it is not possible, without great and totally disproportionate labour, if at all, to rearrange the particulars of those licensing districts so as to show how much of them relates to the Parliamentary division. So far as the Question relates to the circumstances in which occupiers of premises, whether licensed or not, may be dispossessed otherwise than in direct pursuance of the powers of the justices under the Licensing Acts, the matter is outside my jurisdiction, and I regret that I have no information on the subject.

### Stamping of Glass and Earthenware Measures.

MR. J. JOHNSON (Gateshead): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that Regulation 21 of the new Regulations recently issued by his Department prevents an inspector of weights and measures from stamping glass and earthenware measures on the premises of the manufacturer without the sanction of the Board of Trade, and that no such sanction is necessary for inspectors to stamp weights, scales, or even pewter measures on manufacturers' premises; whether he can give any reasons for that distinction, which is resented in the glass and earthenware manufacturing districts; and whether he will give instructions to have the regulation deleted.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) The stamping on manufacturers' premises of glass and earthenware measures is on a different footing from that of other measures or of weights or weighing instruments, inasmuch as in the case of the former measures alone an allowance may be made to the manufacturer, under Section 13 of the Weights and Measures Act, 1904, for assistance rendered by him or for the use of tools, premises, machinery, or instruments. This allowance is expressly subject to the consent of the Board of Trade, and in order to prevent, as far as possible, allowances being improperly given without such consent, the stamping of the measures in question on manufacturers' premises without the sanction of the Department being obtained has been prohibited by the regulation referred to. There seems no reason why the regulation, which was framed to secure uniformity of practice, should be deleted.

### Introduction of American Shad into British Waters.

MR. HOLT (Northumberland, Hexham): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, what were the reasons which led the Board of Agriculture to discourage the Lancashire and Western Sea Fisheries Committee from attempting to introduce the American shad into British waters; and whether it was thought that any, and, if so, which, British fish would be injured if the introduction proved successful.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) We consulted the various boards of conservators of rivers discharging into the sea within the limits of the Lancashire and Western Sea Fisheries district with regard to the proposed introduction of the American shad into British waters, but it did not receive any support. Apprehensions were expressed that it might prove dangerous both to salmon and trout. In these circumstances, and in view of the impossibility of limiting the area within which experiments could be carried on, the Board did not feel themselves justified in affording any encouragement to the proposal.

### Rents Chargeable on Small Holdings.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that on 21st June 1898, the President of the Local Government Board stated that the law officers of the Crown advised that the amount of rent charged by a county council under the Small Holdings Act should be limited to the sum required for interest, with a margin for eventualities, and that the funds for the repayment of the principal of the loan should be obtained from the county rate within the limits specified in Section 18, subsection 2, of the Small Holdings Act, 1892; and whether he will point out the section in the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, indicating the intention of Parliament as stated in the letter from the Board of Agriculture to the Norfolk County Council that the rents of small holdings created under the Act should be sufficient to include the payments to the sinking fund in respect of any capital expenditure for the purchase of land.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) The reply to the first inquiry of my right hon. friend is in the affirmative. The question is not affected by the Act of last session, but depends on the proper interpretation of Section 18 (1) of the Small Holdings Act, 1892, and on this point the law officers of the Crown in a recent opinion dissented from the view expressed in 1898. The Board propose, in these circumstances, to offer no objection to the exclusion of sinking fund charges in the calculation of rents where a county council is itself willing to defray them.

### Preservatives in Foodstuffs.

MR. STUART SAMUEL (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is taking any steps by Order in Council under the Public Health (Regulation of Foods) Act, 1907, for the regulation of the proportion of boracic acid that may be employed in articles of food; and, if so, can he give some definite statement on the subject at an early date in order to allay confusion in the public mind and to assist the local authorities in deciding what line of action they should take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I am giving attention to this matter and have directed inquiries to be made with regard to the present position of preservatives in certain foodstuffs. The matter is one which requires careful investigation, and I am not at present in a position to make any definite statement with respect to it.

### Suggested Co-ordination of the Work of Local Government Board, Board of Trade, and Home Office.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): To ask the Prime Minister whether he has in view any modification of the existing arrangements in connection with the administrative work of the Local Government Board, the Board of Trade, and the Home Office; whether he would consider the practicability of co-ordinating the work of these Departments in respect of unemployment and child life; and whether he would also consider the formation of subordinate Departments especially designed to deal with these questions.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I have nothing at present to add to the Answer which I gave on Monday to my hon. friend the Member for Preston; but the suggestions made by my hon. friend will be considered by the Committee.

## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### Recent Naval Disasters.

CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he will state what would have been the full complement of officers and men in each case of the following ships at the times of their disasters, and what the actual crews were at these times, viz., the "Tiger," "Berwick," "Gladiator," "Gala," and "Attentive."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouth, N.): The full seagoing complement of officers and men were as follows:—

| | Officers. | Men. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| "Tiger" - - | 4 | 59 | 63 |
| "Berwick" - | 47* | 631 | 678 |
| "Gladiator" - | 23 | 424 | 447 |
| "Gala" - - | 4 | 66 | 70 |
| "Attentive" - | 15 | 270 | 285 |

* Includes 14 Midshipmen.

The numbers on board at the times of the disasters were:—

| | Officers. | Men. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| "Tiger" - - | 3 | 54 | 57 |
| "Berwick" - | 24 | 425 | 449 |
| "Gladiator" - | 13 | 244 | 257 |
| "Gala" - - | 4 | 55 | 59 |
| "Attentive" - | 14 | 261 | 275 |

**Captain FABER**: May I ask a question of which I have given private notice, *i.e.*, is it a fact that in the Home Fleet where these accidents have occurred odds and ends of crews have been put on the ships to make up numbers and that the crews in consequence have not been properly organised and trained and that probably was the cause of the accident, specially in the case of the "Tiger" and the "Gala."

*Mr. SPEAKER: That Question should be put on the Paper.

### Naval Manœuvres at Night.

**Mr. MENZIES** (Lanarkshire, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the experience gained during recent years by his naval advisers in regard to night manœuvrings without lights will have a tendency to diminish or increase this practice; or whether the country is to look upon this as a normal method of training for naval officers and men, and should not therefore look for its cessation.

**Mr. McKENNA**: The experience gained by the Board of Admiralty from this practice during recent years has been too valuable to admit of its being abandoned. For some time past the Board have had under close consideration the question of devising rules calculated to reduce risks.

**Mr. MENZIES**: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will state the number of men who have lost their lives or been injured, as well as the cost to the country of the ships sunk or disabled, during 1907 and this year, which can be attributed solely to mimic night warfare without lights.

**Mr. McKENNA**: The information desired by my hon. friend will take a little time to ascertain, and I propose, if he will permit me, to circulate the Answer with the printed papers as soon as it is ready.

**Mr. ARTHUR LEE** (Hampshire, Fareham): Will the right hon. Gentleman include in the statement the number of occasions on which night manœuvres have taken place, in order that the House may see the percentage of accidents.

**Mr. McKENNA**: I will do my best.

**Earl WINTERTON** (Sussex Horham): And the number of ships that have taken part in them?

**Mr. McKENNA**: Yes.

### Shipbuilding Delays.

**Mr. PIKE PEASE** (Darlington): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he can state the reason for the delay in the completion of the three armoured cruisers of the "Invincible" class which were to have been finished in thirty months.

**Mr. McKENNA**: The contract date of the completion of the three ships of the "Invincible" class has not yet been reached; but there has undoubtedly been delay in their construction, principally due to the fitting of magazine cooling apparatus, and, in the case of the "Invincible" and "Inflexible," labour troubles.

**Mr. PIKE PEASE**: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what was the cause of the delay in the construction of the battleships "Lord Nelson" and "Agamemnon," and will he take steps to ensure that such delays shall not occur again.

**Mr. McKENNA**: The delay in the completion of these vessels is due in the main to the fitting of magazine cooling apparatus and other alterations considered necessary during the construction of the ship—and in the case of the "Lord Nelson," to labour troubles, and of the "Agamemnon," to an accident to her rudder which necessitated a new one being made and fitted. All possible steps are being taken to prevent delays.

### Montgomery and Merioneth Regiment.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Montgomery and Merionethshire regiment of the Territorial Army retains the title of Royal; and, if not, why the treatment accorded to it in this respect has been different from that accorded to the Denbighshire regiment.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The present titles of the battalion referred to are the 7th (Montgomery and Merionethshire) Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers and the 4th (Denbighshire) Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers. The Montgomery County Association has asked that the former battalion be called simply the "Royal Montgomery and Merioneth Regiment." This application is being considered together with other questions of titles of units of the Territorial Force and decisions will be published in due course.

### Army Instructors' Lodging Allowances.

MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the shilling a day for lodging previously allowed to cavalry and infantry instructors has been disallowed in respect of these functionaries in the Territorial Army.

MR. HALDANE: Lodging allowance is not admissable when public quarters are provided. As the Army Council is directly responsible for the rent and repairs, and for the repayment of principal and interest on loans from the buildings held by the County Associations, these buildings must be regarded as public quarters. When, therefore, non-commissioned officers of the permanent staff are housed in such buildings no lodging money can be issued.

### Tidworth Barracks.

*CAPTAIN FABER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the hospital accommodation for Tidworth Barracks is now definitely completed.

MR. HALDANE: The reply is in the negative.

### Bulford Isolation Hospital.

*CAPTAIN FABER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state the material of which the isolation hospital at Bulford is built, seeing that in reply to a Question asked in this House on 30th April, he replied that the scarlet fever cases were in the isolation hospital at that place.

MR. HALDANE: The isolation hospital is built of corrugated iron lined with match boarding.

*CAPTAIN FABER: Is it the case that there is only one isolation hospital for six regiments of infantry and ten batteries of artillery?

MR. HALDANE: I must ask for notice of that.

### Civil Servants and Territorial Camps.

EARL WINTERTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Civil servants serving in the Territorial Force will be granted special leave of absence, in addition to their ordinary leave, to attend annual training camps with their corps; if so, whether this special leave will be granted for the whole period, or for a proportion only, and in what proportion of the time, that such Civil servants spend in the annual training camps; whether in the event of Civil servants enlisted in the Territorial Force being called upon to serve a course of special training in that force, for six months or thereabouts, the posts they occupy in the Civil Service will be kept open for them on their return from the Special Army training; whether the official pay of Civil servants will be continued during the whole period such Civil servants are called upon to perform special training with the Territorial Force; and whether the promotion of Civil servants in the various branches of the Civil Service will be adversely affected should they be required to undergo special training with the Territorial Force for several months at a time.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): Subject to the requirements of the public service special leave, for a period not exceeding fifteen days, will be granted to Civil servants attending annual camps. The arrangements to be made on the embodiment of the Territorial Force will be matter for consideration when occasion arises; and I do not think it is necessary to make any statement on the subject at the present time.

Earl WINTERTON: Will the hon. Gentleman explain the ambiguous phrase "subject to the requirements of the public service?" Are restrictions likely to be often put in force?

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I do not think there is anything ambiguous in the words. If the service can spare a Civil servant he will be allowed to go.

Earl WINTERTON: Will they be spared in times of crisis?

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I am afraid I cannot answer that.

Earl WINTERTON: Having regard to the fact that considerable doubt exists in the minds of Civil servants, will the hon. Gentleman issue regulations on the subject?

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I must ask for notice of that.

### Limerick Technical Instruction Institute.

Mr. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the War Office authorities have offered the Limerick Technical Instruction Committee certain rights and facilities in connection with the building of a central technical institute at the nominal rent of £1 per annum; have the Limerick Committee accepted the offer; and, if so, when; and, if the offer has been accepted, will the War Office press on the matter and have the agreement perfected so that the Limerick Committee can have the contract for the building entered into at once and thus push on this work.

Mr. HALDANE: It has been decided to offer to the Limerick Technical Instruction Committee certain rights and facilities in connection with the building of a central technical institute on certain terms, one of which is a nominal rent of £1, and instructions have been sent to the General Officer Commanding accordingly. It will be necessary to have a formal agreement, and while every effort will be made to push the matter forward, as the hon. Member will understand, legal agreements require time for preparation.

### Indian Railway Committee.

*Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India when the Report of the Departmental Committee on Railways will be presented.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Buchanan, Perthshire, E.): As I stated on the 28th April, in reply to the hon. Member for Wandsworth, I hope soon to lay it on the Table of the House.

### Attempt to Blow up a Train in Bengal.

*Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether information is available as to the source from which proceeded the offer of 12 rupees made to the ringleader of the gang which attempted to blow up the train in which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was travelling last December.

Mr. BUCHANAN: The Secretary of State has no information on the subject.

*Mr. REES: Have the limits of constitutional agitation ever been laid down in India?

Mr. BUCHANAN: I do not think that arises out of the Question on the Paper.

### Indian Institute of Science.

*Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the difficulties experienced in connection with the creation of the Indian Institute of Science have been overcome, and when the institution will come into being.

Mr. BUCHANAN: The Secretary of State has no official information as to the arrangements made, but it is understood that the building of the institute at Bangalore is now to be proceeded with forthwith, and that meantime temporary arrangements for starting work in some of its branches will be made.

### Gun-Running in the Persian Gulf.

*Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the representatives of the Government of India at the Brussels Conference on traffic in arms in Africa, have instructions to bring before the Conference the prevalence of gun-running through the ports in the Persian Gulf and on the coast of Oman, and to endeavour to prevent this practice.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: In accordance with the precedent of the Conference of 1890 there is no separate representation of the Government of India, apart from His Majesty's Government, at the present Conference. But an Indian officer with local knowledge will be attached to the British delegates. It would be contrary to the public interest to state the instructions given to the British representatives, but there is little doubt that the question of the arms traffic on the Oman coast and in the Persian Gulf will be considered.

### Afghan Frontier Troubles.

**Mr. LYNCH** (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of recent developments on the Afghan frontier, he will lay upon the Table of the House copies of any correspondence which may have passed between the Government of India and His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan in connection with the Anglo-Russian convention; and whether, before undertaking any military operations within Afghan territory, he will place the House in possession of the views of His Majesty the Amir in any differences which he may have with the Indian Government.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: The answer to the first Question is in the negative. As regards the second Question, in view of the present condition of affairs on the frontier it would not be in the public interest for me to give a reply.

**Mr. LYNCH** asked whether any communication had been sent to the Amir requesting his assent to the Anglo-Russian Convention, and if so, on what date.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: I recognise on the part of Members how carefully they have abstained during the last ten days from extending Questions which it might be invidious to answer. I hope they will support me on this occasion in declining on that ground to give an Answer to the hon. Gentleman.

### Behar Bomb Outrage.

***Mr. REES**: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he can communicate to the House any information regarding the bomb outrage in Behar; whether this occurrence is due to the sense of impunity in respect of assaults upon Europeans engendered by the decision of the Calcutta High Court in the case of the murder of Mr. Bloomfield by a gang of coolies in the same province; and whether he can give any information regarding the discovery of a bomb manufactory in Calcutta.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: As regards the main facts of this deplorable outrage, the Government of India's telegrams to the Secretary of State do not contain any further information than the reports which have appeared in the newspapers. One of the perpetrators of the crime has been arrested and has made a full confession, while another shot himself to avoid arrest. The Secretary of State sees no reason to connect the commission of an outrage of this kind with any feeling or consideration such as the hon. Member mentions. The Government of India have reported that bombs and other explosives have been seized at Calcutta and that numerous arrests have been made, but the Secretary of State is not at present in a position to give detailed information.

***Mr. REES**: Is it not a fact that the judgment of the High Court in the Bloomfield case laid it down that no member of a gang of coolies who beat Mr. Bloomfield to death was guilty of murder unless it could be proved against him that his individual blow was sufficient to cause death, and whether such a judgment should not come under the review of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council?

**Mr. LUPTON** (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Does the hon. Gentleman consider that the flogging of students had anything to do with this bomb outrage?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Situation on the North-West Frontier.

**Sir H. COTTON** (Nottingham, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of

State for India whether he has any official information to the effect that many thousands of Afghans have poured over the frontier and have attacked fortified posts on the Khyber Pass; and whether he is in a position to give any information to the House regarding the goneral situation on the North-West Frontier?

MR. BUCHANAN: Official reports state that Afghans in considerable numbers took part in the recent attack on Landi Kotal in the Khyber Pass. As regards the general situation in the Khyber, the attack on Landi Kotal failed entirely, and the tribesmen have retired over the Afghan frontier, but it is too soon to make any statement as to the future. The attitude of the Zakka Khel and other Afridi tribes has been loyal and friendly throughout, and the Zakka Khel elders have gone so far as to offer their services—a satisfactory vindication of the policy of the arrangements made in closing the expedition against them. On the Mohmand border the arrival of a representative jirga of the tribes is expected. Our latest reports are that things are quiet on the Malakand side.

*MR. REES: Is this a convenient occasion for giving a trial to the hon. Member for East Nottingham's scheme for withdrawing our army from India and relying on treaty rights?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Indian Native Press.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India have made any request for legislative authority to repressive measures being taken against incitements to violence appearing in a certain class of native newspapers; and whether His Majesty's Government intend to give the Indian Government a free hand in this matter.

MR. BUCHANAN: The Government of India have submitted no recent proposals for the purpose mentioned in the Question. The Secretary of State is unable to make any statement as to the course which he may think it right to adopt if any such proposals are received.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State will have laid upon the Table of the House translations of articles inciting to violence which have appeared in the Indian vernacular Press recently.

MR. BUCHANAN: The Secretary of State does not consider that any useful purpose would be served by giving greater publicity to the articles to which the hon. Member refers.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): Are there any "carrion crows" in India?

[No Answer was returned.]

### The Amir and the Frontier Rising.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government have knowledge of any proclamations issued by the Amir or by Nasrullah Khan, forbidding Afghans to undertake hostilities against the British forces; and whether in fact, any such proclamations were issued.

MR. BUCHANAN: We have no information that any proclamation such as is referred to by the hon. Member has been issued, but, as was stated in reply to the hon. Member for Stirlingshire on the 29th April, we believe that the Amir has endeavoured to prevent his subjects from joining the rising.

MR. SMEATON (Stirlingshire): Is the hon. Gentleman aware that in 1897 the Amir issued a proclamation forbidding his subjects to cross the Kabul river?

MR. BUCHANAN: Yes, I am aware of that.

### Marriage in Malta.

MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the Papal decree of August, 1907, which came into force at Easter, and under which Protestants at Malta will be free to observe their own forms of marriage, the Government will institute a process of civil marriage; and whether, in the case of mixed marriages, they will take steps to settle by legislative declaration this long-standing difficulty on the lines of the despatch to the Governor of Malta on the 15th August, 1906, in which the

Secretary of State declared that there must be perfect equality of treatment among all denominations, and full freedom of conscience to all persons inhabiting the island.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel SEELY, Liverpool, Abercromby): I am afraid that the only reply which I can return at present to my hon. friend's Question is that His Majesty's Government is in communication with the Governor of Malta on the subject.

### British East African Legislative Council.

MR. BECK (Cambridgeshire, Wisbech): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact that two out of the three unofficial members of the Legislative Council of the British East African Protectorate have been suspended owing to the attitude taken up by them upon a matter of vital importance to the community they represent, and also bearing in mind that the third unofficial member is somewhat closely connected with the Government of the Protectorate, he will inform the House as to any steps His Majesty's Government may intend to take to ensure the more adequate representation of the taxpayers in British East Africa.

COLONEL SEELY: The question of the suspension of the two members to whom the hon. Member refers has not been finally settled, as the Secretary of State was waiting for despatches by post which have only just been received. There are, however, two other unofficial members and the appointment of a fifth is under consideration, and my hon. friend may rest assured that no time will be lost in coming to a decision.

### Alderney Harbour Dues.

MR. TIMOTHY DAVIES (Fulham): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will cause inquiries to be made into the proposed foreign animals wharf and abattoir in the Island of Alderney and the reasons which prevent the Commissioners of Woods and Forests leasing the Crown lands required for the scheme to its promoters; whether he will state what sum it is estimated would accrue to the Imperial Treasury from rents and taxation and from harbour dues payable to the Woods and Forests Department for the use of Alderney Harbour by the vessels which would be employed in the proposed trade; what is the present income from the same sources; what is the cost of keeping Alderney Harbour in serviceable condition and repair; and by which Department or Departments of the Government is the cost defrayed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): The Commissioners of Woods declined to facilitate the scheme because, in the opinion of the Board of Agriculture, it involved a risk of the introduction of cattle disease into the Channel Islands and the United Kingdom. It is impossible to say what sum would accrue to the Imperial Treasury from rents and harbour dues payable to the Office of Woods for the use of Alderney Harbour by the vessels which would be employed in the proposed trade. The income of the Commissioners of Woods from harbour dues for the year ended 31st March, 1908, was £692. The cost of keeping in repair the piers in Alderney which are under the management of the Commissioners of Woods for the same year was £63. The breakwater protecting the harbour is under the charge of the Admiralty, and all expenditure on it is made by that Department.

### Accommodation for Alien Immigrants.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what is the estimated number of houses for the accommodation of aliens to be provided under Section 24 of the Port of London Bill, and what will be the probable cost.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): I beg to answer this Question and the next on behalf of my right hon. friend. As at present advised, I do not contemplate more than one establishment in the Port of London for the reception of alien passengers under the clause quoted. It is impossible to state the cost until the details of an actual scheme come to be worked out.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if houses for the accommodation of alien immigrants are to be erected in ports other than that of London, and upon whom the cost of erecting such buildings will fall.

MR. GLADSTONE: The circumstances which have rendered necessary a special statutory enactment in regard to the accommodation of alien immigrants at the Port of London are peculiar to that port, and have not arisen elsewhere. The cost of providing that accommodation where necessary, whether under existing conditions or under the provisions of the Bill, falls on the shipping companies concerned.

### Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state how many chambers of commerce throughout the country have passed resolutions in support of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill; and how many have passed resolutions against it.

MR. GLADSTONE: I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer which I gave to a Question of the hon. Member for Hammersmith on the 6th April.

### Clubs Tied to Breweries.

MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that it has become the practice of certain liquor-supplying clubs to engage themselves only to buy liquor from specified brewers in return for money accommodation afforded by such brewers by way of loan, mortgage, or bill of sale; that in the last balance-sheet of the North Brixton Gladstone Club it appears that all the beer supplied to the club is purchased from one firm of brewers, and that the same firm is the club's creditor for a large sum of money, as well as the holder of a bill of sale on its property; and whether he will take steps to have introduced into the Government Licensing Bill some Amendment dealing with this practice.

MR. GLADSTONE: I believe that the facts are as stated by the hon. Member. They involve important but very difficult questions. There are already on the Paper many Amendments to the Licensing Bill directed to the object of preventing clubs from coming under obligations to makers of and dealers in intoxicating liquor, and I think the subject is one which can be treated most usefully by discussion in Committee.

### Board of Trade Appointments in Glasgow.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade how many paid appointments were made in Glasgow under his Department in the years 1906 and 1907, respectively; how many of these appointments were given to men resident in Glasgow and district; how many were given to men brought from a distance; and will he say for what class of positions his Department was unable to find suitable applicants in the neighbourhood.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. KEARLEY, Devonport): Four such appointments were made in each of the two years mentioned, and I understand that four of the persons appointed were residents in the district and four came from outside. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question I would remind my hon. friend that in a service extending over the whole Kingdom it is extremely undesirable in the public interest that appointments at a particular port should be confined to residents in the district. Officers resident in the Glasgow district are not debarred from obtaining promotion at other ports.

### Inspection of Weights and Measures.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his Board has been requested by local authorities administering the Weights and Measures Act to withdraw or modify Regulation 9 of the Weights and Measures Regulations, 1907, which requires the authority to arrange that the premises of every trader are visited by an inspector for the purpose of inspecting all weights, measures, and instruments in use for trade at least once a year, or once in two years in certain cases with the special sanction of the Board of Trade; and whether, in view of the importance of protecting the interests of purchasers, he will give an assurance to the House that this regulation will be strictly adhered to and enforced.

MR. KEARLEY: A few of the local authorities administering the Weights and Measures Acts have asked for the amendment of the Regulation in question or that their districts may be exempted from its operation, but the Board of Trade have not in any case acceded to the application and have no intention of doing so.

### Unemployment—German Statistics.

EARL WINTERTON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade for what reason statistics relating to trade union unemployment in Germany are given in some issues of the Board of Trade Labour Gazette and not in others, in view of the fact that figures are published monthly relating to unemployment by the German Statistical Bureau.

MR. KEARLEY: The figures relating to trade union unemployment given in the "Labour Gazette" are those published quarterly by the German Labour Department, and the monthly percentages quoted at quarterly intervals are not available prior to the issue of these returns. So far as I am aware the German Labour Department is the only German Statistical Bureau which publishes such figures.

EARL WINTERTON: Is it the fact that the figures for some months are not published although they are available? Could they not be published quarterly?

MR. KEARLEY: They are published quarterly. We print them as soon as we are able after their publication in Germany.

MR. JOHN WARD (Stoke-on-Trent) asked if it was not the fact that the German unemployment statistics were collected by the police and absolutely repudiated by German trade union officials?

MR. KEARLEY: As far as we know the figures published by the German Imperial Bureau are trades union figures. There are other figures, however, published by an independent association.

EARL WINTERTON: Are not the German figures quite as reliable as those in England?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Distribution of Poor Law Relief.

MR. CURRAN (Durham, Jarrow): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware of the practice of Poor Law guardians representing a district as regards the administration of Poor Law relief being transferred to other districts; and whether his Board sanctions the practice.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I am aware that in some instances boards of guardians have so constituted their relief committees as to secure that a guardian elected for a particular parish shall not be a member of the committee for the area in which the parish is comprised. It is competent for the guardians to make this arrangement, and no sanction to it on the part of the Local Government Board is required.

MR. CLYNES (Manchester, N.E.): In cases where individuals object to being transferred, can the board of guardians insist on transferring them?

MR. JOHN BURNS: I think the guardians must alone decide as to the fitness of a member of its body to take part in the distribution of relief in the area from which he himself draws his electoral power.

### Telegrams at Press Rates.

MR. WATT: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what classes of individuals in the country get the advantage for telegrams of the Press rates of a fraction over 2d. for 100 words; and whether he will extend this privilege to free libraries, working-men's clubs, and village institutes?

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The hon. Member appears to be under a misapprehension as to the rates for the transmission of Press telegrams. Under the Act of 1868 the charges are fixed at 1s. for every 100 words, or fraction of 100 words, between six p.m. and 9 a.m.; and 1s. for every 75 words, or fraction of 75 words, between nine a.m. and six p.m. The rate of 2d. for every 100 or 75 words (as the case may be) to which the hon. Member refers, applies only when the same Press telegram is sent to more than one address and consequently shared by several newspapers, institutions, or clubs, the rate being charged for each additional address beyond the first. Institutions similar to those to which the hon. Member refers are already allowed, after satisfying certain conditions, to receive telegrams at these reduced rates.

*MR. BYLES (Salford, N.): Does not the entire newspaper-reading world derive enormous advantage from these low rates?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am afraid that is a matter of opinion. There is a great loss on the Press messages.

*MR. BYLES: But can the loss be assessed, seeing that the wires would otherwise be idle at night?

MR. WATT: Will the right hon. Gentleman introduce legislation to raise the price?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: No, sir.

### Scottish Local Government Bill.

MR. YOUNGER (Ayr Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is now in a position to state when the Bill to amend the Scottish Local Government Act of 1889 will be introduced.

MR. GULLAND: I beg also to ask the Secretary for Scotland when he will introduce the Bill dealing with the dates of town council elections and other matters which is suggested by the Convention of Royal Burghs, and which he promised to a deputation last November would be brought in by the Government this session.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I hope to introduce legislation on this subject at an early date.

### Scottish District Education Fund.

MR. YOUNGER: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the new district education fund proposed to be constituted by the Education (Scotland) Bill will be administered by the county committee or by the Department.

MR. SINCLAIR: I have in reply to refer the hon. Member to the first paragraph on page 5 of the Memorandum Explanatory of the Provisions of the Bill. [Cd. 4,051.]

### Irish Congested Districts Board—Staff Salaries.

MR. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the average salary of the officials of the Congested Districts Board engaged at the head office including both the permanent and temporary officials; whether officers engaged in such mechanical duties as copying and typewriting are in receipt of salaries of £150 and £180 per annum respectively; whether, as the work of superintendence is presumably entrusted to the permanent staff, and as the temporary clerks are alleged to be employed only for the simplest and least responsible work, there is any valid reason why the salary of any temporary official should exceed £100 a year, especially in view of the fact that these salaries are being paid out of the Board's own funds and that the money is consequently being diverted from the purpose for which it was originally intended; and how many of the temporary clerks are now being paid £100 a year or over.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The average salary of the officials engaged at the head office, omitting the secretary and assistant secretary, is £139 including the legal staff, or £130 excluding it. No officer engaged in copying or typewriting is in receipt of a salary of £150 or upwards. The more important duties of the office are performed by the permanent staff, but for the reasons which I explained to the hon. Member on 5th March, a considerable number of the temporary staff also have responsible work to do. The Congested Districts Board Act of 1899 provided for an annual increase of £25,000 to the Board's income for the express purpose, amongst other things, of paying salaries and administrative expenses. It is therefore incorrect to say that the money used in paying these salaries is diverted from the purpose for which it was intended. Twenty-five of the temporary clerks, other than those employed in the legal branch, are in receipt of £100 a year or over.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state how much of the expenditure of the Congested Districts Board goes in salaries and personal expenses; how many temporary clerks and how many permanent clerks are employed, and what is the average length of service of the present temporary clerks; whether any of them are engaged on responsible or technical duties; and whether the anomaly of keeping on the temporary list clerks who are to all intents and purposes permanent is due in any way to Treasury representation.

Mr. BIRRELL: The total annual cost of the head office for salaries and personal expenses, including those of the secretary and assistant secretary and the solicitor and his staff, is £14,260. The number of permanent clerks is thirteen, and the number of temporary clerks, including the legal staff, is seventy-one. Of the temporary clerks fifteen have less than two years service; thirty-two have from two to five years service; seventeen from five to ten years; and seven over ten years. The majority of these clerks are engaged on responsible or technical duties. The normal permanent staff of the Board was fixed in 1894, with the consent of the Treasury as prescribed by the Acts constituting the Congested Districts Board. It is to be remembered that the Congested Districts Board is not a permanent Government Department in the ordinary acceptation of the term. The Board was established in 1891 for a period of twenty years certain, which will expire in the course of a few years. In such a case there are obvious objections to the creation of a large permanent staff, involving a heavy charge upon the State for pensions.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: Can the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of the Question?

Mr. BIRRELL: The Treasury very much object to a permanent staff, and desire, if possible, to keep it temporary.

### Newtown Cunningham Evicted Tenant.

Mr. C. MACVEIGH (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the application of James Allison, Munfad, county Donegal, to the Estates Commissioners to be reinstated in his farm containing 125 acres, rent £75, situated on the Brassy estate, near Newtown Cunningham, county Donegal, from which he was evicted seven years ago; whether he can state if an inspector visited the farm, and, if so, when; and will he say what is the cause of the delay in reinstating Allison in his former holding.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners do not intend to take any steps for the reinstatement of Allison in his former holding, which is now in the occupation of a tenant. The applicant's name has, however, been noted as that of a suitable person to work a farm, and the Commissioners will consider his case in connection with the distribution of any untenanted land which they may acquire in the locality.

### Irish Members of Parliament and Boycotting.

Captain CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that two hon. Members of this House have recently been publicly advocating boycotting in county Longford, in connection with agrarian agitation; and what action, if any, he proposes to take.

Mr. BIRRELL: According to newspaper reports which I have seen, an hon. Member of this House has, if correctly reported, recently advocated boycotting in county Longford. There is, however, no sufficient evidence that the hon. Member in question used the objectionable language imputed to him, and in the circumstances it is not proposed to take any action.

Captain CRAIG: May I ask if in the event any poor people in the county of Longford act on his advice they will be punished for doing so?

Mr. BIRRELL: Certainly.

### Galway Cattle Drives.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that three cattle-drives recently took place at Claregalway, about six miles from Galway; and how many arrests have been made.

MR. BIRRELL: The police are aware of but one cattle-drive at Claregalway or its vicinity. This occurred on 16th April, when a drunken man drove some sheep off a farm. He was arrested by the police, and when he became sober he said he would not drive the cattle again. He has since been prosecuted and fined for drunkenness.

### Carrick-on-Shannon Cattle-Drive.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a cattle-drive on an extensive scale took place on Monday the 20th April last, off a farm called Kiltoghert, near Carrick-on-Shannon, South Leitrim; is he aware that the raid took place in consequence of a series of resolutions passed recently by the South Leitrim executive of the United Irish League; and have any arrests been made.

MR. BIRRELL: On 19th April nine head of cattle were driven off the farm in question. I have no information as to the motives which influenced the offenders. No arrests were made, but proceedings have been instituted against eighteen men with the object of having them bound to keep the peace.

### Colthurst Estate, Ballyvourney.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received a letter from Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, solicitor, Mallow, acting for the small landholders and labourers on the Colthurst estate, Ballyvourney, in which he enters strong legal protest against the manner in which the alleged tenancy of Jeremiah Hegarty, in the holding known as the Home Farm, was determined; whether he is aware that in the will and schedule of assets of the late Jeremiah Hegarty no mention whatever was made of the Home Farm, showing that the late Mr. Hegarty had no disposing power in regard to this farm, and had accordingly no valid tenancy in it; and, in view of the facts set forth in Mr. Fitzgerald's letter, will he state whether the Estates Commissioners propose to reconsider this matter.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have received a letter from Mr. Fitzgerald to the effect stated in the Question. The matter referred to has been disposed of by the Commissioners judicially, after hearing all the parties concerned, and they do not propose to reconsider it.

### Labourers (Ireland) Acts.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in the case of an agricultural labourer, as defined by the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, hired and employed for the seven days of the week, the expression, whose average wages in the year do not exceed two shillings and sixpence a day, means two shillings and sixpence a day for each of the seven days in the week; and whether such a labourer, earning an average wage of 17s. per week all the year round, would be entitled to the benefits of the Labourers Acts.

MR. BIRRELL: The question raised by the hon. Member is one for judicial decision. The Local Government Board anticipate that it will come before either themselves or a County Court Judge on appeal, and pending legal argument and full consideration the Board are not prepared to express an opinion on the question.

### Firings on the St. George's Estate, Kilcolgar.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Sunday night the 29th March, shots were fired into the house of a man named Niland, on the St. George estate, at Kilcolgar, county Galway; that the house of a man named Kearney, on the same estate, has already been fired into; and that the house of a man named Patrick Sheehan, on the same estate, has been fired into three times; whether any arrests have been made in connection with any of these outrages; and what steps have been taken to prevent a repetition of these firings.

MR. BIRRELL: The house of William Niland was fired into on the night of

29th March last. The house of Patrick Kearney was fired into on 20th February, 1906, and that of Patrick Sheehan was fired into on two occasions, namely, 9th January, 1905 and 5th June, 1906. In the case of Kearney three persons were arrested, of whom two were discharged at petty sessions for want of evidence and the third was acquitted at assizes. In the other cases no arrests were made. The persons whose houses were fired into are receiving police protection.

### Evicted Tenants Act.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the reason for the delay in furnishing the promised Return from the Estates Commissioners of operations under the Evicted Tenants Act of 1906; and how soon the Return will be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. BIRRELL: The Return in question has been in the printers' hands for some time and proofs have been revised. The Estates Commissioners hope to present the Return early next week. The Return is a complicated one, and, being the first, it covers the period extending from the passing of the Act of 1903 up to 31st December last, and a considerable time has necessarily been taken in its preparation. Future Returns will regularly be presented quarterly as prescribed by the Evicted Tenants Act.

### Irish Land Purchase.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in order to supply the House with information as to the present state of land purchase in Ireland, with a view to the approaching debate on the Treasury proposals, he will direct the Estates Commissioners to prepare a county map of Ireland, shaded to show, approximately, the areas in which land purchase has been completed, those where agreements have been signed but not completed, and those where no agreements have yet been come to.

*MR. BIRRELL: I have been in communication with the Estates Commissioners as to the possibility of meeting the hon. Gentleman's wishes in this matter, and am informed that the preparation of county maps showing, even approximately, the present state of land purchase, would be quite impracticable without much expenditure of time and money. To furnish such maps, it would be necessary to show upon them the estates for which agreements have been lodged but the sale of which has not yet been completed. There are 4,369 of such estates, comprising 125,000 purchasers, with a total purchase money of, approximately, £40,000,000. It would be necessary to take the estate maps of these 4,369 estates, which maps are on the six inch scale, and transfer them to the county index maps which are on various smaller scales; and this work would necessarily occupy some months and would cause a dislocation of the Commissioners' ordinary business. The Commissioners, however, could prepare a Return, approximately accurate, showing by counties the extent of land actually vested in tenant-purchasers, and the extent of land for which advances have been applied for but not yet made. The residue of the total area of each county would consist of land unsold, part of which would, of course, be composed of mountain, bog, and other unsaleable land. If such a Return would suit the hon. Member's purpose, I will ask the Commissioner's to prepare it with as little delay as possible.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there will be any difficulty in a newspaper producing within a week or so a rough and ready map such as I suggest out of the materials in the hands of the Estates Commissioners, and whether such a map which I suggest has been actually prepared by a private individual would not give this House a more valuable idea than anything else of the most serious position as to land purchase in Ireland as to the area, as to one-third of the country sold, another one-third half sold, and another portion unsold, and will he say what is the difficulty.

*MR. BIRRELL: I quite agree that a map of that kind would be a very useful one, and should be glad if such a map could be prepared, but the Government cannot make a rough and ready map of that kind. They would be bound to show every one of the estates, scattered all over the country, which have been sold or agreed to be sold, and the work of transferring these estates from a large accurate map which we have got into a map on a smaller scale would occupy months of a department already overworked. If a newspaper or a private individual can publish such a map a good service would be done, but I am afraid the Government cannot undertake that.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: Allow me to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, if a private newspaper undertakes to give this information, he will have the result published for the information of the House of Commons.

Mr. BIRRELL: If such a map be found published presumably accurate I see no objection to it.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I beg to say that I will call attention to the action of these officials in keeping this House in the dark as to the most critical position of land purchase in Ireland.

### Reinstatement of Evicted Tenants.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many evicted tenants have been reinstated or otherwise provided for under the voluntary provisions of the Land Purchase Act of 1903, and how many under the compulsory powers of the Evicted Tenants Act of 1906.

Mr. BIRRELL: The total number of evicted tenants who have been reinstated under the voluntary provisions of the Act of 1903 is 1,546, and the number reinstated under the compulsory provisions of the Evicted Tenants Act, 1907, is nine, making a total of 1,555. Proceedings for the restoration of other evicted tenants under the Act of 1907 are in progress. The Commissioners find that in many cases in which their proposals as to the restoration were refused prior to the passing of the Evicted Tenants Act, the notification by them of their intention to put the compulsory provisions of that Act into operation have resulted in the voluntary reinstatement of the evicted tenant by the landlord on the terms previously refused.

### Inspections under the Evicted Tenants Act.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is in accordance with the instructions of the Estates Commissioners that an inspector under the Evicted Tenants Act should conduct his inspections in association and consultation with a local Member of Parliament.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that there is nothing in their instructions which prohibits an inspector from obtaining such information locally as he may think advisable.

### Ballinrobe Shooting Outrage.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has any information with regard to a shooting outrage at the house of a man named Murphy, at a place about seven miles from Ballinrobe, county Mayo, on the 25th April; and whether any arrests have been made in connection with the occurrence.

Mr. BIRRELL: On the evening of 19th April, two shots were fired into the house of James Murphy in the district of Ballinrobe. The police have carefully investigated the case, but have not yet succeeded in obtaining evidence which would justify them in making arrests.

### Donore Lands, County Meath.

Mr. LONSDALE: On behalf of the hon. Member for South Londonderry, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether portions of the lands of Donore, Ballivor, county Meath, have recently been sold to the Estates Commissioners and divided by them amongst John Killain, Thomas Fitzsimon, and Joseph Kennedy; whether, prior to the sale to the Commissioners, a cattle-drive took place on these lands in consequence of their being sub-let under the eleven months' grazing system; whether John Killain, Thomas Fitzsimon, and Joseph Kennedy have advertised, or are now advertising, for grazing under the eleven months' system the lands so divided among them by the Commissioners; and, if so, whether the Commissioners will take steps in reference to the matter.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have sold portions of the land of Donore to the persons named in the Question. It is not the case that a cattle-drive took place on the lands prior to the sale to the Commissioners. The Commissioners have no information as to the alleged letting of lands by the purchasers for grazing.

### Firing Outrages.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many cases of firing outrages have been reported to the Dublin Castle authorities or the police during the current year, the number of arrests made, and sentences passed.

MR. BIRRELL: During the current year eighty-sixty offences in which firing took place have been reported, and in connection with them twenty-six persons were arrested. Seven of the persons were discharged at petty sessions and three are still on remand. Thirteen have been returned for trial and the cases are pending. At Quarter Sessions one person was sentenced to three months imprisonment, and at Assizes one person was sentenced to two months imprisonment, and another was found unfit to plead and was sent to a lunatic asylum.

### Injury to Cattle by Cattle-drives.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any cases of cattle sustaining injury through being driven have been brought to the notice of the Dublin Castle authorities or the police during the current year; and, if any, will he furnish particulars.

MR. BIRRELL: The cases of alleged injury to cattle through being driven which have come under the notice of the police during the current year are as follows:—One case in which the hair was cut off the tails of several animals; one case in which the horn of a bullock was broken; and eighteen cases in which claims for compensation have been made in consequence of alleged deterioration due to exhaustion from over-driving. In thirteen of these latter cases the claims have been heard and compensation granted.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Vice-President of the Irish Board of Agriculture has stated that cattle-drives did no harm to either man or beast?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Cattle-driving Statistics.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many cattle-drives have been reported by the police during the months of January, February, March, and April last; how many arrests have been made; and what sentences have been passed in each month, respectively, and for corresponding figures for the same months in 1905.

MR. BIRRELL: The number of cattle-drives reported to the police in January, 1908, was 35; in February, 31; in March, 57; and in April, 62. In January two persons were arrested and bound to keep the peace. In February sixteen persons were arrested, of whom fifteen were bound to the peace, and one was sent to prison for two months in default of giving bail. In March forty-three persons were arrested. Of these twenty-three were bound to the peace; six were sent to prison for three months, twelve for two months, and one for one month, in default of giving bail; and one was discharged. In April, ninety-four persons were arrested, of whom forty-nine were bound to the peace, one was sent to prison for two months in default of bail, and eight were discharged. The cases of the remaining thirty-six are not yet disposed of. There are no corresponding figures for 1905. Cattle-driving had not come into practice at that time, and any occasional case which may have occurred was not specially reported.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can offer any explanation of how it is that cattle-driving has increased so much under the administration of His Majesty's Government?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can explain a speech at Southampton in which he said——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. Quotations are not in order.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I was not going to quote, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman was asking the right hon. Gentleman as to a speech "in which he said."

### Proposed Dublin University.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what protection will be afforded in the Dublin Roman Catholic University for a professor unjustly accused of teaching contrary to the tenets of the Papal Encyclical on Modernism.

Mr. BIRRELL: I am completely at a loss to know what the hon. Member has in his mind, but do not doubt that in the course of the discussion on the Universities Bill he will have an opportunity of making his point intelligible to me.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: In view of the fact that, as I think, the right hon. Gentleman is the only living person who still keeps up the fiction that there is not to be a Roman Catholic University——

*Mr. SPEAKER: This is not the opportunity for making speeches. If the hon. Member wishes for information arising out of the right hon. Gentleman's answer he can ask for it; but this is not the opportunity for making argumentative statements.

### Lord Ashtown's Gamekeeper.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if he is aware that at Ballymacarbery, county Waterford, petty sessions, on the 13th of January last, James Graham (Lord Ashtown's gamekeeper) prosecuted a man named Ryan for illegally having in his possession a strokehaul on the banks of the River Nire for the purpose of taking fish, and that Graham proved that he took the strokehaul from Ryan, and produced it in Court; that in direct opposition to the evidence the majority of magistrates dismissed the case; that the two resident magistrates present, Messrs. Orr and Dixon, were in favour of a conviction; that Graham and his assistant, Butler, were convicted of an assault on Ryan on the same occasion and sent to gaol for fourteen days, the majority of the magistrates refusing to increase the sentence to thirty-two days to enable them to appeal, and that next day they were discharged by order of the Lord Justices; that Graham appealed against the dismissal in the fishery case, and the appeal was heard on Saturday the 4th April at Durgarvan quarter sessions, when the Bench was filled with magistrates from all parts of the county, when the appeal was dismissed by seven to five; and that the County Court Judge stated from the Bench that it was a scandalous miscarriage of justice; how many of the magistrates present were magistrates only by virtue of their position as chairmen of urban or rural district councils; and will he bring this matter before the Lord Chancellor with a view to putting a stop to miscarriages of justice of this kind.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Cherry, Liverpool, Exchange): As regards the two cases before the magistrates at petty sessions referred to in the first part of the Question, I beg to refer to the Answers to Questions on the 5th, 12th, and 20th February last. In reference to the appeal of Graham to quarter sessions from the decision of the magistrates, I am informed that the Bench at quarter sessions by a majority dismissed the appeal. The County Court Judge dissented, and is reported in the newspapers as having said that the decision of the Bench was a gross miscarriage of justice. Only one of the magistrates sat by virtue of his position as chairman of a district council. The Lord Chancellor informs me that there was no illegality in the constitution of the Bench, and no irregularity in the proceedings, and I am not prepared to say that in my opinion there was any miscarriage of justice. In these circumstances I do not propose to take any action in the matter.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: Was there not a miscarriage of justice in the case when Graham was sent to prison?

Mr. CHERRY: My remarks apply to the second prosecution, not that in connection with fishery.

Mr. MOONEY (Newry): Is it in accordance with the rules of the House to allow to be inserted in a Question a statement to the effect that the magistrates dismissed the case in direct opposition to the evidence?

*Mr. SPEAKER: The House may take it for what it is worth.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Has the attention of the Lord Chancellor been drawn to the second part of the Question, seeing that the right hon. Gentleman himself had to admit that the magistrates were wrong and to reverse their decision?

MR. CHERRY: I never admitted anything of the kind.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Are the facts as stated in the first part of the Question correct or not?

MR. CHERRY: I do not think they are as a matter of fact.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: In what respect are they not?

MR. CHERRY: I cannot go into details now.

### Dublin Treasury Remembrancer.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether a Treasury clerk from London has been imported into Dublin Castle as Treasury Remembrancer in room of a retired Irish official; and whether the Government took any steps to ascertain if any Irishman was qualified to fill the position, in view of the policy of associating the Irish people with the management of their own affairs.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: As has been officially announced in the Press, Mr. Hewby, of the Treasury, has been appointed Treasury Remembrancer upon the retirement of Sir Robert Holmes. Mr. Hewby's qualifications were considered to render him the candidate best suited for the appointment.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): The hon. Gentleman has not answered the last part of the Question.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: It is more desirable to get the man best qualified for the post than one belonging to a particular party.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Was an effort made to get the best man in Ireland?

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I have said that we considered Mr. Hewby's qualifications made him the best suited for the appointment.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): What were his special qualifications for the post?

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I must have notice of that Question.

### Donegal Railway.

MR. C. MACVEIGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the refusal of the joint committee of the Donegal Railway to stop trains by signal at the Meenglass platform; whether he is aware that this means of travelling accommodation was afforded at this platform for many years and now suddenly stopped, and the people living within an easy distance of it are forced to walk several miles to and from other stations; and whether he will take immediate steps to cause the committee to stop all their trains by signal at the Meenglass platform, and thereby afford the people the same opportunity of travelling by train as they always had in past years.

MR. KEARLEY: The Board of Trade are in communication with the County of Donegal Railways Joint Committee in this matter, and will inform the honourable Member of the result.

### English Land Valuation Bill.

MR. ROWLANDS (Kent, Dartford): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he can state when the Land Valuation Bill for England and Wales will be introduced.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): I am afraid I cannot yet name a date, but the introduction of the Bill will not be long delayed.

### Irish Land Act Finance.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister when the plans of the Government for dealing with the financial difficulty in connection with the Irish Land Act of 1903 will be laid before Parliament; and whether it is intended to deal with the matter by legislation.

MR. ASQUITH: The recommendations of the Departmental Committee and the suggestions and criticisms which they have elicited are under consideration, but I fear I cannot at present make a more definite statement.

MR. LONSDALE: Is it intended to deal with this most important matter by legislation?

MR. ASQUITH: I cannot say until full consideration has been given to it.

### Scottish Home Rule.

MR. PIKE PEASE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister if his attention has been called to the official announcement that the Government is in favour of Home Rule for Scotland; and, if so, whether this measure will be modelled on that introduced for Ireland by Mr. Gladstone in 1893.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): Does the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind the fact that this House, under the last Liberal Government, passed a Resolution declaring the desirability of Home Rule for Scotland; and is he aware that at the present time the principle of Home Rule is advocated by large sections of this House entirely on the basis of a scheme of devolution applicable to all parts of the United Kingdom?

MR. ASQUITH: I believe that is so. In regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Darlington, I am not aware of any such announcement.

MR. WATT: Does the right hon. Gentleman think that under the present system Scotland gets a fair share of the time of this House?

MR. YOUNGER (Ayr Burghs): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that comparatively few Scotsmen believe that any weakening of the political connection with England could possibly benefit their country?

*MR. SPEAKER: This is not a debate on Home Rule for Scotland.

MR. PIKE PEASE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the President of the Board of Trade, in a speech at Dundee, said he was in favour of Home Rule for Scotland, and that he thought that Scotland should not be behind Ireland in the matter, and does he know that the right hon. Gentleman also promised Home Rule for Ireland at the Manchester election?

MR. ASQUITH: I do not see how that Question arises. The Question is whether my attention has been called to an official announcement that the Government are in favour of Home Rule for Scotland. I know of no such announcement.

EARL WINTERTON: Another broken promise.

*LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): Does the right hon. Gentleman repudiate the promise which was given?

MR. ASQUITH: My right hon. friend is perfectly within his rights in stating his opinion on this matter. If the noble lord wishes to know my opinion——

*LORD BALCARRES: No; the opinion of the Government.

MR. ASQUITH: Then I refer him to my speech in the debate on the Resolution of the hon. Member for Waterford.

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## SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee A: Mr. McKenna, Mr. Acland, and Mr. Lough; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Education (Local Authorities) Bill): Mr. Runciman, Mr. McKinnon Wood, and Mr. Walker.

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had added to Standing Committee A the following fifteen Members (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Hicks Beach, Mr. Staveley-Hill, Mr. Lane-Fox, Mr. Arkwright, Mr. Micklem, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Dobson, Mr. Glendinning, Mr. Berridge, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Hugh Law, Mr. William Johnson, Mr. Lupton, Mr. Dunn, and Colonel Ivor Philipps.

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee B (in respect of the Children Bill): Sir Henry

Kimber and Mr. Courthope; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Children Bill): Mr. Staveley-Hill and Mr. Guinness.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills the following fifteen Members (in respect of the Education (Scotland) Bill: Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Bell, Mr. Boland, Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh, Sir William Anson, Mr. Butcher, Mr. Haddock, the Earl of Ronaldshay, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Henry Gooch, Mr. James Hope, Mr. William Jones, Sir Frederick Banbury, and Sir Edward Sassoon.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

## NEW-BORN CHILDREN (PROTECTION) BILL.

Order for Second Reading upon Monday next read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

## *NEW BILLS.*

### DOGS (EXEMPTION) BILL.

"To exempt dogs from painful experiments," presented by Mr. Ellis Griffith; supported by Colonel Sandys, Sir Francis Channing, Mr. Field, Mr. Tomkinson, Mr. Weir, Mr. MacNeill, Mr. Clement Edwards, Mr. Crooks, and Mr. Sloan; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 216.]

### CRUELTY TO ANIMALS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

"To empower a Court of Summary Jurisdiction to dispose of dogs which have been ill-treated," presented by Mr. Ellis Griffith; supported by Mr. Clement Edwards, Mr. MacNeill, Mr. Crooks, and Mr. Weir; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 217.]

## PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Kearley, Devonport): I do not propose to trouble the House at any length with the details of this measure which has now been in the hands of hon. Members for some days. My right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has already explained fully the provisions of the Bill. So far the Bill has met with an encouraging measure of general approval. I think I may say with confidence that our proposals in regard to their main principle, at any rate, have met with general approbation in all parts of the House of Commons. It may not be accepted in every detail, but I think that all the interests affected will be satisfied. That is a state of things which has not happened before in regard to any Bill introduced dealing with this question, or any Bill affecting so many various interests. A Bill of this nature has no party character whatever about it. It deals with a great and comprehensive subject upon which the prosperity of London depends, and there is absolutely no room for any party feeling whatever. The problem with which we are dealing has received on several occasions the attention of successive Governments. It is a perplexing problem, and if we solve it by this Bill, then I think it is only fair to acknowledge, as I do now, that we are solving it by building upon a foundation which has been laid for us by others. The Royal Commission, appointed in 1902, dealt with this question in that year. Then there was the Port of London Bill which was introduced by the Government of the day in 1902, and based upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission. That Bill, the House will remember, made but little progress whilst it was before the House of Commons. Nevertheless it was an attempt made by the late Government to solve the problem, and it indicated to us various pitfalls and thorny paths which we have thought it advisable to avoid. What is the problem which we have to face? London has long been and still is the greatest port of the world. There is no other port in this country or abroad which can show such a large total of import trade. No less than one-third of the total trade of the country enters by the Port of London. As regards the export trade, taking the total exports of the country no less than one-fourth of them leave by the Port of London. It has played a great part in the past, and, provided its resources and facilities are fully developed so as to enable it to meet modern requirements, it is destined to play a great part in the future. Those who have witnessed and taken note of the development and improvement made in all our great rival ports must be apprehensive lest something should be done in the near future that will make it perfectly impossible for the Port of London to maintain its position of supremacy, and in order to prevent that occurring it appears absolutely necessary that some strong authority must be established, capable of harmonising the many conflicting interests which at present hold sway in the Port of London. We want an authority for London which will take a broad view, and what is more important still, an authority armed with the necessary Parliamentary powers and financial resources sufficient to enable it to carry out any of the works and improvements that are necessary in the interests of the port. That is the idea which prevails amongst all sorts and conditions of persons who have an interest in this question. As regards the adequacy of the facilities of the Port of London, as long ago as the year 1887, a strong appeal was made by the leading interests in the Port of London to the port authority of that day to improve the river and navigation facilities by dredging. They called attention both to the increase of tonnage and of the size of the vessels entering the Port of London. It is quite true that something has been done during the last few years to meet the demand that was made so long ago as the year 1887, but however urgent the question may have appeared in 1887, nothing short of a revolution has taken place in the character of the ships built since that day. Ships are now constructed of dimensions far in excess of those which existed at the time to which I am referring. I am told that twenty years ago the largest vessel built was about 550 feet in length. Ten years later the length of ships had grown to 635 feet, and now we have the "Lusitania" and the "Mauretania" with a length of 762 feet. It is this great growth in the size of ships that has revolutionised the conditions of commerce. Ships are the most important factors now competing for the commerce of the world, and the Port of London is called upon to take ships of this character without having proper or adequate facilities for the purpose. In a great port like Liverpool there is a great development going on to meet the requirements not only of the ships of to-day, but of the ships that are going to be built in the future. The Mersey Docks Board are contemplating spending a further sum of £3,500,000, not in order to meet the requirements of to-day, but they are looking ahead and anticipating that the same growth in the size of ships will continue in the future as has been going on without a break, practically for the last twenty years. It may be said that in the Port of London the question is not so acute as in Liverpool, because it is supposed that a large part of the shipping which comes into London is engaged in the Eastern trade, and has to come through the Suez Canal, which necessarily acts as a factor in determining the amount of water required to come into the Port of London. I would remind the House that in the case of the Suez Canal the depth of water has been increased and dredging operations are continually going on. The depth of the Suez Canal is now about twenty-eight feet, but dredging is going on in order to increase it to twenty-nine feet. I cannot verify what I am going to state, but I have been told that the policy of the Suez Canal directors is that they wish ultimately to get a minimum depth of thirty-six feet through the Suez Canal. I only mention that to emphasise in a general way the urgency and necessity as regards London that such a depth of water should be brought about by dredging as will enable ships of the largest tonnage and of unusual draught to enter the river at all states of the tide. That is our ideal, but whether it will be possible to carry it out without an enormous expenditure of money is a matter for the new authority we are proposing to establish to determine. Of this I feel confident, and I think the House will agree with me, that if the Port of London is to maintain its commercial supremacy it must be able in the near future to accommodate the largest of our modern ships. On this point we have the evidence given before the Royal Commission by Sir Alfred Jones, who is a great authority on shipping. He pointed out that the economical ship was the large ship, and that only those ports that can make provision for the large ships will be able to hold their own in competition with their rivals abroad. That fact seems so obvious that I will not labour it, and the great development which is taking place in Continental ports proves it up to the hilt. I am not in any way speaking derogatorily of what has happened in the Port of London in days past. If anyone wants to ascertain fully what has happened in the Port of London they should read carefully the Report of the Royal Commission, where the whole subject is set out in detail. I am most anxious to avoid saying anything derogatory of the large number of bodies to whom the task of administering and developing the Port of London is now entrusted. I admit that private enterprise has done much to bring the Port of London to the point it has now reached, but at the same time it has long been recognised that none of those bodies are capable of doing what is necessary unless they enjoy larger authority from Parliament and larger revenues than are likely to be raised by any private body. Therefore, it is useless to look in the direction of existing bodies in the hope of finding any authority able to provide the necessary improvements to enable the Port of London to compete with the rapid developments which are going on in other ports. When you consider the magnitude of the work that will have to be carried out you will see perfectly well that only a strong public authority can achieve what is necessary in order to enable the port to maintain its supremacy. Take the three great Continental ports which are in direct competition with London—Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp. On the figures to which I have had access, the estimated capital expenditure on these three ports alone in the last twenty years is half as much again as the total capital possessed by the existing dock undertakings. In Hamburg alone in the last twenty years there has been an expenditure of fifteen millions of money, in Rotterdam, between nine and ten millions and in Antwerp, I think I am not wrong in saying the expenditure approximates to eight millions of money.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): Who found the money in those places?

MR. KEARLEY: That is not the point. I do not stop to inquire what has been the expenditure of the Port of London because the circumstances are so thoroughly well known to everybody, but the existing bodies have not had the power to do what is needed. Still, in view of the fact that this extraordinary expenditure has taken place abroad, and that developments of every kind are continuously going on there to encourage trade, is not it obvious that something has to be done at the earliest possible moment if the Port of London is to hold its own in this great struggle? We have in the Port of London a multiplicity of private interests, and private trade has done much to bring the Port of London up to its present position. The multiplicity of private interests in the port is one of the great reasons for the introduction of a unified scheme of administration, but all those who are in contact with the problem must recognise, as we have been compelled to recognise, that the multiplicity of private interests is one of the obstacles to the provision of a scheme which is generally accepted. Further than that, they must have recognised how sensitive and apprehensive these interests are of any change that may be brought about by a Bill of this kind. So far as the Board of Trade is concerned it has taken practically three years of continuous patient negotiation with all the interests connected with the port to produce a sufficient accord to justify the hope and expectation that legislation would be successful, and in this connection I may perhaps be permitted to refer to the extraordinary skill and tact displayed by my right hon. friend the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in conducting these negotiations, the fruit of which is the Bill itself to which we are asking the House to give a Second Reading to-day.

Now what are the principles of our scheme? In the first place we propose under the Bill to set up a single representative authority to control both the river and the docks, and this authority will combine in itself the powers and functions of the Thames Conservancy as regards the deepening, dredging, and the general improvement of the river, of the dock companies as regards the great system of docks on both sides of the river, and of the Watermen's Company as regards the supervision and control of the barge traffic. These will be what I may term the inherited responsibilities of the new authority, but, in addition to that, under the Bill we impose on the new authority the obligation to take a comprehensive view at the earliest possible moment of the needs and requirements of the port as a whole, so that it may not be merely a question of carrying on matters as they at present stand, but they will take a comprehensive view of the requirements of the port as a whole in order that they may take adequate steps for putting the port in the position in which it ought to be. The second point of principle is this, that the body in the main will be a commercial body composed of individuals who have direct interests in the trade of the port. At the same time it will be a body which may be taken as representing the general public. The main principle of our scheme as regards this is that the body shall be a commercial body, and that it shall be elected on a general register. We do not want men to come and take a hand in the management and direction of the port merely as trade delegates and as representing sectional interests. We want them to come there inbued with the idea that it is their duty to contribute what they can in the way of management to the development of the port for the common good of all and in the interests of all trades. We do not, for instance, want representatives of the corn trade to come and look after grain. Therefore, we have adopted very much the model of Liverpool in having these representatives elected on a general register. The appointed members will represent certain Government Departments, the Admiralty and the Board of Trade, and the municipalities of London—at all events, the London County Council and the City Corporation—and these appointed members will be presumed to be representatives of the public interest at large. I make that distinction between them and the commercial members. The majority of the Board will be commercial. The Board is not a large Board. The Royal Commission recommended forty members; we have satisfied ourselves with twenty-four—fourteen commercial representatives and ten appointed. The Board will have the opportunity to select its chairman from outside. We think that is large enough. My right hon. friend pointed out on the introduction of the Bill that good men are scarce, and that it is easier to find twenty-four than forty. My idea is that if twenty-four men cannot run the Port of London, double the number will not be able to do it. It will be a matter of public spirited endeavour on the part of those who take up this responsible work, and the success of the authority will depend on the spirit and the industry of the men who have undertaken the responsibility. The question of numbers will not be the governing factor at all, but the ability and the application of the men who go there to carry out the work. The third main principle, and this is very important, is that the port is to be self-supporting without any contribution or guarantee from the rates. The port authority will be empowered to impose dues on goods as well as on shipping, but within the limit of a maximum fixed with the approval of the Board of Trade. While it will be necessary that the revenue should be adequate to give a satisfactory guarantee to stockholders, still the utmost possible care will have to be taken that the schedule of dues on goods is not such that it will throw on the trade a burden calculated to do injury. I regard that myself as one of the most vital principles of the Bill. We must take care that we do not make the dues unduly heavy on those goods that cannot bear them. I have had experience myself that certain classes of goods would be really unduly handicapped by the imposition of a charge, small as it may appear, of 3d. a cwt., and I daresay the coal trade is one of those industries which would not be able to bear a heavy impost. The special requirements of special trades will have to be considered by the port authority, and the matter fully discussed before the final schedule is arrived at. The Board of Trade stand in this position, that they will have the final word in the matter. The port authority will not be able to settle the schedule itself or consider it definitely fixed until the Board of Trade has given its assent to it, and I regard it as one of the most onerous responsibilities that is committed to the Board of Trade that they shall have to undertake this. They will undertake, as far as they are able, to work out a reasonable schedule, and the House may rely on it that the very best endeavours of the Board of Trade will be directed to doing this. The fourth principle of the Bill is that, unlike the previous Bill we do not contemplate the acquisition of the docks by arbitration. The Bill actually embodies agreements that have been entered into by the Board of Trade with the various dock companies. I need scarcely say that these agreements are subject to the acceptation of the House, and Parliament is supreme in the matter. That is a very distinct difference between the Bill of to-day and the Bill of 1904–5. A great responsibility was undertaken by the Board of Trade when it proceeded to negotiate for the purchase of the docks. It was made perfectly clear that under no circumstances whatever would we be a party to the acquisition of the docks by arbitration. At the same time, however, we left it quite clearly understood that we were perfectly prepared to treat for purchase directly with the dock companies. We also made it quite clear that if we should come to negotiate we could only buy upon terms that would cast no permanent new charge upon the trade of the port by the acquisition of those interests. I may say there was a good deal of what I will venture to call manœuvring before we got to a definite point. But all the interests concerned have now realised our meaning, and they know exactly our attitude, and they gave us to understand that they were prepared to negotiate with us upon that basis. We asked them for access to their books, and that our own engineer should examine the condition of the docks and all works, and that our own valuer should be permitted to report on the various properties, land, and things of that kind which would necessarily have to be included in the purchase. The London and India Docks hold about 750 acres of land, upon which they place a very high value, and, of course, it was necessary for us to ascertain what the value of that land was for the purposes of the undertaking. I may say that we had the benefit of the views of one of the best valuers in the country. We endeavoured to select, and I think we succeeded in our effort, three of the most competent persons to be found in this great city. We employed Mr. William Plender, of the firm of Deloitte, Plender & Griffiths. Then we had the advantage of the services of Mr. Crutwell, a partner of the firm of John Wolfe Barry & Partners, and we also had the services of Mr. Bousfield, of the firm of Edwin Fox & Bousfield. We are able, I am glad to say, as the result of all this, to state that the revenue to be anticipated from the docks will be sufficient to provide for the charges imposed by the purchase on the new authority. We have ascertained to our own satisfaction that there is at this moment an available revenue based on the average of the figures for a period of six years past sufficient to discharge the interest on the purchase money and the liabilities which the new authority will have to meet. In taking this term of six years, we have included years of very serious depression as well as years when there has been a boom, if I may use the term. Taking the thing all the way through, I think in our estimate we have struck a very happy mean in regard to the revenues which we are likely to receive in the future, and which will be available for the new authority when it takes over the responsibility.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY (Paddington, N.): Will the hon. Member give us the figures?

MR. KEARLEY: Yes, I will. The figures, which are based on the average of six years, give an estimated revenue in round numbers of £808,000. The interest charges on the stock issued by the new port authority are estimated to total about £800,000, so that we have left a margin, although it is a somewhat narrow one.

Mr. BARNARD (Kidderminster): Why did you take six years?

Mr. KEARLEY: We thought that that was a reasonable period, because in those six years there are periods of depression and of trade activity, but as a matter of fact we are satisfied ourselves that this is a fair estimate. There was no obligation upon us to take six years, but we thought that that was a fair period upon which we could make a calculation.

Mr. MORTON (Sutherland): Is the £808,000 the net revenue?

Mr. KEARLEY: I wish to point out to the House that by the course we have taken and by the arrangements we have made we have avoided entirely the heavy expenses of arbitration. In that particular alone, I think, we have reduced to a minimum the expense of the acquisition of these undertakings. There is another very important point bearing upon what I have already said in reference to the urgency of this matter. We calculate that, by avoiding the long and tedious process of arbitration, which is a very laborious matter, we have saved two years. We know now exactly what we have got to pay; we know that we have reduced the purchase to a minimum, and we have saved two years of valuable time. Those, at any rate, are three important particulars in which we have succeeded. This Bill will go to a Committee, and we shall be perfectly ready before that Committee to justify the price to be paid. I notice that some scaremongers have published to the world at large the idea that we have bought at an exceedingly high price. I read an observation of that character in a speech made by the hon. Member for Sutherlandshire, in which he said that we were proposing to pay £75 for the third shares which were notoriously not worth £20. I do not know what the statement of the hon. Member before the Committee will be, but we shall be quite prepared to see him there to justify his accusation. The Government are quite ready to justify before the Committee upstairs every penny that we are going to ask the House to agree to pay for these undertakings.

I think I ought to say a word or two with regard to the position of the wharfingers. We do not propose nor do we think it practical to propose that the new authority should be required to purchase the wharves, although we are perfectly ready to leave the dual authority a free hand in this matter. We say that if they should consider it expedient in the future to purchase the wharves they will be at liberty to do so. Of course I have my doubts upon this matter, but nevertheless we are ready to give the new authority a perfectly free hand in the matter. While saying that, I am bound to admit that we recognise the rights of the wharfingers to have their position fully considered, and we are prepared to consider their case sympathetically. At the present time we are carrying on negotiations with them, and I have the warmest expectation and confidence that we shall succeed in effecting an accommodation with them satisfactory to them and at the same time not detrimental to the interests of the new authority. Whatever arrangement is made with them we must keep in mind the paramount object of our measure and not allow any interest to intervene which will be detrimental to the ultimate object this Bill has in view.

There are one or two other points of principle to which I wish to allude. There is Clause 23, which requires the new authority to take into consideration the methods of engaging casual labour. Everybody knows full well that casual labour in the East End of London, and the methods of employing it, are a great scandal. This question was brought prominently to the attention of the public at the time of the great dock strike, and something was then done to reduce the evil. Nevertheless, I think we should have been neglecting our responsibility if we had failed at this juncture, when the opportunity offered itself, to take some steps to remedy the evil by inserting a clause in the Bill whereby the new authority will be compelled to take into consideration the methods of engaging casual labour so as to ensure as far as possible some degree of regularity of employment, registration and other methods, which will tend to reduce the hardships to a minimum, if not to annihilate them altogether. Then with regard to housing accommodation upon works undertaken by the new authority. We anticipate that the new authority will be compelled to undertake works and carry out large extensions. Consequently it will be their responsibility to provide suitable accommodation for those who will be employed when such works are undertaken. The new authority will have to decide whether the housing accommodation shall be on the spot or not. In my opinion it might be wiser to remove the housing accommodation further into the country. At any rate, wherever new works are undertaken it will be an obligation on the part of the new authority to provide adequate housing accommodation. Then we have taken power under this Bill to give the new authority the power to acquire waste land needed in any development scheme without coming to Parliament, although they will have to approach the Board of Trade, who, in this matter, will be the custodians of Parliament. I know certain kinds of land may be required which cannot be treated in this way, but we have scheduled the area containing all the waste land, and with regard to the acquisition of those particular lands the Board of Trade thinks it is perfectly competent, and Parliament will have sufficient confidence in it to allow it to determine the matter.

All I have said up to this time applies to the Lower River, and it is difficult to say what will happen as regards the Upper River. According to the recommendations of the Royal Commission, we propose to constitute a body of conservators representing all the adjacent bodies and boroughs bordering on the Upper River, and this committee will be responsible for the management of the Upper River. There will be on that committee representatives of the Metropolitan Water Board, the port authority, the Board of Trade, and the various Upper River authorities. I may say that there will be a clear distinction between the two bodies managing the Upper and the Lower River. I know the Upper River is a great pleasure resort much frequented by Londoners, and we hope the new authority will preserve the amenities of the river for the delectation of thousands of people who will no doubt continue to enjoy it. I wish to say, in conclusion, that although some of the interested parties differ from us on some points, they have given us the fullest information freely and they have helped us generally in the preparation of this Bill. I express the hope that through this Bill the future greatness and increased prosperity of the Port of London will be assured. I am going to move later on to refer this Bill to a Joint Committee, and in doing so I am only following the example of Mr. Gerald Balfour upon the Second Reading of the Port of London Bill in 1903. The Government, in asking the approval of the House in regard to the Second Reading of this Bill to-day, wish it to be definitely understood that it carries with it in a distinct form the acceptance of our proposals for the purchase of the docks. I beg to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*SIR F. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) said that, having been Chairman of the Thames Conservancy Board for over ten years, he naturally took a deep interest in this Bill. He might safely say that he welcomed the measure which had been brought in by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought it was a great advance on any Bill which had been brought in before because it removed all manner of sores which had appeared in every other Bill, and he thought it dealt fairly with all the interests concerned. Therefore any remarks he made would not be antagonistic, but would be put forward in the hope that some little change would be made in the Bill in one or two respects. His first observation was that he was very sorry the decision had been arrived at to separate the authorities controlling the Upper and Lower River. That separation existed some few years ago, and he might say that it came to utter grief. It was found that they were not able in the Upper

River to carry on the management and expense of the administration because they had no power to put any tax upon adjacent landowners. When the Conservancy Act was passed some years ago the Upper and the Lower Rivers were put under one Board, and to show the financial position of the Upper River the price fixed for the redemption of the debt was only about £5 per cent. He could only say that it was of the utmost importance that the Lower River authority should have the Upper River in its own hands, for this reason. The bulk of the water which went into the Lower River came from the Upper River. If the Upper River had the power of dealing with this water as it pleased, what was to prevent it from getting more income by selling to the water companies, thereby depleting to a certain extent the Lower River, which would make dredging much more difficult to carry out, and much more difficult to be maintained. He hoped that the Board of Trade would increase its powers, so that it might take over the Upper River with the Lower River. It was not quite exactly the same now as it was then, because the money got from the water companies, of course, increased the income. There was no doubt that the passenger traffic and the barge traffic was so small that not more than about £2,000 a year could be got in that way, while the upkeep of the locks cost about £16,000 a year. If they had not some powers, they would want to get money to keep themselves afloat. He thought the President of the Board of Trade should look into it and see whether it would injure the principle of the Bill to keep the river one as now, because it would be of great advantage to the scheme if that could be carried out. There was only one other point upon which he wished to say a few words. He was very glad to hear what was stated in regard to waste lands. He considered that in the waste lands lay the future of the Port of London. In foreign ports the question of wharfage was very important, for this reason, that ships could be put at once at those wharves in less time than it took to get into docks, but if these docks were built in stages, one above the other, the cargo from various parts of the ship could be discharged at the same time. Railway carriages and wagons could be run alongside the wharves, and the goods from the ships could be raised and placed in trucks at once. If that could be done in the Port of London, it would be a great help, and it would prevent delay on the part of the shippers. Delay was the thing that cost money—the delay in getting into docks and in discharging the cargo at one platform—and it was so large that it prevented a great number of people from coming to London. In other places there was no doubt that the means for the quick discharge of cargo existed. He looked forward to the time when these waste lands would be devoted to this purpose, so that the Port of London would be made far more commodious and expeditious than it was now. Those were the two points he wished particularly to mention to the promoters of the Bill. There was no doubt that they must have a single authority to take up the docks. He doubted very much as to their being so valuable as was stated. He knew that at Hull when the North-Eastern Railway Company took over the docks there they gave something like £250,000 for them at the time, and the railway company spent another £250,000 upon them, and could not perform their duties then, and in fact nearly the whole of the money was thrown away. Of course there was this difference, that the smaller ships might get in without any great outlay and expense, but there was no doubt that they could not reorganise these docks, they must give them their present uses. They could not make them into larger docks without serious outlay which would not be remunerative. Therefore, he looked to the time when the suggestion which had been made in regard to utilising the waste lands would be carried out. The value of the wharves was very great, and the point really raised was the competition between the public dock companies and the private wharfingers. The hon. Gentleman had said that negotiations were going on for dealing with the parties, and, therefore, he need not say more on that subject. He could only say that he was glad to see this Bill introduced in such a business-like way, because that was the point they had to look at. He hoped particularly that the question of keeping the two rivers united would be considered.

*MR. CARR-GOMM (Southwark, Rotherhithe) said he rose as a riverside Member to say a few words on the Bill. They were discussing a question of enormous importance, and there was hardly adequate time for going into the details which came under it. When he saw the number of hon. Members on all sides who were to follow, equipped with information and ready to discuss all those questions, he felt somewhat as the fortunate individual must have felt who at the psychological moment entered the Pool of Bethesda in the face of his unsuccessful rivals on the bank. He thought the House would pardon this his first intrusion in debate when he said that his constitutents had to work very close to the river from London Bridge to Deptford Reach, and that they viewed with natural concern and interest the setting up of this new authority in London. He would not attempt to go into the financial part of the question, because he knew that others would do so. He could only say that the welfare of those who worked on the riverside was being placed in the hands of those twenty-five gentlemen, who, without any guarantee from the rates, had the slightly embarassing task of improving the Port of London, of bringing it up to modern requirements, and of attracting the trade on which the citizens of London would depend. He realised that the finance of the Bill was based, and naturally based, on the replies given by the London County Council to the questions put to them by the Board of Trade, and he saw beneath the veil of official language a certain surprise and indignation that it should be thought that the London County Council should be in any way held to be responsible for the improvement of the port. He could not help thinking that that august body would have done well to have looked at the debates on the Bill which was brought before Parliament by a former President of the Board of Trade. If they had done so, they would have taken a different view as to the burden the ratepayers would have to bear if there had been some guarantee from the rates in connection with the proposed reforms. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. George's spoke of the minute burden on the ratepayers. The present authority had to do without that. Speaking for a large portion of his constituency he could only trust that the provision in the Bill would be sufficient, and that there would be a sufficient amount of trade in the Port of London to be able to bear the burden put upon it. He wished to thank the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade for not overlooking the interest of the watermen and lightermen when he took counsel and considered the cases of the various competing interests. The lightermen, he thought, need have no fear about the Bill. They seemed to be in a better position under the present Bill than under the former Bill. Under Clause 8, transferring the powers and duties of the Watermen's Company, the obligation to retain the licence of lightermen and watermen was a point gained. He thought it might be of advantage if it could be found possible for the new authority to work in conjunction with the Watermen's Company in retaining, certainly to a large degree, the system of apprenticeship. When they heard hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House speaking of unemployment they often heard them refer to the disappearance of the apprenticeship system. Here they had a very valuable system which they should retain and he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for his care for the very worthy watermen who worked on the river-side. He welcomed Clause 23 which he thought was one of the most important in the Bill, referring as it did to casual labour. He had always supported, for his own part, the scheme of labour exchanges for riverside work, and he thanked the Government for this first legislative recognition of the system. Anyone who had had anything to do with labour exchanges must know that the system could only rest upon neutrality; that was, the workers and the employers must have full access to the organisation of the exchanges; and if the exchanges were to be set up under the port authority there must be some control over them. He did not believe the system could be a success if entirely controlled and supervised by the employers, and he therefore felt that first of all in setting up this port authority the labour exchanges and their waiting-rooms must be outside the dock premises, or else some statutory provision should be inserted in the Bill for securing the independence and neutrality of the exchanges. He believed that there was a certain amount of suspicion towards this new system of labour exchanges, and, more than that, in order to make this scheme for drafting a large body of workers up and down the river according to the fluctuations of trade thoroughly practicable and to make the men trust it, they should have them directly represented on the port authority, even though some of their representatives might be appointed as delegates of the London County Council. He believed that they could have men from both the north and south side of the river who understood the needs of labour, whom the men could trust, and who would be able to put the officials of the authority on the track of first-rate men to be engaged. He wished to ask all the members on the opposite side of the House as well as on the Government side to work together so as to get the Bill through this session. They in London had waited for years for this measure, and he only trusted that they had not waited in vain

*Mr. BARNARD (Kidderminster) said he wished to express his approval of the measure, which it appeared to him would solve this long-vexed question in a most admirable manner. He differed altogether from the hon. Baronet regarding the division of the river into two separate bodies. Like himself the hon. Baronet had been for a long time a member of the Thames Conservancy, and he was absolutely convinced that there was no other business way of dealing with this question than by separating these divergent interests in the way the Bill did. He was also of opinion that bringing about conferences of all the different interests concerned was the most likely way to get the Bill through. He did not think the House need at present go into the detail of whether one person got a little more or a little less. They could not have accomplished what they had done with any chance of success if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not brought these people together in the way he had. He was very glad to hear from the Secretary to the Board of Trade that negotiations were in progress with the wharfingers, because he felt that that great body should be dealt with reasonably and equitably. He observed that Section 313 in the Thames Conservancy Act was not one of the sections proposed to be repealed by the Bill. Referring to the Watermen's Company, that section said—

> "Nothing in this Act shall be held to affect any rights, privileges, or exemptions, actually enjoyed by owners of lighters passing along the River Lee and its branches into or from or along the Thames or to affect the persons employed in such lighters."

He assumed that these rights were to be maintained. At any rate that was a matter he would like the Board of Trade to consider. Again, he assumed that the officers of the Thames Conservancy would have the same consideration under this Bill as was granted under the Water Board's Bill to their existing officers. For his part, knowing something of the Water Board, he was glad they were not going to have again all those arbitration proceedings and heavy expenditure which were incurred when the Water Board Act was passed. Now as to the Upper River. The constitution of the Board for the Upper River was a matter of very serious importance to many of the parties concerned. Speaking as a member of the Water Board, while they disliked the constitution they loyally accepted it as they found it; but he wished to refer to one or two points, not antagonistically, of the proposals of the Board of Trade. It was quite out of the question that the Water Board could carry on their business on the new Upper River authority with only one representative. They provided four-fifths of the revenue of the Upper River, and he would like the Board of Trade to remember that they had to look to the purity of the river and that the water should be maintained in a condition fit to be used for drinking purposes, as at present, or better. He knew that more consideration had been given by the Board of Trade to the constitution of the new port assembly than in previous proposed Bills; but as regards the Upper River, they were going to give representatives to the county councils and certain small boroughs. The question of pollution was very important for the future, and he put it to the Board of Trade that some assurance should be given to them that additional representatives would be conceded to the Water Board, which would not alter the scheme of the Bill in any way, for the up-country would have always a majority of fifteen or sixteen. This was a matter on which he might reasonably ask for some sympathetic remark from the representative of the Board of Trade. One thing more. They were looking forward to a Rivers Pollution Prevention Bill from the President of the Local Government Board. When that came he dared say it would alter altogether the state of affairs, but meantime they had to take things as they found them. They had in another Act of Parliament the right as a Water Board to ask the Lee Conservancy to put into effect any powers they possessed in regard to pollution, and if they failed to do so they could ask a Government Department to step in and take action. Other Acts contained stepping-in powers. He thought the Board of Trade should put a clause something like that into this Bill. One part of the Bill gave power to the Board of Trade to formulate Provisional Orders to deal in a certain way with enactments and finance and what not. He understood that the intention of the Board of Trade under Clause 6, subsection 6, was to obtain authority to use Provisional Orders for revising the charges leviable by the new Conservators of the Upper Thames. It so happened that a sum of £35,000 was paid by the Water Board to the Board of Trade. Was he right in understanding that this section was not intended to apply to the existing arrangements between the Water Board and the Thames Conservancy or to making any alteration of it?

Mr. KEARLEY was understood to say "Yes."

*Mr. BARNARD: One word more. The claim of the wharfingers to a representation on the new port authority seemed to be omitted from the Bill. He thought that claim appeared to be unanswerable and should be conceded. He wished to make it clear that he was personally strongly in favour of the Bill as he found it, and he should like to be able to advise the authorities concerned, in whom he was interested, not to lodge petitions against the Bill, but to endeavour to make some arrangement with the Board of Trade.

Mr. PERKS (Lincolnshire, Louth) said that the crux of the question was, as they had just heard from the hint of the hon. Member, that this Bill was going to be fought in Committee by various private interests. It was to be hoped that the Government, or rather the country, would not be subjected to some of those costly inquiries in the Committee room which in past times had characterised the progress of the port schemes for the City of London. Indeed, one of the great troubles in connection with this vast undertaking for the control of the commerce of our capital had been that for at least fifteen years, to the knowledge of many of them who were closely connected, perhaps too closely, with the commercial interests of the city, the dock authorities had not known what on earth was going to happen next. The result had been not merely that the dock authorities had been unable to extend their property and possibly bring some of their appliances up to date, but that they had been practically unable to expend the necessary capital without any certainty at all of regulations which Parliament might make, and which would affect the value of their properties most materially. He did not agree with his right hon. friend who had spoken about the importance of unifying the upper and the lower reaches of the river in their government. He thought that the interests involved in the rural and more attractive sections of the river, and the questions involved in the uses of the river in relation to the towns upon its course, and the water supply of the upper sections of the river, were so totally different in their character from the commercial questions involved in the lower reaches of the river, that the Government had acted very wisely indeed in leaving the lower section of the river under the control of the new authority alone. He suggested to the Government that it would have been somewhat wiser to have extended the limits of this measure down the river. The eastern limit of the authority's port was Havengore Creek on the northern side, and Warden Point on the south side, but if they would consider a little they would see that they had omitted just outside this area some invaluable tracts of waste land which would be of the utmost value to the port authority for utilisation in connection with their great dredging scheme which they proposed to make. Those who were familiar with the port of Hamburg knew well that that port was sixty miles from the mouth of the river, and required something like twenty dredgers constantly at work dredging the channel up to Hamburg. And might he say while he was speaking on this point, that there could be no greater mistake in the world than that which was often made by the critics of the Port of London when they adversely compared the channels up the river leading to the Port of London with the channels of Antwerp, Rotterdam, or Hamburg. There were shipowners there who knew far better than he did the facilities of these three ports, but he thought he was perfectly correct in saying that for a rapid journey up the river our river compared favourably with any of the channels of these competing ports. But near the channel which was constantly dredged up to Hamburg by these twenty powerful dredgers vast areas of waste land had been utilised and had come to be of great commercial value because they had been utilised as tipping grounds for the dredged material. In consequence of the material being utilised in this way and placed upon them the lands had become of commercial value. He did not see that in this case there had been quite a recognition of the importance of scheduling within its limits these large areas just outside the Havengore Creek, which he thought someone else might utilise some day for the purpose which he had indicated. He had spoken a moment ago of the fallacy of assuming that the approaches to the port were in any way inferior in regard to the character of the channel, and also for facilities for rapidly handling goods, to the ports that had been mentioned as the most formidable Continental rivals across the Channel. He thought that any test which they chose to apply to the port of London would show that, hampered as the port authorities had been by the conditions to which he had alluded and subjected to the irritating interference, if he might say so, on the part of the wharfingers, which had seriously hampered the trade of the port, the port had held its own in a way which some of their critics were not willing to admit. On the subject of the wharfingers he noted with some little interest the negotiations which were pending between the wharfingers and his right hon. friend below him, because at the very bottom of the financial success of the Bill was the importance of retaining at least at its present level the existing net revenue available for the payment of interest upon the new stock. His hon. friend opposite had stated the case for the port of Hull, where he said a few years ago one of the railway companies took over some of the big docks, spending a sum of £250,000, and found that the whole of their money was unremunerative. What was the real secret of that? It was that the railway company came under one of those Parliamentary obligations which were so often forced upon railway companies of reducing the rates, and thereby reducing the rates they knocked the bottom out of their revenue and, therefore, had nothing to pay upon the additional capital that they were called upon to expend. He hoped that the President of the Board of Trade would not listen too much to the representations that might be made by the wharfingers, either for a reduction of charges in connection with the docks for discharging over the side in the barges, which had been one of the most serious troubles in the docks, or for setting up some special class of representation of the wharfingers on the new port authority. Might he just say one word in conclusion with reference to the finance of the Bill? He thought he was correct in assuming that the total borrowing powers of the port authority were not to exceed the sum of £5,000,000. He would like to know whether that was exclusive or inclusive of the borrowing powers which were already inherent in the existing dock authority, and the borrowing powers of the existing companies. He was bound to say that this measure was, he thought, a vast improvement upon any proposals which had hitherto been presented to the House. It had the great advantage of not being a State or a municipal undertaking. No guarantee had been asked from the State and no guarantee whatever had been asked from the County Council, or if it had been asked for it had not been given by the County Council. At all events it was not sought in this Bill; it was not asked for in this Bill, and they were not asked for it. As far as he was concerned he thought the Port of London would be likely to flourish in a greater degree the more it kept away from municipal and State control. They were certainly engaged that afternoon upon a not very sensational measure, but he was not at all certain that the measure was not of infinitely greater importance to the commercial prosperity and progress of our capital and port than possibly some other more sensational measures which sometimes came before the House.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said that perhaps as representing a borough which was at the entrance of the port he might be allowed for a few minutes to intervene in the debate. It had been very generously stated by the Secretary to the Board of Trade that the present Government in putting forward this Bill were building upon a foundation laid by others, and the hon. Member who had just resumed his seat had stated that the Bill was a great improvement in all respects over all other previous Bills. He was sure the Secretary to the Board of Trade would willingly say that it was not altogether an act of genius on the part of the late President of the Board of Trade in presenting this Bill. He was able to profit by the experience of his predecessors in office, and by that of the promoters of previous Bills, and they were able in this House and outside of it to elicit from the public and from any interests concerned, evidence which had been of great benefit to the Department which the hon. Gentleman so well represented in this House. He would not attempt to deal at all with the financial details of the Bill. He agreed with its main principle, and he congratulated the Government and most sincerely the present Chancellor of the Exchequer on having been able to make arrangements with the competing dock companies. The hon. Gentleman in moving the Second Reading of the Bill had spoken about conflicting interests. He did not think that he meant to say conflicting interests, but competing interests. These competitive interests had, of course, been difficult to amalgamate, and it was a triumph of departmental skill to have been able to amalgamate them for the purposes of this Bill. Much had been said about the decline of the trade of the Port of London—the comparative decline. He did not think that the Secretary to the Board of Trade had made any such statement. The trade of the Port of London had not declined, and since his right hon. friend sitting below him was a member of a Commission which brought in a Report upon which further efforts in the direction of solving this great problem had been based, the trade of the Port of London had very considerably improved, not through solving or ending of all the problems, but through other considerations. Perhaps the House would allow him to make one or two quotations which were very interesting. He took the years 1900–4. The increase of imports in that period represented 1,207,000 tons, and the increase of exports represented 730,000 tons. This Bill did not excite the jealousy or rivalry of competing ports, and he did not know what attitude the hon. Member for Liverpool took with regard to it, but he had every reason to be satisfied with what Liverpool had done. The increase of imports

*Mr. Perks.*

to Liverpool for 1900–4 were 1,985,000 tons, a very considerable amount more than those of London, and the increase of exports was over 1,000,000. In Hull there was a decrease of 337,000 tons of imports and 687,000 of exports. There was also a decrease in the Tyne ports. So that London had not done so badly in these particular years, and he believed in the last three years there had been a proportionate increase. He only mentioned these figures to emphasise the possibilities of the Port of London, of which the Report that his right hon. friend below him signed drew so eloquent and so inviting a picture. Undoubtedly the Port of London had suffered very greatly from the uncertainty of the arrangements and the inadequate provision made. The Secretary to the Board of Trade had referred to the deepening of the river. There was an absolute necessity for deepening the river from the Nore to Gravesend. The great ships could not have that accommodation in the river which was necessary if the trade of the Port of London was to be expanded. When the deepening of the river took place it would require a good deal of money to effect it. But he was of opinion, and that opinion was based on information obtained from many quarters, that perhaps the docks at the present time were not so well managed as they might be.

An HON. MEMBER: How?

Sir GILBERT PARKER said he would explain in what way. For instance, it was a curious thing that, taking a certain day of the year, the berthing room was not found to be insufficient. That was to say that the number of ships in the different docks represented, in the case of the St. Katherine's Docks, about 70 per cent. of the scheduled accommodation; in the case of the London Dock it was 50 per cent.; in the East India Dock, 30 per cent.; in the West India Dock, 33 per cent.; in the Royal Victoria Dock, 55 per cent.; in the Royal Albert Dock, 55 per cent.; and in the Tilbury Docks, 30 per cent.; the total average of the berthing accommodation used being 43 per cent. That was to say that on a particular day of the year—there was a complaint that there was not sufficient accommodation for the shipping—on a given day in the year only 43 per cent. of the berthing accommodation was being utilised.

Sir F. BANBURY: Does that not arise from the fact that complaint is made by these large ships that they can only get into the Tilbury and not into the other docks.

Sir GILBERT PARKER said he was open to correction, but he had not, he thought, made any statement which was contrary to what his hon. friend had just said. What he was going to suggest was, that the berthing accommodation in the docks in the Port of London was ample, but access to it was impeded by the practice of over-side loading into barges in the docks, and the congestion was due to the barges in the docks at the present time. The over-side loading in the docks not only incommoded the ships which were themselves in the docks, but other ships that could not get into the docks because of the congestion caused by this over-side transhipment of goods. That was a very serious matter, and he desired to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether the Government saw any prospect of relieving the congestion caused by over-side loading. They had clearly indicated that the Port of London were to have power to deal not only with docks, but jetties and wharves, and so on, and he wished to know whether it was a part of their policy as a result of their investigations that they should recommend the port authority—the recommendation would be in the Bill as part of the general policy—that deep water jetties should be constructed. The construction of deep water jetties would do a great deal to remove from the docks the present congestion. He was sure that the Secretary to the Board of Trade would agree that this was a very serious question, and if, as was stated in the House by many authorities, what he had said was accurate, it would appear that a solution of the problem lay not only in the building of docks, which was a very expensive business, but also in the development of deep-water jetties. These were the words Lord Brassey used in a speech delivered at the Chamber of Commerce in March, 1888—

> "At Antwerp and Hamburg deep-water wharves were largely used with advantage as to cost and rapidity of discharge. They should adopt the same system exclusively on the Thames. The rise and fall of the tide but slightly exceeded that of the Elbe. On the left bank there were admirable positions for the construction of wharves below Tilbury. On the right side a short distance above Gravesend wharves could be built in a straight line for nearly three miles with deep water alongside."

That was a very important statement by an authority who had made a study of commercial, maritime, and naval questions. It was estimated, for instance, that in the Royal Albert and Victoria Docks there were 47,250 feet of berthing accommodation. On one particular day there were thirty-nine vessels, occupying 14,619 feet; of these eight were laid up. On another day there were thirty-one vessels occupying 11,201 feet. In the Tilbury Docks there were 13,650 feet of accommodation. On this particular day only 4,571 were occupied. At the Millwall Docks there were 9,120 feet, and the space occupied was 7,827 feet. If, as had been said, the docks were congested, how was it that on that average day there was only that amount of shipping? The facts were, as the private inquiry showed, that there was so much over-side loading of cargo that ships were prevented from coming in. If that was the case, it surely ought to be the considered policy of the Government, and the policy of the port authority, to develop what would be for the benefit of all countries, and a much cheaper and more natural scheme, namely, that of deep-water jetties, as was done in the case of Antwerp, Rotterdam and elsewhere. That would relieve the congestion in the docks.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): That is mentioned in Clause 4.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I know.

MR. KEARLEY: It is in the Bill in Clauses 2 and 4.

SIR GILBERT PARKER admitted that the Bill did make provision, that it did include the policy, but he wished to know how much importance was attached to it. Did the Government consider that this particular scheme of deep-water jetties would do a vast deal, not only to relieve the congestion, but also to cheapen to manufacturers and others who had bought goods and those who sold the goods the cost of loading and unloading vessels in the docks? He believed that the cost of loading and unloading was at least 3s. a ton for manufactured goods. It ought not to be so much. It would not be more than 1s. 6d. or 1s. 8d., at the outside, at a deep-water jetty. Then there was another point upon which he would like to ask for some information. He knew it was not wise on Second Reading to go too closely into details, but it would be worth while, as a kind of instruction to the Committee, if the Secretary to the Board of Trade could say whether there would be widely differing charges for produce and manufactured goods coming into the port. Suppose there was a manufacturer who used two or three kinds of raw materials, upon which he was charged a certain rate for unloading. Those raw materials made up produced a finished article. But the foreign competitor sent in a finished article, and the dues for those three kinds of raw materials would be greater than the dues on the manufactured article when it came in. He hoped the Secretary to the Board of Trade would believe him when he said he was not putting this case with any idea of discussing fiscal reform, but it was certainly a matter for consideration.

MR. KEARLEY: All these are matters for the port authority and the Committee.

SIR GILBERT PARKER said he had just stated that these details were not to be settled on the Second Reading. The conditions would no doubt be settled by the port authority, but someone must ask for this information. All hon. Members would not be on the Select Committee, and surely it would be well worth the while to have an expression of opinion on a point so important. He was very glad the Watermen's Company had been taken over by the authority on such good terms. The men in his constituency objected to be taken over at all, but that had nothing to do with this point. He was glad they had been taken over on such good terms, but he wanted to ask a question which the hon. Member below had put in 1902 with regard to the officials displaced. He did not know whether any such provision had been made. When the right hon. Gentleman replied to the debate he hoped he would be good enough to say, because it was important, when taking over the powers and authority and business, that due and proper care should be taken of the interests of any officials who were displaced. One point, which, however, he did not want to press at all, but to which an answer perhaps would be given, was this: It seemed to him to be essential that Kent and Essex should be represented. He did not know why they had not been included in the authority. It seemed to him that two counties bordering on the river, with interests of many kinds involved by the operations and the administration of the Port of London, should be represented on the authority. Was there any reason why the county council should not have a member on the body? He agreed that twenty-five was too many. If it could be done by twelve it would be better, because on an authority of that kind it was invariably the case where there were so many that they would say: "Oh, there is sure to be a quorum; there is sure to be sufficient members present," and the temptation to be, he would not say careless, because such men as a rule were not careless, but the temptation to shelve, it might be, their responsibility onto the shoulders of their colleagues was great. Therefore he would support a smaller number or the authority. Still he would like to know the reason for not including a representative of the County of Kent and of the County of Essex on the Board. In conclusion, he thought the Bill would do a great national work in developing the Port of London. It could not be a local work, it must be national; and if the port authority constituted under this Bill were established on fair conditions he thought there was scarcely any criticism which could be made against the general scheme, because it would not increase the rates, and the public would not be suspicious that too much had been given for the properties involved. If the authority does the work that they believed it could do it would restore confidence, which was the best guarantee of progress. If the shareholders were dissatisfied with the terms—and a good many of them were—perhaps hon. Members opposite would think that that was one of the best guarantees that the docks had been acquired on reasonable terms. He believed that the properties, so far as one could judge, had been acquired on reasonable terms. The way seemed open at last to establish a Port of London which would add to the national confidence and prosperity, and the River Thames would be left second to no river in the world, in its prospects and the proportion of success that ought to attend the commercial labours of the Metropolis which was the centre of the great Empire. He gave the Bill hearty and warm support.

*MR. W. BENN (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said he ought to thank the right hon. Gentleman for continuing a friendly interest in the Port of London. The Port of London indeed had need of friends. It was not necessary for him to urge the great need that existed at the present moment for something to be done towards the improvement of the port. They had had a period of six years delay, and in that six years their rivals had made a great advance. In that period the Port of Antwerp had had an increased tonnage entered of 4,000,000; the Port of Liverpool, 2,000,000; Rotterdam, 3,000,000; and Southampton about 1,000,000. And during that period, although it was on a much greater total, the increase for London had been only 2,000,000. But these figures did not show the real danger. Although the presentw as to a certain extent satisfactory and secure, the future was unprovided for. In managing a great port they had not only to consider the needs of the moment but the needs of the future; and during those six years no provision had been made, or very little, for the future of the Port of London. It was quite true that the Thames Conservancy had carried out part of the dredging work recommended by the Royal Commission. It was also true that some of the dock companies had made extensive improvements. But while they had been waiting for the comprehensive scheme now introduced by the right hon. Gentleman, it had been impossible to make any efforts such as were necessary. If this Bill immediately passed into law it was still possible that they might have to suffer for eight years of neglect. During the last ten years, Liverpool had spent £8,000,000 on her dock accommodation. Antwerp had spent £9,000,000 in about the same period on docks and quays. These amounts were amounts of cash actually expended, but in prospect there were still greater improvements which threatened the prosperity of the Port of London. Liverpool had acquired powers and land for an expenditure of £4,000,000. Antwerp had a heroic programme involving the expenditure of £12,000,000. and within five years two docks out of nine were to be finished. Rotterdam had acquired the necessary land for 750 acres of new docks; and, as they knew, Southampton was constructing a dock which would take the largest ship afloat. It was quite clear that London stood in need of a policy of bold reform, and he thought in the first two clauses of the Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman they saw the promise of that reform. In those clauses as to the controlling authority, on which the duty was laid to take the necessary steps for the improvement of the port, they saw the essence of the scheme, and as to the general principle of the Bill he supposed everyone would be agreed. He would like to say a word about the position of the wharfingers. He would like the right hon. Gentleman, if he spoke later, to say something more as to the position of those traders. It seemed to him that they were left to compete with the docks managed by a public authority, an authority which had power to create new wharves, perhaps those deep-water jetties which seemed to be such a promising venture. In addition, charges were to be made on the lighters by which the wharves were fed. He thought the Bill bore with some hardship on the wharfingers who, in the past, had done much for the prosperity of the Port of London. The principle of administration in the Bill, the principle adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that they should secure the management of the docks by business men. The right hon. Gentleman had abolished the separate representations of conflicting interests by setting up a common register from which the elected representatives should be chosen. His principle was that the control of the Port of London should be by those who depended upon it, but it seemed to him that he had omitted one very important section—he referred to the labouring men who worked in the docks. There were 13,000 men employed in the docks and wharves of the Port of London, and although their individual interests were small, the interest of each was his whole livelihood. He happened to know from his experience in his own constituency that these men very often earned a very precarious living. By Clause 23 he saw that the duty was laid on the new authority of considering the question of casual labour and dealing with it. He thought that clause alone was sufficient ground on which to urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to admit direct representation of labour, by allowing a representative to be on the port authority. The right hon. Gentleman knew much better than he how that could be done. It might possibly be by nomination by the Board of Trade. If it were said that the London County Council had power to select two men from outside its own body to be nominated to this authority, then he should reply that those two representatives were there to represent London. London's port was the greatest of all its interests, and the claim of the workingman for a representative was based on exactly the same grounds as the claim of the wharfingers or the shipowners—it was the claim that he had his daily livelihood at stake in the welfare of the port. While on that question of labour he would like to mention another and perhaps a small matter. He must apologise to the House for mentioning those small matters, but he was not quite certain what other opportunities they would have of bringing them forward. The matter to which he referred was the licensing of lightermen. At the present moment licences to lightermen were issued by the Court of the Watermen's Company, and that power of licensing the lightermen was transferred by this Bill to the new port authority. They had a perfectly free hand to make what conditions and what regulations they liked for the issue of licences, with one very wholesome saving restriction, that the man licensed must have two years practical experience on the river. The Court of the Watermen's Company was a body of freemen of the Thames, many of whom had had a long practical experience in the work of the river, and they were able to take, further, a fatherly interest in the welfare of the apprentices on the river, and maintain that pride in their calling of Thames watermen, with which Dibdin has made them familiar. He ventured to urge on the right hon. Gentleman that it might be possible that instead of setting up a new committee, as would have to be done, of the port authority to issue these licences, the Court of the Watermen's Company might be allowed to issue the licences subject to any regulations which the port authority might lay upon them. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had here a most unusual opportunity of combining even ruthless efficiency with the preservation of an historical institution. The income of the new authority was to be largely derived from rates on goods. He would like to point out that it would obviously be unwise to put a heavy tax on transhipment goods which required to be handled cheaply, and there would be great danger of those goods being driven away to competing ports which were taking more than their fair share of them, if heavy rates were imposed. He would like to refer to the present attitude of the London County Council in this matter. He must apologise for criticising so important a body in which he had only the most slender hereditary interest. The London County Council was asked in December of last year whether they would guarantee the port stock, and whether they were prepared to find £2,500,000 as recommended by the Royal Commission. The guaranteeing of the port stock meant a saving of half per cent. on the enormous capital of the dock enterprises—possibly a revenue of £150,000 a year. If power was given to the new authority to rate goods there was practically no risk. These propositions were not new. The Royal Commission has made these recommendations, and the previous London County Council had agreed to them. They had been before the public and had been very amply discussed for six years, but it was three months before the London County Council could find it possible to make an answer to the Board of Trade, and when the answer did come in March it was a halting answer, to the effect that they were not able to guarantee the stock, and that they were of opinion that it was not necessary to provide £2,500,000 for deepening the river, because the Thames Conservancy was carrying out that work. He might remind the House that the Thames Conservancy was spending something less than one-sixth of that sum, and, further, was spending it out of a revenue which was urgently needed for other purposes by the new port authority. In face of the keen competition of Antwerp and Rotterdam, two ports which were lavishly financed with municipal and State money and run with a single eye to efficiency and cheapness, he thought the London County Council was woefully wanting in appreciation of its duty when it refused to undertake these obligations. In conclusion, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for introducing the Bill and expressed the hope that this new authority, though heavily handicapped, might do something to bring to our traders, and above all to those humble people whose welfare depended on the Port of London, a new era of prosperity.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) said the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had stated in the opening part of his speech that he hoped good terms would be made with the watermen, and also that they might make deep water jetties later on, because otherwise they would be competing with a rate-aided authority. Then he had expressed the view that that would be rather hard on these particular people, and he had concluded his remarks by saying that he regretted that this body, which was not a rate-aided authority, was not made one. The two remarks were absolutely incompatible. If the London County Council had followed the recommendation of the hon. Gentleman then indeed wharfingers and others would have been subjected to a rate-aided competition which certainly would not have been fair, but as it was, under the present Bill, they practically could compete with what to all intents and purposes remained a private enterprise. The hon. Gentleman had stated that if the County Council had guaranteed this loan there would have been a saving of ½ per cent. per annum, which would have amounted to £150,000 a year. He did not admit that that was correct, but he left out of his statement the fact that they would have had to provide £2,500,000, which would have been a very serious thing for them to do, and that would have taken away the advantage of the saving. But he did not admit that that saving was correct. How did he arrive at it? He presumed, though the hon. Member did not tell them, that he arrived at it on the assumption that the dock shareholders would have taken a less sum if the London County Council had guaranteed the issue. But that was only his opinion. He was not himself interested one way or the other in the London docks. He spoke merely as a Member for London. But what had taken place was that the shareholders in the docks had been given the average amount of their income for the last six years with a margin of £8,000. That was not a very large margin, and those were not terms which would admit of any reduction. His hon. friend asked "Why six years?" He was not a member of the Government, but he presumed it was because the Government wished to be very careful. The ordinary average taken in purchasing a business was three years, and the Government, wishing to be careful—he was always prepared to give them credit when they deserved it—took six years instead of three, and they took six years during which there were periods of prosperity and periods of depression, and therefore he thought they had taken a proper period. But having done that, was it likely that the shareholders would have said: "We will sacrifice part of our income, which has been arrived at by an average spread over six years, merely because the London County Council is going to guarantee the stock." They wanted their income; they did not want the guarantee, and he maintained there would have been no saving if the London County Council had guaranteed the stock. He always endeavoured to criticise, he hoped with fairness, the actions of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. He was glad the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in his place. On this occasion he thought they had done very much better than his own Party did two years ago. He was not in favour of that Bill, and he thought that on the whole this Bill was an extremely good measure. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not object to that criticism, coming as it did from an opponent. But it was not the fault of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Bill was a good Bill. He happened to have some little knowledge of what took place some few months ago. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had his way he would have committed the very errors that his hon. friend below him committed. It was only because the London County Council refused to do what he asked them to do that he had proposed what in his opinion was an extremely good Bill. He would give the right hon. Gentleman the credit of having the courage, when he could not get his own way, to get another way. He did not want to say very much upon the Bill, but there was one clause in it—he was not quite certain what the effect of it was going to be but it made the dock companies a railway. He was not certain that terminal charges were not mixed up in that, and he hoped that if that clause was found to damage the railway companies, they would have the sympathy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He did not know that it would. The hon. Gentleman said it would not. He did not make a point of it, but he happened to notice it and he thought he would ask the right hon. Gentleman what the effect would be. There would be, he was afraid, a certain amount of opposition. He held in his hand a circular from the London Short Sea Traders' Association, which no doubt the right hon. Gentleman had, in which it was said that Amendments of the gravest character were absolutely necessary to avoid irretrievable disaster, and there were other statements in the same strain. Of course, the Bill would inflict, he thought, an increase in the rates which they would have to pay, but in return for that they would get increased facilities. If they got increased facilities they had to pay for them. There was no question about that. The idea that they were going to get facilities without paying for them was absurd. The reason, he thought, that it was necessary that something should be done in regard to the dock question was not that the docks had been badly managed, as the hon. Member for Gravesend said, but because they had not been able to get the money, the enterprise not having been very profitable up to the present. That being so, it was absolutely necessary that someone should step in, and provide some means by which the improvements of the river and of the port could be carried out. Naturally the people who were going to gain by that would have to pay something towards it. Those would be the large shipowners, and he did not think they ought to make any objection. His hon. friend the Member for Gravesend had said the docks were more or less empty, and the reason of that was that they were filled up by barges. Of course the question of free water, as the right hon. Gentleman knew, was a very big question, and on the face of it, it seemed that it was hardly fair. On the other hand, he was very glad the right hon. Gentleman had preserved the free-water rights, as he understood he had, with the exception of a small licence which the barges would have to pay, because those rights had been given for more than 100 years. He thought they were statutory rights. They had always been very advantageous to the Port of London, and they could not really be taken away without heavy compensation. He would point out to the hon. Member for Gravesend that there was nothing under the Bill, as he understood it, to prevent the port authority, when constituted, from expending fresh money on other docks or upon deep water quays, and really he thought that ought to be left to the authority. They could not discuss that question when they knew very little about the pros and cons of the matter. He was glad the number of the authority was not to be too large. He himself would much sooner have seen twelve or thirteen than twenty-five, not for the reason given by his hon. friend, that the members might be inclined to evade their responsibility, but, first of all, because they would more easily get twelve good men than twenty-five. The world was so constituted that there was not a great number of really first-class men in it.

MR. CROOKS: The one and only.

SIR F. BANBURY said he did not know who that was. Did the hon. Member mean the Chancellor of the Exchequer? If so, he was rather inclined to agree with him, though he would not put it quite so high as that. But it was difficult to get men of ability, and unfortunately, if they got a large number of men, they were likely to get some, and they were the men of least ability, who would always differ when anything was proposed, and consequently nothing whatever would be done. Therefore he was glad the number was not more than twenty-five, and he would have preferred a smaller number. He again congratulated the Government upon having brought in a Bill upon which he thought the present London County Council ought also to be congratulated, because it was owing to them that they had a good Bill and not a bad one.

*MR. DICKINSON (St. Pancras, N.) felt that the compliment which had been paid to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by the hon. Member for the City of London was one of doubtful significance. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* He thought the warm-hearted approval which the hon. Member for the City had given afforded them some little ground for hesitation as to the absolute merit of this measure, but at the same time he did not rise in any spirit of opposition to the Bill. He thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Board of Trade for having brought forward this measure, and having placed them at last within sight of a solution of the greatest problem that London had ever had to deal with. Might he also, at the same time, express his high appreciation of the way in which the right hon. Gentleman and the Secretary to the Board of Trade had gone into all the pros and cons of the question and weighed the arguments for and against the various solutions which had been brought forward. He felt certain that the Bill had at any rate been the result of very careful consideration. It was now nearly twenty years since this question was first mooted on the London County Council. The Secretary to the Board of Trade was quite right in saying that in 1887 the shipowners approached the Thames Conservancy Board with a view to obtaining an improved channel in the river; but it was not until the County Council was established some time that any effective action was taken in this matter. One of the earliest questions brought before Parliament by that newly elected body was that of reconstituting the Thames Conservancy Board and later on the question of the Port of London. It was at the instigation of the London County Council that the Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the whole subject of the administration of the Port of London. He mentioned that fact for two reasons. First of all he wished to say that the delay which had already taken place in the settlement of this question had proved to be so disadvantageous to the port that, although he might not be altogether in accord with the actual solution now brought forward, he felt justified in accepting this measure rather than do anything which might possibly leave the problem undealt with. His second reason was that his experience had convinced him that this question would not have been advanced to its present position had it not been for the action of the representative authority of London, and although he quite realised that under the circumstances of the case it had been impossible for His Majesty's Government to establish the new Port authority upon a municipal basis, at the same time he could not help saying that he viewed that decision with great regret. It was of the utmost importance that the trade of London should not be treated as an interest separate from the interests of the whole of London. London depended for its very existence on its port and its port depended upon Londoners. Therefore, the attention of the people of London ought to be constantly kept attracted to the management of the Port of London. When public interest was directed to a question of this kind then great things were done, and they saw illustrations of that fact in other towns. They saw it in connection with the greatest of the rival ports. What had made Antwerp London's great rival? It was simply the municipal spirit in Antwerp which had inspired the public authority to spend enormous sums of capital in the development of that harbour. The same might be said of other towns. In Bristol, for instance, the upkeep of the port was a matter of the greatest interest to the people there because the corporation had it under its own care. To take another example, when the Manchester Ship Canal was made it got into very low water at first, and at last the Manchester Corporation advanced money in return for which they obtained the right to appoint a majority of the members on the Board of Management. The result was that the interests of the Manchester Ship Canal immediately became the interests of the people of Manchester, and now he believed that the Manchester Ship Canal was slowly becoming successful. He did not, however, ask the House to dwell on that point, because they had now another solution brought before them, and that was, to use the words of the Secretary to the Board of Trade, the appointment of a commercial body. He was himself rather doubtful as to whether they were not pursuing a fetish in imagining that they would obtain better service from such a body than from a body composed upon the principle of popular election by the people. He knew it was quite true that the system now suggested held good in Liverpool and had been successful there; but at the same time he was doubtful whether under the conditions which prevailed in London they would succeed in attracting business men into this service any more by this system than by giving the power of election to the public.

The Government itself appeared to entertain some doubt upon this subject, because they proposed that all the first members who were to represent the trade interests were to be appointed by the Government and not by election. The new authority would be a body composed of twenty-four members, of whom, however, not more than three would be men who were in direct touch with the people of London. He knew that this was not the fault of the Government. The constitution of an authority on these lines was inevitable because, from the very first time when a municipal system was proposed, it had met with the most strenuous opposition, not only from traders, but also from a great many others. Those who had followed this question for years realised that it would have been quite impossible, in view of this opposition, to propose for the management of the Port of London any system similar to that which had been adopted in Bristol, and lately this solution had been rendered all the more impossible by reason of the fact that the present London County Council had taken an entirely different view from that which had been adopted by the former London County Council, and desired to have nothing to do with the Port of London. That being so the only question which they had now to consider was whether this authority, which would have to stand, so to speak, on its own bottom, would be started in such a financial position that it was certain to be successful. Whatever was done there was no doubt that the new port authority would have a very difficult task to perform. It would be bound to raise all its money from the trade of the port, and at the same time it would have to keep the trade from leaving the port. London was subject to very keen competition not only by Rotterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg, which were its great competitors, but also from ports like Harwich, Southampton and Dover; and a very little might drive away the trade from the Thames to some of those other ports. That was the reason which had led the former London County Council to make its proposal to help the new port authority, by means of the rates. It was most important that this new authority should have a fair start from the very beginning, and he thought there was at the present moment room for considerable doubt as to whether this would be the case. The Memorandum circulated by the Board of Trade stated that it was anticipated that the revenue transferred would be sufficient to meet the obligations which would be transferred under the Bill. It had been explained that an estimate had been drawn up based upon a careful investigation made by eminent accountants into the affairs of the companies. That investigation had been made upon what was termed in the Memorandum: "The adjusted earnings of the companies." That expression was one which was open to a good deal of suspicion. He knew very well what "adjusted earnings" had meant when they dealt with the London water companies. In moving the Second Reading of this Bill the Secretary to the Board of Trade had stated that an estimate taken over a period of six years was sufficient to entitle him to say that the income of the new authority would be sufficient to meet the expenses. The hon. Member took his average over a period of six years, but if the average had been taken over a period of three years it would have shown a lower figure; and if it had been taken over a period of eight years the result would not have been so satisfactory. The Secretary to the Board of Trade had taken the average income at £800,000, but the average for the last three years came out at about £750,000, and the average over a period of eight years at about £770,000. He preferred, however, to take the actual figures of last year. Last year the dock receipts of the dock companies amounted to £2,385,000. The expenditure of the dock companies plus the interest that would have to be paid to the stock holders and the expenditure which would be involved in compensation to the directors and the cost of transfer, amounted to £2,443,000, leaving a deficit of £58,000. The Bill proposed to allow the new authority to raise new income by doing away with the privilege which the passenger steamboats possessed at the present moment, and by charging licensing fees on barges.

He believed that these two items had been estimated to realise about £30,000. That still would leave a deficit on the first year's working. It was true that the Thames Conservancy receipts exceeded their expenditure, the reason being that the Thames Conservancy had recentl obtained the right to levy new tonnage dues, but that right had been given for the express purpose of expenditure on dredging, and the new body would not be justified in applying that to the ordinary management of the docks, so that, so far as he could see, there was a deficit of something like £28,000 on the first year's working of the docks.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): May I ask my hon. friend how he arrives at that figure? I think he said that he included the amount which was paid as compensation to the directors. Does he include that as a capital amount, or has he put it in the estimate for the year? The other point I wish to ask is whether he has put in the payment on account of bridges into the expenditure of the year, and whether he bears in mind that there will be no payment of the kind in next year's estimate?

*MR. DICKINSON said the payment which he had put into the year's expenditure was for the annual payment in respect of the compensation payable to the directors, and that he understood to be £3,800. And there was also a similar addition in respect of the cost of transfer. The interest charges amounted to £812,000, because there was, he understood, a mortgage charge of £12,000 in addition to the figure given by the hon. Gentleman, and that brought up the amount to £2,443,000.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Does my hon. friend include directors' fees? There will be no directors' fees.

*MR. DICKINSON said that possibly this had not been eliminated from the expenses of management and he might be incorrect in regard to that item. But supposing they eliminated that, there still would be, so far as he could see, a small deficit, according to the figures of last year's account, the figures of last year's account being, of course, worse than the figures based on the average of the six years. And further, this left out of consideration altogether the question of new capital, and there could be little doubt that the new authority would be bound to spend capital to no inconsiderable extent, and to spend it at a very early period, because the capital expenditure on the docks had not been kept up as it ought to have been, and it was essential that the new authority should expend capital at the earliest possible moment. The expenditure of £1,000,000 only would involve for sinking fund and interest an annual charge of £46,000. He had quoted these figures not in the least degree wishing to appear hostile to this agreement, but because they appeared to him to be of immense importance as affecting the future position of this new authority. There were two great difficulties which would confront the new authority. First of all, there was the question whether any, and if so, what dues they were to impose on goods in order to make good their revenue, and secondly, there was the question how best to obtain the new capital which would have to be raised. In regard to the question of dues on goods, that was a proposal which had indeed obtained the assent of the Royal Commission, but it was one which with great respect he ventured to think had never yet been thoroughly investigated at any public inquiry. The County Council in its proposals had advocated an increase in the tonnage dues on shipping, rather than the imposition of duties on goods, and he was sure the right hon. Gentleman must feel, and they all must feel, that the imposition of new duties on goods was at any rate a very risky experiment. They could not foresee the effect which such duties might have. The Royal Commission recommended that the dues should be of very small amount and that they should be levied only on imports and not upon exports, but this Bill proposed that the dues should be on imports and exports, and inasmuch as in the Port of London a very large proportion of the trade was in the shape of what was called re-exports, he was of opinion that this proposal might have a very serious effect on the general trade of London as a port.

SIR F. BANBURY: I thought that transhipment was exempted under this Bill.

*MR. DICKINSON said that as he read the Bill there was a clause which enabled the new authority to make exemptions, and he supposed that would include an exemption on the transhipment of goods, but this was only a small part of the re-export trade. Again, the imposition of duties might affect very seriously indeed a large class of persons whose business was of the greatest importance to London, namely, the manufacturers who had their factories on the banks of the River Thames. At the present moment the fact that they could get their goods there free from the imposition of duties was of great value to them. But, in any case, he submitted that the imposition of new duties on goods should be the very last resort of the new authority, and if it was possible, as personally he believed it would be, to obtain the necessary money for the first two or three years by a small increase in the tonnage dues on shipping, that would be better than the too hurried establishment of a new system of taxation of goods. What he submitted to the right hon. Gentleman was that the whole question as to whether or not there should be dues on goods should be left to the discretion of the new authority. The Bill, as he understood it, made it obligatory on the new authority to present a schedule of duties within six months. If the new authority could have a year, or two years, in which to consider the whole question as to the best means of raising additional revenue he thought the subject might be better considered than had been the case hitherto. There was a second point to which he wished to refer, and that was the importance of giving to the new authority facilities for raising money at the cheapest possible rate. They would have to borrow money at a very early date and they would borrow under conditions that were by no means satisfactory. The London County Council had formerly offered to guarantee the loans to be raised by the Port authority, and there was no doubt that that would not only have improved the security but also made the loan a trustee security, and by that means some £125,000 a year would have been saved to the new authority upon its total capital expenditure. The present County Council had refused to give that guarantee and there was, of course, no means now of giving that advantage to the capital required for the purchase of the dock companies. He desired, however, to submit to the right hon. Gentleman that such advantage might be very well given to the new capital. The Bill treated new capital, he thought, rather unfairly. It gave absolute priority to the A. stock, which was to be handed over to the debenture stockholders, and it compelled the new authority to borrow its new capital as B. stock, which was to be a 4 per cent. stock, and would be worth about £100. If it was stock equal to the A. stock the value would be about £111. What he would suggest to the Government was that if possible they should give priority to the new capital over the capital which was to be issued to the dock companies, and at the same time obtain what he believed it might be possible to obtain, namely, the guarantee of the London County Council to a limited amount of new stock, say, to the extent of £5,000,000 or £7,000,000. By that means there would be on the issue of that stock a saving of £30,000 or £40,000 a year. He hoped that that was not inconsistent with the agreement come to with the companies. The dock companies had got so satisfactory an arrangement that they could very well afford to allow that priority to be given to the new capital. He did not wish to criticise the terms of the agreement. He believed that the choice of the right hon. Gentleman was between that agreement and arbitration, and his knowledge of arbitration led him to know that the price paid to the companies might well have been more than that which the right hon. Gentleman had agreed to. But at the same time they were bound to bear in mind that the shareholders in these companies had obtained very considerable advantages. The market value of the stock to be issued to them would be at least £1,500,000 more than their holdings were worth in June of last year, and nearly £1,000,000 more than they were worth quite recently in the present year. Their aggregate income would be some £34,000 more than the dividends they received last year, so that their position was really secured, and they might very well give the advantage suggested. It would not be unfair even to the debenture stockholders since the value of their stock had been considerably increased. For example, the stock which was to be issued to the holders of the £443,000 5 per cent. debenture stock of the Millwall Company would be worth some £70,000 more than that stock was worth in February last. By giving priority to the new stock they would only be putting the companies in the same position which they would have been in if they had had to borrow the capital themselves. The whole question of the success or the non-success of this new body depended upon very small figures. The margin one way or another would be very narrow, and he hoped that some arrangement might be come to which would place it in a better position financially than it would occupy under the terms of the present Bill. He was glad to hear from the Secretary to the Board of Trade that the figures on which the agreement had been made would be before the Committee. He understood that the agreements would have to stand or fall as a whole, but if the Committee could investigate the facts and figures upon which they were based no one could take exception to such an arrangement.

*Mr. BONAR LAW (Camberwell, Dulwich): I do not propose to deal with the criticism on the financial position of the Bill suggested by the hon. Member for St. Pancras. That is the part of the Bill for which the Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible, but I do not think it would be very difficult to answer the criticisms of the hon. Member, because he based his objection on the returns of a single year and that the worst year for the docks. The hon. Member had to admit that even so there would be a very small credit balance or a very small deficit. If that is all that can be said against the financial position of the Bill the right hon. Gentleman who is responsible for it has no reason to complain. Before I make a few remarks on the Bill itself, I hope it will not be considered out of place if I offer, as the only Member on this side of the House who had any connection with the Department, the late President of the Board of Trade my congratulations not only on his change of office, but still more on the successful administration of the Board of Trade while he was there. During the time the right hon. Gentleman was at the Board of Trade the Opposition on almost every occasion supported and agreed with the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. That I attribute entirely to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman, in the administration of of the Board of Trade, treated every question on its merits, as every trade question ought to be. It is for that reason that he has had very little opposition from the Party of which I am a Member. I am glad to say that the Bill which we are discussing is one which on the whole I regard favourably, and I would be sorry if it did not get quickly into Committee. I cannot help thinking, however, that the anticipations which have been raised as to the great benefits that are going to result from the Bill are very likely to meet with some disappointment. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh."] That is my feeling, and both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Board of Trade dwelt in a way which other Members have not dwelt on the difficulties which are to be encountered in this matter. The more I had to do with it in connection with the late Government, the more I was impressed with these difficulties, and during the time since then, experience has made me feel that these difficulties are even greater than I imagined. I think it is possible that the Bill as we now have it is the best method available for dealing with the subject, but I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman will acknowledge that it is not by any means an ideal solution of the matter. I am bound to say that there is an immense amount of exaggeration as to the conditions which now prevail in the Port of London. Let me indicate to the House the kind of arguments which have been used to show how bad the conditions of the Port of London are. It is constantly pointed out that the *entrepôt* trade is declining not absolutely, but relatively. Anyone who knows anything of the subject knows that that is a change which is due to the changed conditions in which the trade of the world is carried on. It is due largely, and almost entirely, to the fact that there has been an immense expansion in the trade of the world, and that there are now connections with and from all sorts of places. For instance, in my own experience there was only one line of sailing ships running direct from Glasgow to Australia. The great bulk of the trade went direct from London, whereas now there are direct lines of steamers from Glasgow to Australia; and the same thing applies to other ports in our own country. Still more does this apply to all the great Continental nations for whom London used to act as an *entrepôt*, and who have now themselves direct lines of steamers which compete, and successfully compete, with the lines that go from this country. It is evident that that trade has been developed not on account of the conditions which prevail in the Port of London at present. Personally, I believe that that change is going to become more marked in the future, and I do not think that anything we can do would keep that trade to the Port of London. Another argument used, and this was employed by the Secretary to the Board of Trade, is the great and rapid increase in the trade of Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, as contrasted with the comparatively slow increase in that of London. There again, that argument ignores entirely the immense change which has taken place in the trade conditions of the world. The rapid increase of the Continental ports I have named is due mainly to the far more rapid increase in the total trade of their respective countries, as compared with the total trade of the United Kingdom during the same period. To make that point clear to the House I went to-day into the actual figures of the trade expansion in the several countries since 1890. I cannot give them absolutely accurately, because, while the figures for some of the countries are available down to 1907, in other cases I have no later Returns than 1905. The result, however, is pretty accurate. Since 1890 the expansion of the total trade of the United Kingdom, imports and exports combined, has been altogether about £380,000,000; but during the same time the expansion of the total trade, imports and exports combined, of Germany, Holland, and Belgium has been nearly twice as much—nearly £700,000,000. It must be obvious to everyone that that great growth in the trade must lead to a corresponding growth in the trade of the ports in these counties through which the trade passes. Nothing we can possibly do can prevent the ports of those countries from growing in some proportion to the rapidity of the total expansion of the trade of those countries. Another argument is that the docks of London as compared with those of Liverpool and Antwerp are not up-to-date. I remember reading a remark by the Chancellor of the Exchequer who had been visiting the London and Liverpool Docks, in which he pointed out the inferior condition of the London Docks. But you cannot possibly compare a port like London with a port like Liverpool. The conditions are entirely different, and for this reason, that in Liverpool, when goods leave the ship, the whole handling is done on land. Now, in Liverpool I am told that the lowest rate for cartage is 1s. per ton, and in London 2s. 6d. There is an essential difference, and it is that the transport in Liverpool is done by land, and in London almost entirely by water, and water is, on the whole, a cheap transport. Of course, I admit that in London the docks are not up to date, but still they are not nearly so bad as they are represented. Whatever the changes may be it will not be in the direction of making the docks more and more like those of Liverpool; but it will be in improving the facilities for transport by water instead of by land. There is another consideration which I think has not previously been pointed out. All the trade done at present outside the docks will not be under the complete control of the new authority. When people talk about the disadvantages of London, I ask hon. Members to realise that the trade done in the river and outside the docks—and that is nearly half the trade of the port—is done on conditions which are cheaper than can be found in any other great port in this country, if not in the world. There are no dues on goods; dues on ships are very small, something like 2d. per ton. The result is that for that part of the trade the conditions are as good as they possibly can be. My hon. friend the Member for the City of London talked of the representative bodies which had many objections to this Bill. That is natural. Look at it from the point of view of those who are conducting the trade now carried on, not in the docks but in the river. To them it seems that what we are proposing to do is to put taxes on half the trade they are conducting in the Port of London in order to improve the condition of the other half of the trade with which they have nothing to do. That is what happened to a considerable extent. Now I will tell the House why it is that in spite of holding these views I still think that a Bill on these lines is necessary. My reason is that you cannot look upon the trade of London in part, but you must look upon it as a whole. It is no use to have one-half of the trade of London done under the most favourable conditions in the world, if the other half is done in the docks, and conducted under very unfavourable conditions. Let us suppose, for example, that the facilities in the river become better and better, but that the docks become worse and worse, until they are quite unable to take in the biggest ships. In the long run the result will be that the consumers in London will pay more for what they receive than they would have to do if proper conditions prevailed in the Port of London. Take for example the case of Liverpool. Liverpool has spent immense sums of money upon dredging the river to a great depth, although the ships requiring that depth are very few in number. And yet in Liverpool nobody suggests that the cost of deepening the river should fall only on those ships which need a great depth of water. Liverpool proceeds on the principle that it is in the interests of the port as a whole that it should be able to take in the biggest ships, and they believe that such accommodation should be paid for not by those large ships alone, but by the trade of the port as a whole. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last took exception to raising dues on goods at all, but that is only part of his natural conservatism. He is not accustomed to dues on goods. I have heard charges made against the right hon. Gentleman that this is another measure in favour of tariff reform because it proposes to put dues on goods. I do not, however, see where that comes in, because the dues are to be put on our own goods as well as those which come from foreign ports. It does, however, mean a broadening of the basis of taxation. If you put all the charges for the port on the ships, the ships will, of course, have to charge higher freights, and the consumer will pay in precisely the same way, because those trades are regulated by the charges at the ports. I agree that theoretically it would make no difference whether the revenue was raised wholly on the ships or partly on ships and partly on goods. If business was done entirely on mathematical lines, it would make no difference, but even business is more psychical than mathematical. It is quite true that a shipowner before putting his ship on a voyage makes a calculation which includes the expenses in the ports where the ship loads and where it discharges its cargo, but if the impression becomes general that London is an unusually dear port, the effect of that will be that shipowners who do not make their calculations with mathematical accuracy will become afraid of the Port of London, with the result that there will be less competition amongst them, and the effect will be that while you think you are saving the consumer by not putting any dues on goods you are really making him pay more by putting on higher freights than if the port were a cheap port. I should like to refer briefly to one or two of the provisions in the Bill itself. I was not hurt by the criticism of my hon. friend behind me and others to the effect that this Bill is a great deal better than the one which was introduced by the previous Government. I think hon. Gentlemen opposite will believe that if four years afterwards we introduced a new Bill it would have some improvements on the old Bill, and I will not take up the time of the House dealing with the differences between the two Bills, except in those instances where they have some bearing upon the present situation. With regard to rate-aid, I entirely disagree with my hon. friend behind me. Personally, I do not see any difference whatever between what is called rate-aid and the power to levy dues required to meet the expenses of the port authority. There is really no difference between the two. I agree also with those hon. Members who have said that the interests of the Port of London and the City of London are identical. I was, therefore, in favour of obtaining rate-aid for our Bill on the ground that it would enable us to borrow money more cheaply, with the result that London as a whole would get the benefit. That is a different view from the attitude taken up by hon. Gentlemen opposite, who seem almost to resent the fact that the London County Council has not to pay something, although they are getting nothing in return for it. Under our Bill the House will remember that it was compulsory on the docks to take payment in port stock, and we were bound to see that that stock was as safe as we could possibly make it, because the usual thing was that under such circumstances payment should be made in cash. If I had been a member of the London County Council and had possessed control on the two occasions, I should have been willing to give a guarantee on the last occasion and I should not do so now, because there is a great difference in the monetary conditions on the two occasions. From the point of view of London, at the present moment nothing is more important than to raise the credit of the County Council's loans in London; and even from their own point of view it might really pay London better that a little more should be paid in interest if necessary, than that the rise which was taking place in the stocks should be limited. Anyone who looks at this question from that point of view will conclude I think, that the port will have no difficulty in standing on its own merits. If you have the power of levying rates and dues the port stock is, in my opinion, practically as safe as the rate-aided stock of the City of London. It should not be overlooked that London is unlike other cities in this respect. In Liverpool or Glasgow the trade does not depend upon a district which must be supplied by those ports, because they have competitive ports. The great bulk of the trade of London is done for the supply of London proper, and there is no competition, except that of the railways. Therefore, if you have the power to raise dues there is no question whatever that it is possible to make certain that the Port of London will pay its way. My next point is the composition of the port authority, and there I have no criticism to make. It is to be composed in the best possible way and based on the principle that the people who pay the piper are to call the tune. The men who are going to control the docks are the men who are going to pay for it, and it is to their interest that the docks should be run in the best way and on the most business-like methods possible. That is the best guarantee for the success of this new authority. I rather doubt whether the right hon. Gentleman has made any improvement in making only one register instead of giving a fixed number of members to the different interests involved. This is, however, a question which is a pure matter of opinion. Upon this point what does experience show? On the Tyne there is a fixed representation of each interest. In Liverpool and Glasgow this is not nominally the case, although in practice it is so, because the different trades combine so that each section is represented at each election by a fixed number of members. I know that we cannot have an arrangement like that in London because it is too big. I believe that it will be found that the present provisions in this Bill will really not give fair representation to the different interests involved in the Port of London. There is one other important point which I desire to bring forward. This Bill, like ours, has the very great blemish that nearly half the trade of London will not be under the complete control of the new authority. I was, of course, very much disappointed that our Bill did not go through, and I had hoped that when the subject next came forward it would have been found possible to remedy that state of things by bringing under the control of the new authority the wharves which are doing business outside the docks. I know the difficulties which the right hon. Gentleman has to meet on this point, but I do not think the problem is so difficult on the whole as hon. Gentlemen seem to suppose. There are, of course, a great many wharfingers, but what we are setting up is a port of London authority, and it is only interested in those wharves which can accommodate not merely lighters, but ships. I know it would be quite easy to distinguish and say: "We will only take wharves which will take ships of a certain tonnage." I was told to-day that there are only about twenty wharves of that kind, and if that is so I think it is very desirable to make a similar bargain with those interests as the right hon. Gentleman has made with the docks. I should like the right hon. Gentleman seriously to consider whether this arrangement cannot be done even now. I know that under the Bill the new authority has power to purchase those wharves, but that is not quite the same thing. The arrangement which this Bill makes leaves the wharfinger outside, and hon. Gentlemen opposite who do not know, will be surprised to learn that some of those wharves can deal with steamers of 7,000 tons. Under this Bill those wharves will be left in precisely the same position which would have resulted if the Government had bought two of the docks and left a third one to compete against them. Those wharves will be left to face the competition of a rate-aided authority. I do not want to exaggerate upon this point, and I may say that I do not believe that an authority constituted as this new authority will be would deal unfairly with those interests. It seems, however, to me that, if it is possible, this is a point which ought to be settled in the same way as the question of the docks has been. I am sure also that in the interests of the port authority itself, in the interests of concentration, which is one of the advantages we hope to derive from the change, it would be an immense advantage if the big proportion of the trade of London done on the wharves were also brought under the control of the new authority the House is setting up. There is only one other point I wish to refer to. There was in our Bill, as there is in this measure, provision for the payment of the chairman and the vice-chairman of the new authority. This measure, however, goes further and gives authority to pay the chairmen of committees, and others if it is thought proper. The Bill is based on the principle which prevails in the Mersey, where it has worked very well in practice. In Liverpool and Glasgow it is considered to be a greater honour to be chairman of one of these boards than to be the head of the municipal life of the town. We have been told that in London there is not the same local feeling as in Liverpool, and that there is a great danger that we shall not get the best men in London to fill these positions. In some places I know that the chairman is really the managing director, and I think that is a very good arrangement. If payment is made to the chairman and the vice-chairman I think it will not tend to secure the best men. In the case of the Port of Manchester, there is payment, and the arrangement is a good one because the chairman is the managing director and really conducts the business. But here sooner or later, there may arise a tendency on the part of the ordinary members to say that the people who are paid ought to do the work. It might also very likely have the effect that if the chairman and vice-chairman are paid good salaries, and unless these salaries are fairly large the proposal is useless, the authority will not be inclined to pay the man who is really the manager a big enough salary to obtain the very best man for the purpose. I do not want to be dogmatic upon this point, but the view I hold I think is right, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman instead of leaving it free to the Commissioners to deal with it, might consider whether it would not be better to leave it in this form, that if the Board of Trade find it necessary they should merely obtain powers to make these payments permissible.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, who was imperfectly heard, was understood to say: I first desire to acknowledge the kind references that have been made to the Board of Trade and to my own services in the Department, and the ready assistance that the hon. Member has always given to me there. I think, on the whole, it might be said that my hon. friend supports the Bill so far as the main outline is concerned and confined himself to two or three points. I shall confine my observations to those points and not attempt to follow him in the ingenious argument by means of which he sought to drag the House into the fiscal controversy. My hon. friend, I am afraid, finds it very difficult to discuss any of these questions without bringing in tariff reform. His first point, I think, was with regard to the chairman. I will consider the suggestion which he makes, though I am not quite sure what would be the best thing for the Board to do. I feel that the Board would be better judges themselves when they saw the class of man who would be elected; and, therefore, I am rather in favour of allowing them to decide. It has been urged that if the Liverpool and Glasgow Boards succeeded in attracting the best men in the kingdom, then it would be almost a necessary step to take to pay the chairman. But there is a greater difference here. Not merely is there an absence of that civic feeling which is apparent in Glasgow and Liverpool, but there are counter attractions in the City upon which I need not dwell. All these very eligible gentlemen are absorbed by other corporations who are able to remunerate them more adequately for their services than, say, a body like the Thames Conservancy. It is possible, therefore, that the new Board may find it difficult to secure the real services apart from the nominal adhesion of men of this class. It is no use to have a man in authority who may attend meetings, perhaps, once a month. What is wanted is a first-class business man who would put his back into the work, and this is especially important in the first two or three years. A good many suggestions has been made as to the wharves, quays, and new docks. Those are questions which the Board of Trade ought not to decide and which the House of Commons ought not to consider now. They should be considered by the new authority after they have secured the best expert advice available. It is advisable to guard against a mistake being made by the Port of London in the policy it adopts with reference to particular schemes, and as the Board of Trade is not equipped with the proper knowledge and the expert evidence to decide for it, the Department cannot recommend any course one way or the other to the House. But there are other questions which the new port authority ought to consider at once. The Port of London is not so bad as it is represented to be. It possesses enormous natural advantages, though the accommodation has been short and inadequate. There is general agreement about that point. The new authority, therefore, must take up the question of increasing the facilities and the accommodation at once. It is of the first importance that the first chairman of the Board should direct its policy to a large extent, and he ought to be the best available man. The Government has taken authority in the Bill, therefore, that if it is impossible to secure such a man without paying him adequately, then he should be paid such sum as might be necessary. I think that this is the best policy in the circumstances. The second point raised by the hon. Member was as to the register. It is desirable to have one register rather than to have sectional interests represented. It is true that the arrangement may result in having men drawn from varied interests. At Liverpool the interests represented agree among themselves what amount of representation each shall get, and if a member devotes his attention to a purely sectional interest, the other interests on the board has something to say to that representative when he comes up. It is, therefore, desirable that members should not represent a section of the trade, but that they should represent the port as a whole. In this way you will get a much better class of representative and better work will be performed. After much consideration, therefore, I thought it was better to secure that one register should be adopted and not half-a-dozen different registers. It had been suggested to the Board of Trade that it would be very desirable to include the whole of the shipping accommodation in the port, that one trade should not merely undertake the purchase of the docks and another the work of negotiating the far more difficult task, the purchase of the wharves. I will consider that point also, but it is a much more complex problem. I do not think, however, that it is a matter against which the port authority ought to close its eyes. There are two sides to the question as to all others. The trader rather enjoys having the wharfinger to compete with the docks. He secures better terms as well as greater facility with which the goods are handled. The wharfinger has been keeping the dock authorities up to the mark, though this means no reflection whatever on the docks. The wharves have profited by the tardiness of the docks, a condition of things for which the docks are not always responsible. But the trader would regard with misgiving the elimination from the Port of London of that element of competition which has kept the docks and the wharves up to the mark so far. This, too, is a point that should be considered. Then there is the question as to the extent to which the port as a whole would benefit by a single management and by the saving of expense that would follow. There is also the economy that might result from the arrangement enabling the port authority to control all the facilities of trade for the port, to make the necessary arrangements whereby one class of business should be sent to this wharf, another class to a dock, and another class to a warehouse. A considerable saving could be effected, and I think that the suggestion is a very valuable one and worthy of the consideration of the Board of Trade and the port authority. The Government take power to enable the port authority to enter into an arangement of that kind if they think it advisable. I think the proposition that only one half the trade of the port should be brought under the control of the port authority is rather too sweeping, for, after all, the whole trade of the port is under the port authority, and I hope the whole trade will benefit by its operations, because its first function is to improve the waterway, and if the waterway is improved the whole trade of the port must necessarily benefit. The cheapness of a port does not depend altogether or mainly upon the charges; it depends upon the facilities, upon the time which is consumed in consequence of bad management; a day saved is worth a good deal more to a ship than an extra charge. Therefore, I hope that the whole trade, not merely the trade that goes to the docks, but the trade of the river, will also benefit very considerably by the improvement in the waterway. I come to the criticism of my hon. friend the Member for St. Pancras. One of his criticisms, I think, he answered himself, as to why this Bill was not a municipal Bill. The circumstances are very considerably changed, and one thing is perfectly clear, that even if I were of opinion that a municipal Bill was the best means of dealing with the situation, I could hardly force an unwilling municipality to undertake the task. Of course, no one knows better than my hon. friend that every problem in London is very considerably complicated by the question of boundaries. After all, the bulk of this port is outside the boundaries of the London County Council, and it would be a very strong order to bring in a Bill to put under the control of the London County Council something not in their area at all. Before the London County Council is in a position to get municipal control either of the docks or probably any other undertakings, it will have, in my judgment, to reconsider the whole question of its area. This is, of course, the real difference between the Port of London and the Port of Hamburg. Hamburg is not merely a city, it is a State, and it has a very considerable area outside altogether of the city boundaries, and in that case they are able to make arrangements which in London are impossibe. With regard to the question of price: If the hon. Member will allow me to say so, I do not think that his figures were very conclusive, but it is very difficult for me to criticise them without an opportunity of examining them. All I can say is that his figures do not coincide with the figures given to me after an examination which has extended over weeks of practically all the dock accounts, and he admits himself that he has not taken into account the great saving to be effected in the elimination of the directorial element from the management. An extraordinary thing about the position is this. Of course the largest part of the undertaking is the London and India Docks, for which we have paid something like £17,000,000. If you take the London and India Docks there is a saving upon last year's trading of £17,816. If we had bought the London and India Docks simply on last year's trading there would have been a surplus of over £17,000; the deficit has been entirely on the Surrey and Millwall Docks. The only difficulty we have had in putting the transaction through has been, not with the London and India Docks, which provide us with a surplus, but with the Millwall Dock which has provided us with a deficit; yet the Millwall shareholders are in revolt about the price. If we look at it altogether, I think we treat them fairly, I would not like to say we are treating them generously, but we should not wish to take advantage of the fact that we had already secured the largest docks in London. We could have made use of that fact, if the Millwall Company had chosen to stand out. We gave them a price; I do not mind saying that we stretched the figure to the utmost limit with a view to inducing them to come in, because I think there is an advantage in getting the whole of the docks in if possible. We recognised also that they had been unfortunate. It is not altogether their fault. They had a very able body of men at the head of affairs; but they had fallen upon possibly the worst two or three years they had ever had, because the building trade in London which use their docks, had been bad. That applied to the Surrey Dock as well. I think it would have been very unfair to take advantage of that. We went back six years because they had good years about six years ago, and they said: "Are you going to take three years which are bad for reasons which are quite explicable and quite temporary, and rule out the three years which are good? We do not want you to take the good years and buy on that basis, but take the good and the bad years and strike an average." I think that was very fair, and we bought on that basis. It is for that reason that I think my hon. friend is unfair in taking altogether the basis of last year. If he takes the basis of last year in the case of the London and India Docks, we have secured a surplus of nearly £18,000, but the London and India Docks Company were quite shrewd enough, and if they had secured purchase upon the basis of last year they would have exacted a much higher price. But we took the same basis for them, which was bad for them, as for the Millwall and Surrey Company, which happened to be unfortunate in the last two or three years. I think the hon. Member will find that taking it through and through, the purchase price has been a fair one. We had, of course, to take into account that we were buying as a Government Department. We did take into account the fact that if we failed to buy, we could compete with their docks, and they knew that perfectly well. But we could not take undue advantage of that. We had to offer them a perfectly fair price, and what we did was to get the very best men available, thoroughly independent men, one to examine the accounts, and the other to value the properties. We took the best advice, and upon that basis we made an offer, not in a haggling spirit, but in the spirit of offering what we were advised was a fair price, and they accepted it. Those who accepted it with the greatest reluctance were those who met us with a deficit. My hon. friend as a business man will know perfectly well that if he were buying these three dock undertakings, not for the Government but for a syndicate, and proposed to run them as one great commercial concern—I think that is the test after all—I am perfectly certain, he would have been prepared to take into account not merely the earnings of these concerns in the past, but the saving which would be effected by amalgamation. That is a very substantial element when you are effecting the amalgamation of three concerns, and I think you are entitled to take it into account. It is that element which enabled us to give a price to the Millwall Company, which I think we might not have been justified in giving upon the actual figures presented to us. The London and India Docks Company had gone through the process themselves. They proposed amalgamation with the Millwall Company about three years ago—an amalgation by which all the parties would have benefited, but the Millwall Company were offered a bigger price on that occasion than we offered, and that was part of their complaint against us. Although I think the London and India Docks Company were offering more than I think the thing was worth, yet I think it would have paid them, because they would have saved a good deal with the docks under one management, and would have been able to make arrangements for accommodation which they could not otherwise have made. It would have been a transaction, even with the bigger price, for the mutual benefit of all parties. We have to take that into account, and I think that the Board of Trade ought really to enter into this matter on the same business principles as if they were buying for a private concern, taking into account what would be to the general advantage of those who would be trading subsequently with the port. I think the hon. Gentleman will find that the saving which will be effected will not merely provide us with the surplus which we anticipate on the figures, but, with good management, with a very considerable surplus for the benefit of the port—thanks to my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board who has been associated with the preparation of this Bill. My right hon. friend has been in the dock business a good many more years than I have. My right hon. friend has rather been engaged in putting up dock charges, and I was very glad of his assistance in a transaction which will have the effect of lowering those charges, without in any way giving away the benefits which he secured for the dock labourers. Then as to the question of surplus, lands. We made no allowance at all for surplus lands because they do not produce revenue. But my hon. friend should take them into account. There are surplus lands for which hundreds of thousands of pounds were paid forty years ago, and which are available for dock accommodation. I am perfectly certain they could not be bought by any new dock authority without paying over a million for them. But we made no allowance at all for that in the revenue' but there ought to be. When you are buying a concern you look not merely to the revenue but to the assets as a whole. Now all that will be taken into account. My hon. friend has assumed that the docks were really very run down, that they had been neglected, and that a very considerable expenditure will be involved in putting them into anything like working order and repair. I do not mind making the admission that I also started with that assumption, but I have been informed on very good authority that that is not the case. But we have no right to make an assumption of that sort upon mere hearsay evidence, and it was my business therefore to examine into the matter very carefully, because if the docks had been thoroughly out of repair, then I agree with my hon. friend that it would have involved a very considerable sum, though not so much as he says, to put them in order. There was also a suggestion that in order to produce a great revenue the Dock Companies had been rather starving the docks themselves. I got the best authority, and that matter was very closely examined, and the sum of money necessary in order to put the docks into excellent repair would not be a very considerable sum at all. I think they suffer very largely in comparison with the docks of the Continent, and if money is spent to improve and equip them it will lead to the improvement of trade. I do not reckon with my hon. friend that it is going to be a loss which will involve thousands of pounds. I believe it will be a revenue-producing expenditure. It may not be for a year or two, or three perhaps, but in the long run it will pay the new dock authority to spend more money. Of course, it will get rid of the ships out of the docks in much less time, and the docks will be able to provide more accommodation than at present. I was rather surprised at some of the primitive methods of discharging cargo. Whether that is the fault of the docks or not I do not know, but I was amazed at some of the wheelbarrow business which was going on. In the short visit I paid to some Continental ports I never saw anything to compare with it. Of course, the Port of London suffers under a disadvantage in comparison with these docks of the Continent, which are comparatively new. They started after new ideas about machinery, and more especially new ideas with regard to the value of railways, came in. These docks were started when we had hardly any railways here. They were constructed for cart business. The docks of the Continent were constructed for railways, and, of course, there is the great advantage that the railways there are State railways, and anyone who has been in Antwerp more especially, and knows the railways, realises what the importance of that is. Here the railway clause comes in, and the difficulty is that you have practically the command of the trade of the port in the hands of one or may be two railways which are not trunk railways but little bits of local lines. The other railway companies are put in a very unfair position because they can only get access to the docks under conditions which are almost prohibitive and which must necessarily damage the trade of the port. Go to Antwerp. What do you find there? There you have the ship alongside the wharf. There you have the railway truck right by the ship, and you discharge either from the railway truck right into the ship or from the ship into the railway truck, as the case may be, and it goes without any further change. There is no difficulty of having to go through half-a-dozen different railways, and it goes straight to any part of Belgium. The whole system is adapted for the purpose of developing the trade of the port. What have you got here? You have one little local line of railway. It has to make arrangements with every other railway within the Kingdom. They can only get access under conditions which have been inserted in Act of Parliament, and which are perfectly prohibitive from the business point of view. That is the kind of thing which has to be thought of, and that is why I think even this Bill is not the end of dealing with the Port of London. The hon. Member will find that as far as price is concerned you have got it at a perfectly fair and reasonable price, and that is all we aimed at. We did not aim at getting it under what we thought was fair. We did not haggle in that spirit at all. We felt that something was due to the men who had invested their capital in the undertaking. On the other hand, we did aim at this, that the interest on the capital invested there should not be a burden upon the working expense of the port. Subject to that, I think we have entered into a perfectly fair bargain. I do not know that there is anything else that I have to deal with in this connection. I believe I have dealt with the whole of the criticisms which have been passed upon the Bill. There are points of detail with regard to casual labour, which I consider to be a very important matter. I think it is a hardship to those who are engaged in the work of the docks that the system should not be systematised. It means that good men go without work for a long time, whereas if there were some sort of system they would at least be able to take their turn and such work as is going would go all round. I am perfectly certain, from the business point of view, that to those engaged in business discharging in the port it would be a much better thing that there should be an absolute system. The men themselves would be of better quality, and I am sure the whole trade of the port as well as the men engaged in it would benefit by a regular system of exchanges. Another point I should like to deal with is the question of labour representation. I think it is very desirable that there should be labour representation. The traders of the port would find it to their interest. It is so much better, I think, for them to have any labour question that may arise thrashed out in the Board to begin with before it arises in the nature of a complicated and difficult and heated quarrel outside, and if there were two or three representatives of labour on the Board any trouble of this kind could be brought before them first of all by their colleagues. There is a double advantage—first of all, the advantage to the traders themselves that these questions should be brought before then before they become the subject of heated controversy, and where they can be discussed in a quiet businesslike way; but I think it is an advantage also to the men. If they get their representatives inside they will know from inside knowledge what the difficulties are. For instance, if it is a rise of wages, their representatives will be able to tell them from inside knowledge whether a demand of that kind could be justified under the conditions. It would remove suspicion if you got them there round a table discussing the thing together. Surely it would be better for the traders of the port, better for the dock authority, and infinitely better for the men as well. Of course, there are two ways of giving representation, one by the Board of Trade and the other by the County Council. I hardly think the County Council will altogether neglect the opportunity of securing amongst their representatives some labour representatives, who would be able to assist the Board in any labour complications which will probably inevitably arise in the future. Of course, there is an additional advantage. Here you have a clause with regard to casual labour. I do not see how the dock authority can deal with that unless it has a man inside who will be able to advise them, and who will have the responsibility of a member of the dock authority.

I am very much obliged to both sides of the House for the way in which they have received this Bill. It has been a very difficult business with such a competition of vested interests which were created generations ago. London is one of the oldest ports in the world, and naturally there were all sorts of vested interests. It has been very difficult to adjust them, but I must say this: I took the trouble to consult them with representatives of the committee which helped me to frame the Bill. Having regard to the fact that interests very vital to themselves had to be dealt with, they behaved with singular reasonableness and fairness, and I am very greatly indebted to all these great interests of the port for the very fair and generous way in which they assisted the Board of Trade to arrive at a settlement. I have only one appeal to make to the House before I sit down. I should like to get the Bill before a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons, and I trust the House will assent to that proceeding. It will save a good deal of expense. Otherwise it will have to go upstairs before a Committee, and then go before the Lords. It is very much better that there should be a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons. It is the procedure which was adopted by the Government of which the hon. Member for Dulwich was a Member. I trust that that will be secured. The only fault is this. I think it is a great pity that it should have to go before a Committee of that character at all. There is a good deal in what the hon. Member for Louth said, that if this Bill is going to be fought upstairs by every sort of interest, and expensive counsel are retained and enormous sums of money expended, and the Government are not represented, the Bill may come back with all kinds of clauses and conditions inserted in order to make concessions to eminent counsel, which may make the whole Bill nugatory. In the last Bill there were four or five different things inserted which rendered it absolutely useless, and the result was that my predecessor at the Board of Trade had to put down a Motion to eliminate them. I trust the Board of Trade and the House will retain an absolutely free hand. It is very important that the port authority should not be clogged by impossible conditions. That is really the only object of clearing out the dock authorities at a good price. You want to bargain for a free hand for this great port, and if that is done, I am much more sanguine about the results than the hon. Member for Dulwich. Of course, it will always be a great port, probably the greatest port, but I believe it will forge ahead at a rate which has been unparalleled in the past, and it is with all confidence that I recommend the Bill to the House.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich) congratulated the right hon. Gentlemen upon the concession he was able to announce to them just now. He wanted to ask one or two questions which he hoped the Secretary to the Board of Trade would answer. Supposing the new authority found itself saddled with a deficit, who would have to make it up? The right hon. Gentleman had appealed to the Port of London, but he (Mr. Crooks) wished to point out that the well-being of the Port of London meant the well-being of the whole community. The Secretary to the Board of Trade said there would be dues on tonnage and goods. He wanted to know whether the short sea traders were to have double dues placed upon them by the Thames Conservancy. Would those traders have to pay on tonnage? He wanted to know whether those dues would be continued or repealed. Were they going to levy rates on goods which did not come into the docks? Would there be any difference made between the goods coming to the docks and those coming to the wharves? He thought it was well worth keeping up the trade of the Port of London. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had been accused of driving away the trade of this country. But they now had it admitted that as far as the trade of London was concerned it never went away at all, and consequently they appeared to be redeeming their character bit by bit. In all the continental ports the authorities had risen to the occasion. It was a perfect farce that every person who wanted to approach the docks should be obliged to go over certain railways. He was not surprised that the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought that some of the methods of loading and unloading he had witnessed upon London docks were rather primitive. He rejoiced to know that they were going to do something for the organisation of casual labour, because to his mind that was a far greater thing than the taking over of the port itself. In connection with this matter there were sick clubs and benefit clubs in connection with docks. Were they going to be kept on under the new port authority? It was to his intense satisfaction that he heard the statement that the Government did not intend to give any consideration to the surplus lands. He wanted, however, some further attention paid to this matter. He did not want to boast, but he did persuade a dock company to part with a bit of land on lease for a public garden. Surely they did not want to take it away from them. He hoped that under the new authority the twenty-one years lease would develop into a freehold if this Bill passed. If that were so, then they would have the name of the place altered. In the case of ships of 500 tons, they could at present get some twenty or thirty into the docks. But now that ships were being made so much larger, to do that was impossible. He wanted also to ask that the suggestion as to ten nominated members should not be a hard and fast rule. They might take away those representatives from the London County Council, and they would be able to give one of the seats to the West Ham Corporation who certainly deserved some consideration, and were entitled to a seat on the port authority. Another seat might well be given to a direct labour representative. He was not so sure that the London County Council would be able to pick out a direct representative of labour, because he had heard in the House members of the aristocracy declaring that they directly represent the working classes because they had been elected by ballot. That, however, did not suit the labouring people outside. There were a good many different sections of dock employment. He thought it would be a good thing if the employment register were taken as the basis on which the representative of labour should be elected. They had many kinds of employees on the docks. There were carpenters, stevedores, and dockers. He might point out that the stevedore was the aristocrat of labour, whilst the docker was just a docker and no more. He thought it would be well if they gave the employees on the dock the right of selecting their own man. With regard to the labour bureau, he did not like the words of the provision a bit. They began by saying that "the port authority shall take into consideration." That might mean anything or nothing. Casual labour was the tragedy of London, and in spite of all that was done for the dockers in 1889, men were still going to the docks begging and praying for work without getting it. Was the port authority to manage the labour bureau? Something had been said about rearranging the work in regard to the casual, but he hoped he did not mean that the work would go round. He wanted really to take some of the casual labourers away. He wanted a number of them to understand how much regular work there was for them in order that the other poor fellows might know their fate and be dealt with in some other way. By doing that he thought they would be able to diminish casual labour down to at least 10 per cent. above regular employment, whereas at the present moment it was as high as 80 per cent. Let the House think of these poor men going down to the docks each day. He thought this Bill would give London a better chance, and then London might in the future take her proper place. Even if they had to face a deficit he thought London ought to be prepared to bear the burden.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said that he had only one criticism to make upon the Bill and it was purely of a business character. He was surprised at one omission. It was so remarkable that he thought his right hon. friend had forgotten it. The new port authority was to have enormous powers conferred upon it in regard to finance, wharves and jetties and other things, but it had not been given any power to light the Port of London. He supposed his right hon. friend had considered this point. He would have thought that one of the first things that ought to be done in conferring powers upon the port authority would have been to give it the necessary powers for lighting the approaches to the port. The effect of the Bill was incidentally to create an inequality between the Port of London and other ports of the United Kingdom. The coasts of this country were lighted under the administration of Trinity House, by what was called a General Lighthouse Fund, and every port contributed to the General Lighthouse Fund for the lighting of the coasts. The majority of the ports contributed locally by imposing local charges upon the vessels using those ports for lighting the ports themselves. But London did not do so. London ever since the year 1898 had not done so, and the lights of London were a charge upon the general body of shipowners using the other ports of the United Kingdom. That was incidentally a blot upon the Bill, and he hoped his right hon. friend would consider the desirability of making it a more perfect Bill by removing that blot from it. The charge for lighting the coasts of the country was about £500,000 per annum. If the cost of lighting the Port of London, which amounted to about £50,000, were thrown upon the new port authority, as was the case in Liverpool, which had been taken as a precedent for this Bill in so many particulars that he was surprised his right hon. friend had not taken it as a precedent in this matter as well—if that course were followed the general charge for all the ports would be reduced by about 10 per cent., and he believed the Port of Liverpool would benefit by about £8,000 a year. He did not mention this matter in any carping or niggardly spirit, but he submitted that to start a new port authority shorn of the power of lighting and superintending the light of the Port, was to start it in a mutilated condition. In conclusion he would echo on behalf of the shipowners generally their good wishes in regard to the Bill, and their obligations to all those who had engineered it so well. He thought that when the measure got into Committee some of the difficulties would be removed and they would be able to make it a more perfect Bill.

*MR. MORTON said he was very sorry that they had not been allowed sufficient time to consider this Bill as it ought to be considered. Those who were opposed to the Second Reading had a right to protest, because they had not been allowed an adequate opportunity of stating the views of those who were opposed to the purchase of the docks. A charge had been made that it was strikes which had been responsible for injuring the trade of the Port of London. The shipbuilding trade seemed to have gone altogether from the Port of London, and the reason for that was no doubt strikes, high rates of wages, and heavy rates and taxes. He had listened carefully to the speeches made by the Secretary to the Board of Trade and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but neither of those speeches gave them any reason whatever of a satisfactory nature as to why the docks should be purchased. The Secretary to the Board of Trade complained of a statement made by him with regard to the value of some of the shares in the London and India Docks. If the hon. Gentleman had courteously allowed him at the time he made the statement, he would have given him an explanation at once. His statement was that the Bill proposed to pay £75 for something that was not worth more than £20. In that statement, he was taking the value previous to the Report of the Royal Commission recommending the purchase of the docks; as a matter of fact those shares stood at £19 10s. at that time, and they had previously been as low as £17. What had happened now? Under this Bill they were actually going to pay £75 for what was worth only £19 or £20 as far as market value was concerned, and it was proposed to tax the food of the people of London in order to pay these millions to rich trusts and companies. Therefore he was quite right in saying that it was a proposal to pay £75 for something that was not worth more than £20. He believed that any scheme to purchase the docks was bad and against the interest of the people of London. It did not follow that anyone was wrong because he ventured to oppose the Board of Trade, even when it was a Liberal Board of Trade. He was aware that this ought not to be made a party political matter, but unfortunately by our system of government it was made so, and in this case is made doubly dangerous by the combination of the two front benches. A combination which put them between the devil and the deep sea. If this Bill passed the Committee would have no opportunity of considering the price of the docks, and therefore it would be tied hand and foot and practically have nothing to do with the matter, because the real point in this Bill was the purchase of the docks. He remembered in the year 1894 when he was trying to get a clause inserted in the Tramway Bills to prevent the companies and authorities from charging extra fares on public holidays and Sundays, that he was opposed by a Liberal President of the Board of Trade. Sir William Harcourt, the then Leader of the House, eventually got alarmed by the divisions, and he sent him (Mr. Morton) word that they would no longer oppose his clause. That clause was now a model clause, and had been put in every Tramway Act in the United Kingdom in spite of a Liberal President of the Board of Trade. He desired to move the rejection of this Bill (of which he had given notice) mainly, first, because he objected to the purchase of the docks at all, and secondly, he considered that they were proposing to pay too much for them. In the third place——

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 183; Noes, 18. (Division List No. 78.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beauchamp, E.
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Sir Francis (Radnor)
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fell, Arthur
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grayson, Albert Victor

Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Rt. Hn. Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Hall, Frederick
Hart-Davies, T.
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Idris, T. H. W.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Myer, Horatio
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Radford, G. H.
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sears, J. E.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Colonel
Shackleton, David James
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Wadsworth, J.
Walsh, Stephen
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Waring, Walter
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, Luke (York, E. R.
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh., N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. Herbert Lewis.

NOES.

Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Stanley
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Castlereagh, Viscount
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gretton, John
Hodge, John
Jowett, F. W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
O'Grady, J.
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Rowlands, J.
Seaverns, J. H.
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Whitehead, Rowland
Wiles, Thomas

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Morton and Mr. Steadman.

Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Bill committed to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons.—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

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THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

*MR. W. JOHNSON (Warwickshire, Nuneaton) in moving "That this House, having regard to its Resolution unanimously adopted on 30th May, 1906, that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, welcomes the action of His Majesty's Government diminishing the sale of opium for export, and thus responding to the action of the Chinese Government in their arrangement for the suppression of the consumption of the drug in that empire; and this House also urges His Majesty's Government to take steps to bring to a speedy close the system of licensing opium dens now prevailing in some of our Crown Colonies, more particularly Hong-Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon," said that he was in great sympathy with the movement for the total suppression of the vice of opium-smoking which everywhere produced such evil results. He would leave to others more able than himself to give details; he would confine himself to stating the position briefly, the effect of the vice and its evils, what was being done, what should be done, and he hoped to do that courteously but with candour. It was agreed that both nationally and internationally this question was one that should be dealt with and put an end to. It was a question between money and righteousness, and in the end no one who believed in righteousness could doubt which would prevail. All the great authorities on this question—Sir J. Jordan, British Minister at Pekin, Sir Robert Hart, etc.—were agreed that the evil must be put an end to; and they had behind them the great body of public opinion, archbishops, bishops, leaders of the churches—in fact, the whole of the country, to judge from the number of letters and telegrams he had received. He believed that every Minister of the day and every ex-Minister was in favour of an end being put to the traffic in opium. It was true that there were difficulties in the way; but the Government should face those difficulties and they would be overcome. They must put the righteousness of the cause before money. He would give a few illustrations of the evils of opium-smoking and of the opium traffic. The author of "From Pekin to Sikkin," speaking of the town of Ning-hsia, said—

> "Opium has largely killed this city, all of whose inhabitants indulge in this drug, and when once this awful vice has thoroughly mastered a Chinaman, he sells all he has—his land, his wife and children, the roof, doors and windows of his house, in summer nearly all his clothing, and dies of cold in winter, stripped and naked in the street."

That was a terrible thing to record. In the White Paper, China No. 1, 1908, it was said that—

> "The opium smoker wastes time and neglects his work, ruins his health and impoverishes his family, and the poverty and weakness which for the past few decades have been daily increasing among us are undoubtedly attributable to this cause. It is mental and physical ruin to those who indulge in the habit."

On the last occasion when this question was discussed, on 3rd May, 1906, the Resolution was unanimously accepted. Since then, much to the credit of the Indian Government, much had been done, but many people thought much more would have to be done. The Foreign Office had done some little, the Colonial Office next to nothing, while China had been moving in her own behalf to put an end to the traffic. Foreign Governments had made progress in the matter. All acknowledged the evil, but the pace was too slow. They wanted them to get along faster. They were asked to exercise patience, but those who knew most about the degrading traffic had already been too patient. What they wanted was to see the end of it, and that was the least that would satisfy them. They believed that the end should come as far as the British Empire was concerned. His hon. friend the Member for one of the divisions of Yorkshire, stated lately that China wanted freedom from opium. Lord Morley of Blackburn, then Mr. John Morley, who was still Secretary for India, stated on 30th May, 1906, that "he hoped it was so; if so, the thing was done." Lord Morley added: "If China wants it"; and he asked: "Does China want it? That is the question." Further he used these words—

> "He would say that if China wanted seriously and in good faith to restrict the consumption of this drug in China, the British Government would not close the door . . . . It was no secret that China had been considering for the last two years or more whether some plan could not be devised of dealing with the importation of opium into the country other than that which prevailed. They (the British Government) would see whether they could in some way meet the views of the Chinese Government . . . The Government of India and His Majesty's Government would say they would agree to it, even though it might cost us some sacrifice."

They asked the British Government to make the sacrifice, and they would have the British people behind them; but let them make it at once. Was China sincere? If they looked at the White Paper, China No. 1, 1908, they would see that China made an offer to put an end to the traffic in ten years—that was from 1908 to 1917—but it had been thought that if the Indian Government would accept it, China would put an end to it in three years. The *North China Herald* for 26th July, 1907, said—

> "Not a few influential Chinese would gladly see the ten years of the Imperial Edict reduced to three years."

The White Paper further said—

> "If an official merely keeps up appearances and, while outwardly obeying, secretly disregards these commands, he is denounced by name for punishment."

Here was an instance of how it was done—

> "In Foo-Chow, a city which has a population of 650,000, one of the first great cities to deal with this opium question. The date fixed was 12th May. Several days before, a thousand traders met in one of their temples, drafted a remonstrance and subscribed a sum of money to defend their interests. They met in vain. The man who presented the petition was locked up. The resistance collapsed; 3,000 shops trading in opium were closed."

AN HON. MEMBER: No compensation?

*MR. W. JOHNSON: No compensation whatever.

> "One man held out, trusting to his influence with the officials; he was at once lodged in gaol, and his property confiscated. Two or three others were marched through the streets in chains. A week after not a single opium-den existed in the city."

That was what the supporters of the Resolution wanted. That was what the people of this country wanted, and what His Majesty's Government wanted, but there was a good deal of difficulty about it. It was stated that the first six months following the issue of the anti-opium regulations expired on Friday, when the last of the opium-dens in Pekin was closed. Who could doubt the sincerity of the Chinese authority after that, and it only remained for the Government to be as sincere. Still, they were grateful to the Government of India for what they had done, but they hoped they would accelerate the pace. He turned to the Foreign Office Papers, and he found it stated that in Shanghai in the native quarter, on 22nd June last, all the opium-dens, about 700 in number, were closed. At the same time in the British and American concessions quarter the municipal council declined to do more than to discontinue the grant of fresh licences, and it was not until 20th March this year at the annual meeting this council were induced to propose to close one-fourth of the dens on 31st July this year, and the other three-quarters within two years. And yet they doubted the sincerity of the Chinese! In Shanghai the Chinese would have total closing more than a year before the British and American part of the city took action, and then instead of closing at once they proposed a gradual closing, extending over two years. The Chinese would, in fact, close their opium-dens in Shanghai three years before the British, and he thought that proved that the Chinese were more sincere than ourselves. Still dealing with the Foreign Office he found in the White Paper that on 17th October, 1906, America proposed joint investigation to be undertaken by the United States, Great Britain, France, Netherlands, Germany, China and Japan, to come to a decision as to whether the consequences of the opium traffic and opium habit were not such that civilised Powers should do what they could to put a stop to them. The next thing they heard was on 27th November, 1907, thirteen months later, when the Indian Secretary asked for more precise information and time and place of meeting. That was what they complained of. Surely thirteen months was an unnecessary delay on the part of the Foreign Office. Still, they knew the time it took for these things to go through the red tape of officialism, and perhaps that might be the explanation. Our self-governing Colonies had refused to allow the opium traffic in their territory. Then he came to our Crown Colonies, where the question of the opium trade seemed to be rather neglected. In Hong Kong nothing had been done; in the Straits Settlements a Committee of Inquiry had been appointed; and in Ceylon they awaited the publication of the Report of the Ceylon Committee presented to the Governor some months ago. While that was the state of things in the Crown Colonies the Americans had closed all the opium-dens in the Philippine Islands, and hundreds of the wretched victims of the opium traffic were leaving the Philippines and arriving in Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements to swell the number of undesirables in that quarter. The Colonial Office would, he hoped, make haste and keep pace with America, as he thought that this was a matter in which we should lead. While they were grateful for what had been done, it was asked that prompt steps should be taken by the India, Colonial, and Foreign Offices, not merely to reduce the opium traffic, admirable as that might be, but to put an end to it. This was urged by every consideration of humanity. Let Great Britain wait for no one but lead the way. It was admitted that the traffic was horrible in its consequences. Therefore, let them put an end to it. It debased the mind, degraded the character, and ruined the health. It was not only a stigma and a disgrace, but a real moral danger to the British Empire. He begged to move.

*Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe,) in seconding the Resolution said that opium was not a subject that had had a great many innings. Only once in nearly thirteen years before that night had they had a discussion on the topic. There was Sir Joseph Pease's Motion in 1895 to discuss the Report of the Royal Commission, and there was a discussion about two years ago when the House unanimously affirmed that the Indo-Chinese opium trade was morally indefensible. Much had happened in two years, but not enough. He thought one might say, however, that more had happened in the last two years than in the preceding eleven years, and he was not sure that the Resolution passed two years ago had not had somethng to do with quickening the pace of opium reform throughout the world, although they knew that there were already the beginnings of a reform movement in China, and opinion was ripening, not only in China, but in other countries. The present Motion welcomed the action of the Government in diminishing the sale of opium for export, and thus responding to the action of the Chinese Government in their arrangements for the suppression of the consumption of the drug in that empire. He laid stress on the word "suppression," and in seconding the Motion he desired to lay down in the most explicit manner possible the proposition that nothing less than complete suppression of the consumption of opium in the British Empire would satisfy those who had studied the question. When he said suppression he did not include the medical use of the drug. There was a question he would like to ask the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. So far as he could make out from the correspondence, the ten years during which they had tentatively and hypothetically agreed to assist the Chinese Government in suppressing the consumption of the drug by diminishing the sale at Calcutta, commenced, he presumed, with 1908.

The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir Edward Grey, Northumberland, Berwick) said that was so.

*Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR said that although it had taken two years to do that it was not entirely the fault of the Government, and he thanked them for having made the tentative three years agreement which was, at all events, definite. It looked a long time, ten years in which to continue a traffic which the House had declared to be morally indefensible, and he must say that if he did not know a good deal about the difficulties, both in India and in China, of this question, he would be more impatient with the Government than he was. He had lately visited China practically for the purpose of studying this question. He enjoyed considerable advantages, having communications with the British Minister and Consuls, with merchants and missionaries. He made it his business to study the question on the spot, and he had come to the conclusion that the movement there was not a mere farce. All the best elements in China were resolved to put an end to the traffic. It was not merely an edict of the Government, but the reform had in it all the elements of a great national movement. Scenes of enthusiasm such as had been alluded to by his hon. friend, he could recite, if necessary, by the score. Only that day he had had put in his hand a newspaper from Fuchan of last month describing the sixth of a great series of public bonfires of opium pipes and utensils amid great public rejoicing in the City of Fuchan. He really believed that China was changing in many ways. He was in Peking and he saw the ruins of their Examination Hall of 10,000 cells, in which students used to sit for examination for Government situations. Since the Boxer trouble this hall had been in ruins. That was an emblem of the state of things in China. The old system of Civil Service examination was in ruins. The country was changing. It had been often said that China never would change. The books that he used to read years ago were entitled the "Break-up of China," "China in Decay," and "China in Convulsion." The titles of books to-day must be "China in Evolution," and "China in Reformation." Chinese educational methods were changing. She had now 200 newspapers, everyone of them an anti-opium journal. Although there were few railways, yet railways were very popular. There was a modern spirit of inquiry and of progress. Above all, there was a real resolve on the part of the people that they would be strong. He remembered reading in the Report of the American Philippines Commission made four years ago (an important document) these words—

> "In China there seemed to be neither a public opinion which could control nor a national life which welded and consolidated the people. There is no Chinese nation. There is merely a Chinese race."

Already those words were absolutely out of date. There was to-day a Chinese nation, as well as a Chinese race, pulsating with new national life. China was determined to be strong and was therefore against the opium traffic. Although he was prepared to justify our Government in their somewhat tardy action of spreading the extinction of this traffic over ten years he believed that if from to-day they did not send any more opium to China, China on her own account would endeavour to put down this traffic. He was not sure that she would not regulate it and try to make a revenue out of it, but he did not think she would. Opium farming lessened the food supply, ruined individuals, ruined families, and was ruining the nation. If anyone wished to buy curios they were told to go to families who had been ruined by opium smoking. It ruined the country. The greatest reason of all why China was against opium was not a moral reason—it was self-interest. She desired to make herself strong, and realising that as an opium-smoking nation she was weak, in her desire to have a strong army she knew she ought not to have opium. The one Viceroy who had created a strong army would not allow opium-smoking, and had cut off a few heads of those found illicitly smoking. Not only in China itself, but in the Straits Settlements, South Africa, Vancouver and Australia the national and anti-opium feeling was growing among the Chinese. In New South Wales they had asked Parliament to put down the opium traffic. In Vancouver the Chinese presented a petition only last month asking the Government to put an end to opium smoking there. In South Africa only last month in co-operation with the best of the Chinese a memorial was presented to the Transvaal Colonial Secretary by Europeans there asking for the repeal of the smoking regulations of the Colony of the Transvaal. Three years ago opium-smoking was forbidden in the Transvaal, but because the Chinese in the mines desired to have it the Government decreed that a man should have 2 lbs. a month if he could find a doctor to certify that he might have it. That gave an opportunity for five men living in one house to have 10 lbs. a month, and opened the door to a great deal of illicit smoking. He regretted to say that among the regular smokers were thirty white men, six white women, and many people of colour. No wonder the people desired to stop the traffic. With regard to Shanghai it was very unpleasant for Members of that House to speak critically of their fellow-countrymen residing abroad, and he wished to be quite just to the municipality of Shanghai, but the Chinese failed to appreciate the difference between British citizens living at home, and those living in Shanghai. In Shanghai there were three towns, viz., the old town now, without an opium-den in it, the French Settlement, and the International Settlement with about sixteen different Consulates, which no doubt made it a little difficult for our Foreign Office to deal with. In the old town under Chinese rule 700 dens were closed last June, and although no compensation was given, the native Governor smoothed things over as well as he could by sending those employed in them back into the country who had come therefrom, and opening industrial institutions for others who had been employed in the dens. The municipality of the foreign settlement through its chairman expressed "its sincere sympathy" with the efforts of the Chinese to put down the traffic, but did not live up to those sentiments, and only at last from the pressure of our own Government had they given notice to close one-quarter of the opium-dens in the Settlement, and proposed then to "watch with care and deep interest the next move on the part of the Chinese." He protested against such a course. It was not fair to the Chinese. The municipality said their policy was totally to suppress the dens in two years, but when an Amendment was moved that they should be closed by the end of 1909 they refused to accept it. In point of fact, they had not yet committed themselves to close more than a quarter of the dens in the foreign settlement. He thought they could have gone much further without any damage to British interests and with great assistance to the Chinese themselves in their endeavour to put an end to the traffic. In Hong Kong nothing had been attempted, nothing done. In the autumn of 1906, within a few months of the Resolution in that House condemning the traffic as "morally indefensible," the Christian missionaries and ministers there drew up a Memorial to the Governor asking the Government "to check and not to encourage the traffic" and condemned the farming system. They said "the farmer must get his money back, and therefore push the use of opium to its farthest extent." Nothing was done. The Government revenue from consumption of opium in Hong Kong had rapidly increased. In 1857 it was 14,776 dollars. In 1897 it was 286,000 dollars. In the three years, 1898–1900 the average was 367,222 dollars, for 1901–3, 729,000; and for 1904–6, 2,008,000. That showed an average of over 30 dollars per man per year which the Government got from it, and allowing 25 per cent. for the farmers' profits and expenses it brought it up to 40 dollars per head, which was an enormous sum for the Chinese coolie to pay out of his small wages. In his opinion that was most unsatisfactory. The opium-farming system was bad everywhere, and it was bad in Singapore. He would give the figures. In 1867 the Straits Settlements came under the Colonial Office. There was then no revenue from opium. In 1897 the revenue from opium was 1,800,000 dollars. Then he would take the figures in periods of three years. In 1898–1900 the average annual revenue was 2,318,000 dollars. In 1901–1903 it was 3,732,000 dollars. In 1904–1906 it was 5,595,000 dollars, or over half a million stirling. There was a very strong anti-opium movement in Singapore as in other parts of the world where the Chinese were. He heartily welcomed the new Under-Secretary in whom he had so much confidence, believing that he would look after the public interest as well as the interests of the natives and our Colonies. He believed that the hon. Gentleman would fulfil the great trust reposed in him, and would regard the Government as trustees of these people. He might express his gratitude to the Colonial Office for one small mercy, a very small one. He wished to ask the hon. Gentleman when he expected that the Straits Opium Commission's Report would be issued. Some of them went to the Colonial Office last year and urged that something should be done in the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong. When he got to the Straits Settlements last December, he was glad to find that the Opium Commission was already at work, and he believed that they concluded their sittings in January or February of this year. He thought, therefore, that they ought to have that Report very soon, because if they did not have it soon, there would be the Estimates framed for another year on the old basis, and they should not have the opportunity of having the improvement which they wanted. The Japanese knew their own interest, because they were sternly penalising the use of opium in the interests of their own subjects. When he was there last October it was very interesting to him to find that the Japanese Government were strictly carrying out the anti-opium laws, which prescribed three years imprisonment with or without hard labour if a man smoked opium; five years imprisonment with or without hard labour if a man sold a pipe to smoke opium; and seven years imprisonment with or without hard labour if a man sold opium to smoke. While there he had seen paragraphs in Japanese newspapers recording punishments inflicted on men who were imprisoned for a year or two years—what for? For smoking opium in their own homes, so sternly were the Japanese putting the evil down. He regretted greatly, however, to see that the temptation to make revenue was affecting them. Gold was the real Yellow Peril. The yellow peril to us and to all those countries where the people smoked opium was the temptation to make revenue. He regretted very much to say that our Oriental ally, while sternly suppressing the opium traffic among her own subjects and in her own country, in Formosa was allowing opium-smoking to spring up, and also in Korea. But we really could not blame her. How could we have the impudence to reproach Japan for allowing opium-smoking in Formosa and in Korea, while we were carrying on the same thing in our Crown Colonies? How could we find it in our hearts and consciences to blame her so long as we in our own corner of China, Hong Kong, were raising millions of dollars from this opium traffic? It was no use giving any more evidence that opium-smoking was bad, because he supposed that they were all agreed about it. The Chinese were issuing one edict after another, and those edicts were being largely carried out. It was, he thought, the second edict which said that in China 30 or 40 per cent. of the people smoked opium. What did that mean? It meant that 150,000,000 people were smoking opium in China. China was going to be one of the great Powers of the world. When he was there he was deeply impressed by her natural resources, and by the physical and moral possibilities of the people of China. He believed that some day or other China would achieve her purpose and become one of the great Powers of the world, and she would not forget then how we treated her when she was weak. If the newspapers had given us the truth, our Government had just made an agreement with Siam for the abolition of our extra territorial jurisdiction there.

SIR EDWARD GREY: There is no agreement as yet. The matter is still under consideration.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR: At all events it seemed that such a thing might be possible in the near future, and Japan with our assistance had already secured it. Could we put our extra territorial jurisdiction in China to a worse use than protecting this wretched traffic which the Chinese were trying to suppress? And could we take any course more damaging to our moral claim to the continuance of that jurisdiction? Was it to our interest that we should be poisoning the people of China and ruining them, for that was what it really meant? Was it to our interest that we should be making revenue out of their ruin? Was it to our interest that we should hinder the young men in China who were trying to effect reforms in that country, by providing opium dens for her people who came over the line into Hong Kong, knowing that in nearly all the great cities of China the opium-dens were shut up? Was it to our interest that the Chinese people when they came to the Straits Settlements should find open there the opium den that was closed in China? We ought, as His Majesty's Government had already said in the correspondence, to take the lead in this matter and not follow; and he was seconding this Motion, not because he wanted to criticise harshly His Majesty's Government, but, because he felt that public opinion at least, would justify them in taking very strong measures as quickly as possible. Not only should they help China to get rid of the opium curse in her own country, but they should banish it for ever from the whole territory of the British Empire.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, having regard to its Resolution unanimously adopted on 30th May, 1906, that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, welcomes the action of His Majesty's Government in diminishing the sale of opium for export, and thus responding to the action of the Chinese Government in their arrangements for the suppression of the consumption of the drug in that Empire; and this House also urges His Majesty's Government to take steps to bring to a speedy close the system of licensing opium-dens now prevailing in some of our Crown Colonies, more particularly Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon."—(*Mr. W. Johnson.*)

*THE UNDER - SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel SEELY, Liverpool, Abercromby): It may be a convenience to the House if I reply at once to the able speeches made by my two hon. friends behind me on the colonial aspect of the question, partly because the Colonial Office has been told to-night that it is the principal offender, and also because I understand that my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will reply on the whole question at a later period of the evening. I confess it is with some anxiety that I address the House for the first time from this box. My right hon. friend Mr. Churchill had such rare gifts of lucid exposition and eloquent phrase which I cannot hope to follow, and I see before me the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, whose knowledge of colonial matters always makes us listen to him with respect even when we differ from him most. But my task is easier to-night than it might have been, because, as I hope it may be the case in an increasing degree in all colonial matters, this is no matter of party politics. Both parties are committed to the view that we must do what we can to abate what is a real evil. If it be supposed by anybody that there is any section of the House opposed to what one may call the anti-opium view, I will only recall that, while many hon. Members on this side have taken a strenuous part in bringing this matter before the House, I think it may truly be said that the right hon. Gentleman who sits opposite, the Member for the Honiton Division of Devonshire, for many years has been the protagonist in this cause. May I say at once that the Government are prepared to accept this Motion, and they are prepared to accept it because they consider the time has come to take a decisive step forward in this matter? That being our position, the issue is slightly altered. Instead of having to defend ourselves from a charge of laxity, we must defend ourselves for the action we propose to take. I would only refer to the speech of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, who near a year ago said—

> "Whatever our attempts give us, or fail to give us, do not let us fall behind Japan or China, both of whom have taken decisive steps in this matter."

Mr. Churchill, on behalf of the Colonial Office said—

> "We can only say that Lord Elgin will still watch every opportunity that may occur to bring the regulations of our Colonies and dependencies still more in harmony with what is the overwhelming opinion of this House and more in harmony with what is our plain duty as a great civilising power."

The Government are bound to act by their previous declarations, and the time is now ripe for them to act. If one word more can be said in justification of the action we propose to take I would recall striking facts about China and Japan. Those two far Eastern Powers know all about opium. Japan has prohibited opium with such stringent laws that I venture to quote two of them. Article 159 lays down that—

> "Any manufacturing or having for sale or growing opium in any form shall be punished with penal servitude not exceeding seven years."

Further, Article 162 lays down that—

> "Any person eating or smoking opium shall be punished with penal servitude not exceeding three years."

That is discouraging the use of opium with a vengeance. If Japan has found it necessary to make and enforce such a law, I think it is a conclusive proof that opium smoking and eating is in the long run well-nigh fatal to the well-being of the race. Therefore, it becomes our duty to take such steps as may be possible not only to give an example to China and to give China assistance in the task she has set herself, but also—and this is the point on which the Colonial Office has been, rightly to some extent, censured—to save our own fellow-subjects from the evils of a drug which may have such dire results. In justification of the action we propose to take we have evidence from all sources in the Colonial Office, notably from Sir Henry McCallum, the Governor of Ceylon, showing that whatever the evil results to the Chinese people may be of opium-smoking, experience shows that the evil results on the brown races other than Chinese are far greater. Now may I come to the definite points raised in this Motion, which, as I say, the Government are willing and glad to accept? There are three places mentioned in it — the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, which I take together, Hong Kong and Ceylon. In the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States I am unable to give so definite a reply as in the other two cases, and for the reason that has been referred to, that a Commission has been appointed and is at work. It has nearly concluded its labours, and we expect a Report early in the autumn. I agree that it should be expedited, and everything that can be done will be done at home and abroad to expedite it. On that Report we propose to take action. Of course, my hon. friend may say that we have proposed to take action very often, and very little indeed has followed, but I shall be able to show from the action which will be taken in the case of Ceylon, where a similar Commission has been sitting, that we have every reason to believe definite action will follow. Of course, it is difficult to act rapidly in the Federated Malay States and in the Straits Settlements, for there one-half of the revenue is derived from this monopoly. My hon. friend the Member for Nuneaton, in his able opening speech, urged us to reflect that morals were of more importance than money. Of course, I agree with him. But when it is our own morals and other people's money, that makes a difference ; and although I fully agree with him that in this matter we must see that what is an evil thing is ultimately eradicated, he will, I hope, agree with me that we cannot do it all at once. So that although we have not yet got this Report, although I am able to state we will take action, he will, I trust, not be disappointed if it is not sudden action, in view of the difficulty of rearranging revenue, which to the extent of about a half—a deplorable fact, but no less a fact—has been raised in the Straits Settlements from this source. Fortunately, in the Federated Malay States the case is not quite so difficult. There, indeed, the amount raised is from one-fifth to one-ninth of the total revenue. There we hope the process may, if possible, be a little quicker; but in any case I can promise that action shall be taken, and action which shall lead with certainty in the direction of the ultimate extinction of the abuse of opium. What I wish to emphasise is that hitherto we have, as has been rightly stated, made no progress. There has been a road open to us to march along—a road towards the ending of this system. To-night we definitely decide to take that road. Now I come to the other two cases, where I am glad to say I am able to give a more specific reply. In the matter of Hong Kong, the Secretary of State has decided to abolish all opium-dens. I have here a telegram which was despatched yesterday by the Government to the Governor of Hong Kong—

> "His Majesty's Government have decided that steps must be taken to close opium-dens in Hong Kong, as they recognise that it is essential in dealing with the opium question in Hong Kong that we must act up to the standard set by the Chinese Government."

That is decisive action. Of course, there will be difficulties there also owing to the revenue derived, not from the opium-dens, —that is a very small matter—but from the opium as a whole and also from vested interests. But they will be dealt with. That telegram stands, and my hon. friend can rest assured that in the matter of Hong Kong the Government will not recede from the expression of that part of the telegram, that as well as abolishing the opium-dens as soon as may be, they realise that they must act up to the standard set by China in this matter. Finally, I come to Ceylon, where, again, I am able to give a more precise answer. There also, as in the case of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, a Commission has been sitting, but in this case the Commission has concluded its labours, and we have the Report. I was asked by my hon. friend whether I would lay the Report. I understand that it will be laid. The persons appointed were the principal medical officer, Dr. Perry, and three unofficial members of the Legislative Council. This Commission was requested to inquire into the whole matter of opium in Ceylon and their recommendations are drastic. They recommend that the present system of licensing opium-houses be abandoned ; that all opium-shops be closed on the expiration of existing licences ; that the importation, distribution, and sale of the crude drug be made a Government monopoly ; that for every opium-shop closed the nearest Government dispensary be made available for the distribution of the drug to all habitual users of the same who may come forward to register their names for a certain quantity periodically to be given out, to be paid for in cash, and suitable remuneration to be given to the dispensers for the extra work; that the use of the drug except for medical purposes should be entirely prohibited after a definite period; and that a system of careful inspection be introduced by the appointment of special officers for the purpose. On that, the Governor has written a most interesting despatch. He points out that except the last member all the others were known to hold more or less strong views on this opium question on the side advocated by my hon. friend, adverse to the free consumption of opium, and he therefore points out that it rendered the Committee's Report more or less a foregone conclusion. He points out that there is not much justification for the grave alarm which old and experienced practitioners hold, but, on the other hand—and this is what I particularly wish to put before the House in justification of the strong action we now propose to take—"it is generally admitted"—these are his words, and I have read the previous sentence to show that he is quite unprejudiced and impartial—

> "It is generally admitted by those who have personal and extended experience of opium consumption among native races that while the vast majority of Chinese can consume opium constantly without any very marked ill effects and without indulging to excess, the opium habit almost invariably leads to over-indulgence and to physical and moral injury if the consumer belongs to one of the brown races."

These are our fellow-subjects, therefore it is a necessity that action should be taken. On this Report, which I have read, I am glad to say the Governor makes these recommendations to the Secretary of State. He says in effect—

> "Subject to the Secretary of State's approval I propose to accept all the recommendations and to put them in force except the fifth."

The fifth recommendation, which is prohibition after a definite time, he is not prepared to express an opinion upon at the present moment, and in that I need hardly say I think most reasonable men would agree with him, seeing that the other five will govern so much of the decision which will be taken as to the time. After experience of the proposed system, advice from medical authorities as to how the other five have worked, will be obtained, and then it will be considered. Even that is not rejected. It is left over for consideration. But the whole of the remaining five recommendations are recommended to the Secretary of State for acceptance, and the Secretary of State is telegraphing to the Governor that he accepts his proposals. This means an end of all opium-dens and opium-shops, as we know them, in Ceylon. This means that in Ceylon a beginning has been made of putting an end altogether to the whole system. The Report of the Commission, the Report of the Governor himself is a conclusive proof that we cannot allow in Ceylon this traffic to go on, and from what I have been able to tell the House they will see that in Hong Kong the same state of things obtains, and from the pledge I have been able to give the House, they will understand that in the Straits Settlements, and in the Federated Malay States, there also action of this decisive kind will be taken by His Majesty's Government. I need only say, in conclusion, I trust I have given all the information to the House that I was capable of giving on the matter. I think in this step forward the Government are fully justified, and in taking the steps they have done, they will not only free our own fellow-subjects from what is a great peril, but they will be able to co-operate by their example with hundreds of millions of people in China in their stupendous task, the regeneration of the people.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): I understand it will be to the general convenience of the House that the very few observations I have to make should be made now. I understand there are still some other Members who desire to express their opinion on the Indian portions of this case, with which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will deal. Will the House permit me, in the first place, to express my most sincere congratulations to the Under-Secretary on occupying the distinguished place that he does? I can assure him and the House that, though we have had many controversies in the past, he is one of those of whom

I can say most sincerely in Carlyle's words—

> "We walked westward arguing copiously, except in opinion not differing."

That has a peculiar applicability to the hon. Gentleman in the minds of my friends who sit on this side of the House. The difficulty of the position which he occupies, and of which he is already fully aware, is that in this enormous Empire of ours there are numerous differences of opinion upon a number of points, and the real difficulty of the opium question in the past has been that we have entertained strong opinions in this country with regard to the opium traffic which were totally different from the opinions which were held by those in numerous parts of the Empire, and the difficulty was greater when earnest men proposed reform in these matters, because it was we who desired, at the expense of others, to put our own ideas in force against theirs. The Under-Secretary very fittingly said that when it is a case of our morals and other people's money that makes all the difference. The hon. Member who seconded the Motion, and seconded it in a way that we all heard with great pleasure, because he is moderate and accurate in his views, furnished to the House evidence of a conclusive character that the Chinese themselves are quite genuine in the desire to exterminate this particular form of vice. As the Chinese Government are exercising a right influence in this matter—and from what the hon. Member has told us they have already brought about a considerable reform even in the last few years—it seems to me obviously impossible that we, who pride ourselves—I do not know whether we do so rightly—on a greater civilisation than the Chinese, can fall behind the Chinese Government in what they now desire. There is scarcely anything further to be said, because the Under-Secretary has assured the House that all opium-dens are to be abolished. A decree against these places has gone forth in Hong-Kong, and the Under Secretary has promised that in Ceylon there will be a move made in that direction. Therefore, I do not feel disposed, and I do not think it reasonable, to press the Government further in regard to these two Colonies. Everything that is reasonable is, I think, being done by the Government both in Ceylon and Hong-Kong. Neither would it, I think, be otherwise than premature, seeing the attitude they have taken up in regard to these two Colonies, and the evidence we now possess, that we should unduly press them, for in a few weeks, or perhaps in a few days, they will have the information in the Report of the Commission on Singapore. I do not propose to detain the House further, but I congratulate the Government and the Under-Secretary on having taken steps which seem to me to be entirely reasonable in the circumstances.

*THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY (Middlesex, Hornsey) said he understood that the Amendment of which he had given notice† was not in order, and he was not altogether sorry, because in any case it would not have been moved in any spirit of hostility to the Motion. He had put it down to emphasise the fact that the object that we in this country and our Government had in view was to assist the Chinese Government in carrying through the great task they had set themselves. It was absolutely imperative that we should not endeavour to force the pace. The hon. Member who proposed the Motion seemed to think that we ought to do our best to stop the export trade in opium from India to China immediately, and thereby wipe out what he considered to be a stain from our national character. The hon. Member wished to rescue his own soul, and the souls of other members of the British race, from hell fire. If that was his object, it was a selfish one. It was not an altogether altruistic one. The hon. Member's object was not so much to assist the Chinese Government to put down the opium trade in their country as to preserve his own soul, and the souls of others of the British race, from future hell fire. His own object, and, he believed, the object of the British Government, was to assist the Chinese

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†"That the House realising that an immediate abolition of the export of Indian opium to China would defeat the object which Parliament has in view—namely, that of assisting the Government of China to stamp out the vice of opium smoking—by stimulating the production of opium in China itself, is desirous of placing upon record its approval of the policy of His Majesty's Government of reducing the export from India *pari passu* with the reduction of production in China."

Government and people in dealing with the trade, and he desired to state a few reasons why the immediate stoppage of exports from India to China would not assist them, but would have the reverse result. If they abolished the importation of opium into China immediately, the result would be to stimulate the production of opium in China itself. Although the British had nothing to do with the introduction of opium into China, he did not deny that British merchants, having found a demand there, did not hesitate to supply it from the fields of India. We were bound, therefore, to assist the Chinese Government in their efforts to deal with the question. He had studied the subject on the spot and had travelled into the vast provinces of the West of China which produced an enormously greater quantity of opium than the amount exported from India into the whole of that country. He had himself travelled 1,000 miles up the Yang-tse-Kiang river to Ichang where he had to pick his way through piles of cases of opium which had come down from Western China, and were being transported from the poppyfields there to the eastern provinces. He travelled another 1,000 miles to the province of Szchuen, and he found that it produced four times the amount of the total imports of opium from India into the whole of China. They must endeavour to assist the Chinese Government to stamp out this evil at its root, and that was the enormous production of opium in China itself. Powerful forces weighed in the scale in favour of increasing the native production. The Chinese Government derived a revenue of £7,000,000 sterling from taxation on native opium. Again, the officials who were relied on to stamp out the evil were in a large number of cases very largely interested pecuniarily in the continuation of the production in China. The Report in 1905 of the Philippine Commissioners stated that they had ascertained that—

> "Certain of the high officials, who wrote the most eloquent letters condemnatory of the opium traffic and appealing to foreign nations to prevent its introduction into China, are believed to have steadily increased the areas under opium cultivation in their own domains."

That was one of the great evils that they had to guard against. Another reason why the people of China were necessarily very much inclined to continue to produce opium in the same quantities at the present time was that the crop was very much more valuable than the ordinary cereals they might be able to produce if the ground were turned to other purposes. Sir Alexander Hosie, who had spent many years in China, and whose knowledge of these matters was unique, had given the following reason why the value of land under opium was greater than under wheat: An acre of wheat would give an average yield of grain to the value of £4 5s. 6d., and the same acre would produce raw dry opium to the value of £5 16s. 8d. That was to say, fifty acres producing opium would make a greater profit to the farmer than he would make if they were used to produce only cereals by £77 18s. 4d. That, perhaps, did not sound a very vast sum to Englishmen's ears, but it should be remembered that in the interior of China the only coin which was current was a microscopic piece called "cash," some thousand of which went to a florin. While travelling last year in Szchuen, he had inquired into this matter among European missionaries, Chinese merchants, coolies, peasants, and farmers. In more instances than not he found that the peasants were simply jubilant at the idea of a cessation of the importation of Indian opium. What was the reason of their jubilation? It was not in the least because they were desirous of giving relief to what an emotional writer, Du Bose, described as—

> "The desolate homes, the weeping mothers, the fathers crying, 'O! Absolom, my son, my son,' the degraded wives, the ragged children, the starving households, the fiendish men, the wretched women, the poor suffering sons and daughters of sorrow."

It was because they saw the prospect of administering to these people in the future an amount of opium one-tenth greater than they were able to do at the present time, and so increasing their profits from the crops there grown. These were the factors that weighed in the scale in favour of the production of opium in China. He did not deny that there were many cases in which the men of China were undoubtedly sincere in their endeavour to rid themselves of this horrible evil. In a town in Western China he came across one of the chief merchants of the place who was doing everything in his power to stop the evil. In Fuchou he came across the case of a landowner who has absolutely prohibited the sowing of opium on his land in future. There was a salutary public opinion gradually springing up which undoubtedly was doing an immense amount of good in educating people, but this public opinion had great odds against it at the present time, and if they were to carry out the policy advotated by the hon. Member for Nuneaton they would give a stimulus to the production of opium in Western China which no rules or regulations could possibly prevent. The statements in the White Paper bore out his contention that there was an immense difficulty in the way of putting down what, after all, was the root of the evil, the production of opium in China itself. The Report contained the following remark in regard to what was being done under the Edict of 1906—

> "In the month of April the Consolidated Opium Tax Bureau, which is a branch of the head office in Hupei, and unquestionably an official institution, issued a Proclamation urging the cultivation of the poppy for the sake of revenue, which can only be looked upon as an extraordinary proceeding in face of the Decree."

Here was another instance from the great Province of Kansu—

> "More poppy is grown than ever, and in one district an official urged the people to plant for all they were worth, and to make hay (or opium) while the sun shone; in consequence, five times as much was sown. One missionary sends a discouraging report that the high price of opium has induced people to take to drink, while another states that those in his neighbourhood are trying various medicinal herbs as a cure."

He would read a quotation bearing on a point which he had suggested for the consideration of the House in relation to the difficulty of enforcing "the restriction of the cultivation of the poppy in order to remove the root of the evil." The comment which the Report made upon that was in the following terms—

> "Although in isolated instances in other provinces the cultivation of the poppy has been reduced, yet it may be safely be said that in general no attention has been paid to this Article throughout the Empire, nor have the penalties for non-compliance with its provisions been imposed."

He, therefore, desired to emphasise as strongly as he could that the best, indeed, the only, policy which it was possible for this country to pursue, if it was really and sincerely desirous of assisting the Chinese Government in its task, was the policy now being pursued by the Government of reducing the export of opium from India to China not immediately, but in the same proportion as, and *pari passu* with, the reduction of the production of opium in China itself. He hoped the House would be disposed to give the Government every credit for carrying out what they honestly believed, as he believed, to be the only satisfactory policy with regard to this question.

*MR. ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) said the House had listened with interest to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for the Hornsey Division, though he seemed to have been rather impatient of the speech made by the mover of the Motion, who spoke with a cogency which had refreshed the hearts of many of them. The noble Lord seemed to think that they were moving too rapidly in this matter. He himself shared the sentiments of his hon. friend, and he thought the best way to assist China was to go on as fast as, or possibly faster than, the Government had seen fit to do. It was with a sense of humiliation he heard his hon. friend the Under-Secretary for the Colonies say that we must at least adopt the standard of China.

*COLONEL SEELY: It was a quotation.

*MR. ELLIS said he was glad to hear that his hon. friend did not quite adopt it. Having given a good deal of attention to this question for many years, he thought they had made a distinct march forward that evening. He gathered from the declaration of the Under-Secretary that opium was immediately going in Ceylon and Hong Kong, and they were in sight of the same as regards the Straits Settlements. The Resolution passed in 1906 was one of the Parliamentary landmarks in the progress of the movement, but that was not the first time the House had declared that the opium trade was morally indefensible

The present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the present Secretary of State for India, the late Prime Minister, and, he believed, the present Prime Minister went into the Lobby and declared the same thing, so far back as 1891. If they had declared twice that the thing was morally indefensible, his opinion was that they could not put an end to it too soon. Then in 1906 Mr. Morley had used the emphatic words that—

> "To any plan for the restriction of the consumption of opium, brought forward in good faith, the Government of India and His Majesty's Government would say they would agree to it, even though it might cost us some sacrifice."

The Chinese welcomed that declaration, and issued an Edict, and made certain arrangements. Could any one have the slightest doubt as to the sincerity of the Government of the Chinese Empire? The noble Lord the Member for Kensington was full of doubts and fears in 1907. The noble Lord who had just sat down had treated the House to some rather belated extracts from the Report of 1904. But what was going on then was not going on in China now. There was a most interesting Report in the White Paper sent over by Sir John Jordan. The Report therein from the Consular Legation, after careful inquiry, stated that although it was too early to expect any definite result, what had been hitherto obtained showed that the task that the Government had undertaken could be fulfilled. That was the opinion of no anti-opium faddist, but of our authorities in China. Again, Sir Ernest Satow, to whom he wished to pay a tribute of respect as a great diplomatist, always took a most favourable view of the Chinese aspect of the matter. That opinion was supported by Dr. Morrison, the correspondent of *The Times*, whose distinguished services they all acknowledged. He would not dwell now on that most remarkable proposal of the United States Government that there should be an International Conference on the subject. He hoped that his right hon. friend, the Foreign Secretary, would inform the House how that proposal stood at the present moment. His trust was that the British Government would not only second the United States but assist them in all possible ways to bring about that which there was ample evidence that a number of great Powers having interests in the Far East desired. The real fact was that this matter had got beyond argument; what was wanted was drastic action. He remembered when the financial element was the bugbear which stood very much in the way. Well, that had passed. One could not read the statement of Mr. Baker, the Financial Member of the Indian Viceroy's Council, without seeing that they need not fear now any difficulty in regard to the financial aspect of the question. The Viceroy himself had declared—

> "There is no doubt that throughout the civilised world a feeling of disgust at the demoralising effect of the opium habit in excess. It is a feeling in which we cannot but share, we could not with any self-respect refuse to assist China on the ground of loss of revenue to India."

He remembered the late Lord Salisbury when he was at the India Office saying that responsibility did not lie with the Government of India, but with the Cabinet. He ventured to say that the House of Commons would do what it could in the matter. He welcomed the attitude taken on the part of the Government in their last utterance as disclosed on 29th July last year and in the White Paper; but he would like to see the pace quickened, and if there was any proposal from China for shortening the period when the prohibition should come into force he thought they ought to welcome it. After all the question was a moral one. He was glad to take note that there was no opposition or thought of it from any quarter of the House, and the late Colonial Secretary had concurred in and congratulated the Government on the success of their efforts. He was quite sure that in the steps which the Government were taking they would have the overwhelming, if not the unanimous support of the House of Commons, and the earnest admiration, heart-felt sympathy, and support of the moral conscience of the people of this country.

MR. MEYSEY THOMPSON (Staffordshire, Handsworth) said that they had been told that the Government was not going half-fast enough in this matter.

He was afraid he should find himself in the unusual position of defending the present Government, but he wished to point out the great difficulties in the way of carrying out what the mover and the seconder of the Resolution proposed. The mover of the Resolution said that he wanted absolutely to prohibit the use of opium throughout the British Empire, except for medical purposes. He (Mr. Meysey Thomson) had just returned from India, and he knew the difficulties there in the way of suppressing the opium traffic. It was quite a different thing to suppress smoking opium in dens, and to prevent the eating of opium by large sections of the Indian people. They were all agreed as to the desirability of bringing the opium traffic to an end as soon as possible without doing any harm, and at any rate of putting down the opium-dens. But a large number of the people in India used opium without incurring any harm to health. Many people in India, and in this they were supported by the opinion of medical men, used opium as a valuable febrifuge. Inquiry would show that opium was most used in districts where people suffered most from fever, and if that practice was put down suddenly, a large volume of opinion would be opposed to it. There was another aspect of the question. If they tried suddenly to break the natives from the use of opium they would induce them to take alcohol, or other drugs. He had been in one city in India where he had witnessed dreadful sights from the use of some of these substances. Cocaine did more harm than opium, and the use of hemp drove men mad. They were told that they need not discuss the financial question, but should help China to stop the use of opium which was doing so much harm. If China honestly determined to restrict the use of opium with a strong hand, and showed her *bona fides*, like Japan, we should give her all the help in our power. But, by taking too rapid a stride, a reaction would be caused, and greater evils would be created than now existed. He congratulated the Government on the strong action they had taken, and he hoped they would not allow themselves to be forced by well-meaning but impractical people to go faster than they thought it wise to go.

*SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.) said he did not propose to occupy the attention of the House for more than five minutes, but there was one point connected with the cultivation of opium in India which he desired to bring to the notice of the Under-Secretary for India and the House. The argument had not been pressed that evening, but he remembered that the Secretary for India two years ago did refer to it. The right hon. Gentleman then said what a serious matter it would be to the cultivators of opium if we abruptly interfered with that cultivation, and he asked how we could compensate them. The fact was that the opium cultivators had frequently, continually, year by year, protested to the authorities against this cultivation. They asked for freedom of cultivation, and to be allowed to cultivate as they liked, because they knew that it would be more profitable to raise other crops than opium which they produced under contract with the Government. There was a very large area of land under cultivation in opium in India—some 600,000 acres or more. In consideration of the cultivation of opium, the cultivators received from the Government a sum of money somewhat exceeding a million pounds or a million and a quarter per annum. Did anyone suppose that if they were allowed freedom of choice in this large area, which it must be remembered, consisted of the very best land in the villages, their efforts would not yield a far larger profit to them than a little over a million pounds. 600,000 acres under food crops or sugar cane would yield far more than a million and a quarter. Therefore, when the argument was put forward that, in the interests of cultivators in India they must be very careful not to reduce the area of cultivation, he wished to point out that it would really be to the gain of these cultivators, and not in any way to their detriment, to reduce the area of cultivation to any extent. There was one other point he wished to mention, and that was a purely Government point. It was that as the exports of opium from India to China and elsewhere were reduced, as they were being reduced, he was glad to say, so to some extent at least the value of those exports increased. Diminishing exports were always followed by an increase in the market price at auction sales at Calcutta, and that in itself made a considerable difference to the Indian revenue, and *pro tanto* compensated the Government for the smaller quantity of opium exported.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton) said he only desired to add his expression of the very great satisfaction with which he learned of the remarkable progress which this question had made, and of the remarkable steps taken by the Government which they were able to announce, and which had been received with such great satisfaction by the House. He had been in close connection this last day or two with one who had devoted a life of nearly fifty years to service in China, Archdeacon Moule, and some words he had used had struck him very much. The Archdeacon stated that as it were by an electric flash, England and China had, within the last two years, awakened almost simultaneously to the disgrace and danger of the continuation of this opium traffic. The evidence was strong that the Chinese were in earnest in the matter, but that they had a very gigantic task before them, as was shown so ably by his hon. friend who had spoken of his recent experiences. It seemed to him very clear that the Chinese were in earnest in this matter, and he agreed with his right hon. friend the ex-Colonial Secretary that England must not lag behind China, and other nations, and he welcomed most cordially the policy of the Government on this subject.

*MR. BENNETT (Oxfordshire, Woodstock) said that of all the admirable speeches delivered that evening one which had afforded him especial pleasure was that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Rushcliffe Division. He wished that more speeches in that House might be animated by a similar spirit of earnestness in great moral questions. There was very little of the hyper-official mind about the right hon. Gentleman. There was, of course, no need of any fresh evidence to prove the "moral indefensibility" of the opium traffic carried on by the Indian Government. The evidence had been accumulating for generations; it was clear and irresistible. At Oxford they had a considerable number of Oriental students, and he had never met one of them who was not in deadly earnest in his detestation of the opium trade. In fact, the only cases in which apathy or open hostility towards anti-opium efforts was to be found were those of some Indian and Colonial officials and traders—men who lived as an extremely small minority of aliens amongst the millions of mankind afflicted by this curse. The opium question was, as had been remarked by more than one speaker that evening, simply one of morality. And in this connection he ventured to say that his Radicalism had received a somewhat severe shock when he heard Lord Morley in 1906 declare that the revenue question stood in the way of the suppression of a trade admitted, by every section of that House, to be "morally indefensible." He had no desire to criticise unfairly the action of the Secretary of State for India, who in the past had supported the claims of oppressed nationalities, and championed unpopular causes; but after all, that was what Lord Morley's speech came to —India refused to lose £3,000,000 of revenue in order to suppress this abominable traffic. Let them contrast the utterances of a Chinese Emperor in 1844—

> "Nothing will induce me to derive revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

And that of a Chinese Ambassador in 1871—

> "Let the revenue go! We care nothing about it. What we want is to stop the consumption of opium which is demoralising and impoverishing our people."

In many speeches made at various times in that House, Ministerial and otherwise, and even in the Resolution that evening, was implied the extraordinary principle that our own moral responsibility in this matter depended in some way or other on the moral attitude taken up by China. Such a contention would not hold good for a moment. Our national morality was a matter for our own national conscience; it had nothing in the world to do with the ethics of the Chinese. The attitude of people who argued in that way was simply a confusion of mind far too common in modern times. If, for example, European troops in their conflicts with barbarous or semi-civilised peoples acted in a way contrary to the laws of civilised warfare, their actions were frequently justified on the ground that the higher morality when brought into contact with the inferior had necessarily to sink to the lower level. But, as a matter of fact, if it came to a question of China's morality in this matter of the opium traffic, he ventured to think that her ethical claims were at least as good as our own. China had in the past suffered most cruelly in her efforts to save her people from the curse of opium. Her cities had been bombarded, her unarmed people and badly armed troops slaughtered by thousands, and valuable portions of her territory forcibly taken from her in her unavailing efforts to keep from her shores the opium forced upon her by a a Christian nation. At this moment, too, China was prepared to sacrifice — though a poor country — more than £7,000,000 of annual revenue in her anxiety to eradicate this great evil, *i.e.*, more than double the £3,000,000 which had hitherto blocked the path of reform in India. In the debate of 1906 reference had been made to the existence of the "official mind" in this matter. The "official mind," apparently, in this question of opium, was another name for the mental attitude of Indian officials and colonial ratepayers. Some recent illustrations of the working of the "official mind" in reference to the opium trade were afforded in the pages of the recent White Paper of last February. From that document they could see that the Indian Government demurred to the Chinese proposal, which involved the extinction of the import of opium in nine years, on the ground that this "would commit India to the complete suppression of an important trade." Further, the proposed dimunition of the export of opium from 71,800 chests to 60,000, and an annual decrease of 5,800 chests for three years, without any definite undertaking for subsequent years, was regarded by the "official mind" as a "substantial reduction" and the view of the Indian Government was that "such a standard of reduction ought to satisfy the Chinese Government for the present" — *i.e.*, satisfy a country which had incurred untold sufferings in the past, and was now making almost incredible efforts in order to eradicate from her territory the use of this horrible drug. Again, the Indian Government declared that it was opposed to any increase in the present rate of duty imposed by China on imported opium. A country, that is, which taxed a great variety of imported commodities for revenue purposes, denied the right of China to tax opium for, so to speak, a moral purpose. Let hon. Members contrast the duties levied on opium by the Chinese Government, with those levied on imported spirits in England. The Chinese duty on opium was 3s. 3d. in the £, the British duty on imported spirits was no less than £1 0s. 2d. for every £'s worth which entered our Customs. The revenue difficulty was, of course, a serious one in India, but was there no room for enough retrenchment in Indian military expenditure to replace the deficit caused by a surrender of this discreditable opium revenue? Notwithstanding the Japanese alliance and the Anglo-Russian Agreement, the military estimates of India had risen in ten years from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000. At any rate, this was not a question to be settled by Indian officials or the ratepayers of Hong Kong, Singapore, or Ceylon. He felt the greatest distrust of that imperialistic fetish called the "man on the spot" whose superior intelligence and experience was held to be paramount in deciding great questions of policy and morality. The decision on this question of the opium trade lay with us in England, the moral responsibility was ours. He hoped that they would hear that evening some pronouncement of a more hopeful character and, he ventured to add, an even higher moral level than some of those which on previous occasions had proceeded from that Table. We had a Government ready to take grave risks in its courageous attempt to alleviate the evils of the national curse of imtemperance: and he ventured to suggest that, after all, the loss of £3,000,000 of revenue was hardly too great a sacrifice to rid themselves once for all of an imperial degradation. So clear an issue, involving as it did our national morality and credit, really admitted of no compromise.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I should like cordially to endorse the remark made by my hon. friend the seconder of this Resolution when he gave to the House of Commons the credit for the progress which has been made in this question owing to the line it took in the debate two years ago and on other occasions in recent years. I think that he is justified in claiming for the consistent, strenuous, and repeated expression of opinion by the British House of Commons a real effect in making progress in the opium question in China. But though I am prepared guardedly to follow the line he and other speakers have taken during the debate, I doubt if I shall satisfy the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, and I cannot agree with the criticisms he passed on the language used by my noble friend the Secretary of State for India two years ago, which, I think, are not justified. It is true that the promise made by my noble friend two years ago was guarded, but it was followed by a large measure of fulfilment; the words were careful, but performance has been up to the level of the words. If the language was cautious, it was because, as everyone who has followed the public career of my noble friend will appreciate, he is exceedingly chary in raising expectations that he may think not easy of fulfilment. It is true he pointed out difficulties, and it is no good ignoring difficulties. It is part of the duty of a Minister to point out difficulties that cannot be ignored and which sooner or later, whether they are ignored or not, will have to be encountered. He has to point out the difficulties, and if he does not, no one else will do so, and the House will not have full information. My noble friend did point out the difficulties, but it is a wrong construction to place upon his speech to say that he pointed out the difficulties in order to plead them as excuses for not doing anything at all. Clearly that was not his object.

MR. BENNETT said that that was not his intention.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I think I shall be in the recollection of the House in saying that the hon. Gentleman referred to the fact that the Secretary of State for India quoted official opinion in India and he criticised the speech as giving too much importance to official opinion. My noble friend stated the difficulties of the case that the House might be aware of them; but, as his action has shown (and the Under-Secretary for India can bear me out), there has been no intention on the part of the Secretary of State, of the India Office, or of officials, to plead difficulties as excuses for not doing anything. As a matter of fact, the policy of the Indian Government has been to convince the Chinese Government that they are in earnest in this matter by proceeding with large instalments of reductions in exports. Now, I go to one or two questions with which the Foreign Office is specially concerned. The hon. Member who introduced the subject did not, I think, quite understand the position of the Foreign Office when he criticised the action of the Shanghai municipality, nor did he give the credit deserved to the British members for the abolition of opium-dens in the purely British settlement. In the second place, it is not possible for me to control the action that may be taken by the British settlements. They have considerable freedom of action. Even the Local Government Board at home cannot dictate to municipalities like Glasgow and Birmingham, or other great towns, in the conduct of their own affairs; and my position towards British municipalities in the East is even more vague and undefined than is that of the local government towards municipalities at home. And with regard to Shanghai, the only municipality about which criticism has been passed, I would point out that Shanghai has an international settlement as well as a British settlement; and though, no doubt, there is a large British majority on the council, this is a matter to be decided, not only by the council, but also by the ratepayers, among whom are a large number of Americans and people of other nationalities. But the municipality has promised to reduce the opium-dens by a quarter within a month or so, with a view to bringing the whole to an end in two years. My hon. friend read an extract to show that this was not decided; but my information has led me to suppose that that is the definite intention. I cannot give an absolute promise about something not within my entire control; but we have already expressed our opinion as to what, for the credit of the British, the action of the municipality should be, and I will certainly do my best to ensure that what is, at all events, a tendency shall become a definite intention and be realised in two years. Though the native dens are closed as opium-dens, the Chinese are not prohibited from selling opium. Therefore, it is unfair to contrast the action of the municipality with the action taken in the native city as if the sale of opium was prohibited altogether there. I believe it is very desirable that in the international settlement the opium-dens should come to an end, and that not only should the Chinese precept but the Chinese practice be followed. There is the Chinese point of view to be borne in mind, and the Viceroy of Nanking, the great Chinese official, has expressed his gratification at the action the Shanghai municipality has taken; so that the Chinese recognise that, though their action may not have gone as far at present as could be desired, yet they have shown a desire to help the Chinese. My hon. friend who moved the Resolution asked me about the Commission which the United States has proposed, and about the delay. It is not our Commission, but the proposal of the United States. We have asked what the date and time and place of meeting are to be, and until we have a reply from the United States it is impossible to give more information on the subject. But we have not waited for the Commission as regards any action of our own. Our action will be quite independent of whether the Commission meets soon or late. I am glad my right hon. friend behind me called attention to the moral earnestness and high tone of my hon. friend the Under-Secretary's speech, but I think he was a little unfair in the different ways in which he treated my hon. friend the Under-Secretary and myself. He advised my hon. friend to beware of the Reports of the Commission, and not to rely too much upon them, but he besought me to do all I could to assist this Commission of the United States.

MR. ELLIS: That was not a Royal Commission.

SIR EDWARD GREY: With all respect to my right hon. friend who drew this distinction which I noticed at the time, I am not sure, looking back over the experience of years, that we should not hope as much from a purely British Commission or purely British action as from an international commission or international congress. If my right hon. friend warns us not to rely too much on Royal Commissions, I should like not to limit that warning purely to British Commissions, because I think it also applies to Commissions of all kinds, and in some cases—though I hope and trust not in this—the more persons there are concerned the more indefinite the result is likely to be. With regard, however, to this Commission which the United States has proposed, we welcome the proposal, and we will do everything in our power to assist, support, and co-operate. I am exceedingly glad the United States should have so often in matters of this kind taken a leading part in trying to promote what is an international improvement, and from their position have done so effectively. The noble Lord who spoke opposite laid stress on the fact, and I think quite rightly, that it was desirable that the diminution of consumption in China should progress alongside of the diminution of the export from India. There are, no doubt, people in China who do not wish to see the consumption of opium diminished. There are people interested in growing it, and there are people there who would hope that, by the diminution of the import of opium into China, they themselves might be able to create a monopoly and make larger profits. There are people of that sort in every country. I certainly should not like to see the opium question in China turned into a branch of Chinese tariff reform. I would much rather keep it on the present level. Though I agree that we ought not to make the shortcomings of others in any way an excuse for lowering our own standard, I think, also, it is common sense in this matter that when we are diminishing the export of opium from India to China with the object of bringing it to an end altogether, we should in everything we do help the Chinese not merely to get rid of the import, but to get rid of the consumption of opium in China itself. That has been one of the considerations borne in mind by my noble friend the Secretary for India. Progress has already been made in China. In some parts, no doubt, the decree has not had the effect which the Chinese Government and everybody hoped. China is a vast country, comparatively loosely organised, and undoubtedly in China itself the decree of the Chinese Government has not yet had the effect that it ought to have had in diminishing the growth or diminishing the consumption of opium. Considering all the circumstances, what strikes me is not the small result obtained, but the amount of good result which has been obtained in China in so short a time. Let us bear in mind the difficulties of the Chinese Government. They are enormous. They are undertaking the greatest task a Government can undertake. The most difficult task, I think, anybody can undertake is to put an end to a habit. It is hard enough for an individual. The victory of a man over himself is the hardest any man can attempt; but to attempt to put an end to a national habit in ten years is an attempt which Mr. Leach, who drew up the Report in the Blue-book, is perfectly justified in saying any European Government would probably have been unwilling to undertake. One or two hon. Members have asked whether China is in earnest. The Chinese Government and the best people in China at all events are in earnest in this matter. There is a strong party of progress, and the dominant party is undoubtedly in earnest; but no doubt there is a pro-opium party as well. It is not peculiar to China that when a Government and a party of progress tries to put down an abuse, a party, and sometimes a strong party, at once arises to defend the practice and to protect to.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): Does the right hon. Gentleman seek to make a party question of this?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I am not doing so, but if the noble Lord chooses to put a special application upon my words he is welcome to do so. Of course, there is a sacrifice, which has been pointed out, of Indian revenue. I think the Secretary of State admitted that the position he took up was that that question was one which ought to be faced if China was in earnest in putting the evil down in China itself. Whenever you raise such a question the question of confiscation arises and that becomes a matter of debate. No doubt it is the case in China that you have two parties. I do not want to press the matter any further than this. Any Government which tries to put down an abuse will have great difficulty in doing so. The question is—there being two parties in China, an anti-opium and a pro-opium party—on which side are we to be so far as our action is concerned? Of course, if you take the point that no progress has been made you can make that an excuse for doing nothing. If you are on the side of abuse, of course it is easy to pick out the unsatisfactory points in which no progress has been made and make them an excuse for doing nothing; but, if on the other hand, you wish to help China, you can point out what satisfactory progress has already been made and make that the defence and justification —and this is the position we take up—for what we may do in the future. I should like in conclusion to give the House a quotation from a Decree issued by the Chinese Government on 24th March last, which is not included in the papers before the House. It is a somewhat remarkable Decree and recognises what the British Government has done and the difficulties the Chinese Government has to face—

> "We have already directed by Imperial Decree that regulations should be issued under which the use of opium, both foreign and native, should be totally suppressed within the period of ten years. The British Government have now agreed to effect an annual reduction in the amount of opium exported into China, and other friendly Powers are willing to assist. This enlightened policy on their part has deeply impressed us. Under the agreement with the British Government the reduction of the export is to be continued for three years, and if it is found at the expiration of that period that China has effectively decreased the consumption and production of opium the policy of reducing the export will still be carried on. To allow these three years to slip by without taking measures for the abolition of the drug would be a poor return for the benevolent policy of a friendly Power and a deep disappointment to philanthropists of all nations. Should this opportunity be lost for ever and the disease allowed to become incurable, we should feel the deepest shame in recognising that the responsibility rested with us."

I think that is a remarkable statement and an entire justification for what the British Government has done and a fair statement of the actual situation. They recognise what we have done to help in the matter and their responsibility, and it rests with them to secure the effect that they desire. The hon. Member who seconded the Resolution spoke of the future of China. I agree that it is a most interesting question, not merely from this point of view. With regard to reform in China, the question is—Are we sympathising with her or do we begrudge helping her? Our desire is that the Chinese should make progress and should be able to feel that we sympathise and help them step by step on this question. I am sure my hon. friend will feel that we have done so already, and, whatever party differences we may have on other questions—and I am sorry if anything I said seemed to introduce party feeling into this debate—I leave them entirely to other questions and ask the House of Commons to accept this Resolution and to show that on this question it is unanimous in supporting the action the Government have taken.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, "That this House, having regard to its Resolution unanimously adopted on 30th May, 1906, that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, welcomes the action of His Majesty's Government in diminishing the sale of opium for export, and thus responding to the action of the Chinese Government in their arrangements for the suppression of the consumption of the drug in that Empire; and this House also urges His Majesty's Government to take steps to bring to a speedy close the system of licensing opium dens now prevailing in some of our Crown Colonies, more particularly Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon."

Adjourned at two minutes after Eleven o'clock.

# HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Thursday, 7th May,* 1908.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) [H.L.]. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 4) [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Dublin and South-Eastern Railway Bill, City of Glasgow Bill.—Reported, without amendment.

Bromley and Crays Gas Bill, Hull and Barnsley Railway Bill, Dartford Gas Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed.

Lincoln Corporation Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Committed.

Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.] House to be in Committee on Monday next.

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

## *PETITIONS.*

### SUNDAY CLOSING (SHOPS) BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of provost, magistrates, and councillors of borough of Saltcoats; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### ALIENS ACT, 1905.

Return of the alien passenger traffic between the United Kingdom and ports in Europe or within the Mediterranean Sea during the three months ended 31st March, 1908, together with the number of expulsion orders made during that period requiring aliens to leave the United Kingdom. Presented (by Command) and ordered to lie on the Table.

### SEA AND COAST FISHERIES FUND (IRELAND) (NON-CONGESTED DISTRICTS).

Account for the year ended 31st December, 1907. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and ordered to lie on the Table.

### PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Message from the Commons that they have committed the said Bill to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons.

### COMPANIES (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

### POST OFFICE (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

A message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them that this House has come to the following Resolution to which they desire their concurrence, viz., "That it is desirable that the said Bills be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament."

### SUNDAY CLOSING (SHOPS) BILL [H.L.].

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

*Lord AVEBURY: My Lords, as this subject has been before your Lordships several times I think I shall be consulting the convenience of the House by moving the Third Reading in a very few words. Since the Committee Stage there has been rather a lively discussion in the newspapers and some little criticism of the Bill founded really on misapprehension of its provisions. On the other hand, the Bill has been warmly supported by Mr. Stacey, the secretary of the Early Closing Association, by Messrs. Paterson and Benzie, the secretaries of the great Scottish Shopkeepers and Assistants Union, by Mr. Cowell, the president of the National Association of Grocers' Assistants, and by Mr. Ashby, the hon. secretary of the South-East London Sunday Closing of Shops Association; and they all bear out, as they are well able to do from their knowledge of the matter, the assurance which I gave to your Lordships that the shopkeeping community are keenly, and by an overwhelming majority, in favour of the Bill. In these circumstances I should like to make an appeal to His Majesty's Government to show a more sympathetic interest in the Bill than they did on the Second Reading, and reconsider their decision to give it no support. In the House of Commons a few days ago the Home Secretary, speaking on a cognate subject, said that nothing which came before the House was of higher importance than questions directly affecting the health of the people, and that if it could be shown that long hours were detrimental to the health of a large portion of the population the State should seek to remedy the evil. This question of the closing of shops and the prohibition of street trading on Sunday is a matter which vitally affects the health and happiness of thousands, and yet the right hon. Gentleman has refused even to receive a deputation upon the subject or to hear what they have to say. Your Lordships will remember that in Committee Lord Oranmore raised a question whether the schedule really carried out our intention, which is that bread and fish as refreshment should be saleable all day, but that, as desired by the bakers and fishmongers themselves, the sale as household stores should cease at 9 a.m. I promised to consider the matter, and Lord Oranmore courteously withdrew his Amendment for the time. I am advised that, legally, the words as they stand carry out what we desire, but that it might be possible, by a slight modification, to make the matter clearer to the lay mind without in any way affecting the sense. I have communicated with Lord Ashbourne, who has taken an interest in the matter, and he is satisfied with the Amendments I have put down and which I shall move after the Third Reading. Meanwhile, I beg to move that the Bill be read a third time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read $3^a$."—*(Lord Avebury.)*

On Question, Bill read $3^a$.

**Lord AVEBURY**: I now beg to move the Amendments standing in my name.

Amendment moved—

"Schedule 1, page 3, line 16, to leave out the words 'of refreshments including sweetmeats.'"—*(Lord Avebury.)*

**Earl BEAUCHAMP**: My Lords, perhaps it would be convenient if I explain that the Government on this occasion will take the same line as they took on the Second Reading and in Committee. They will not attempt to influence your Lordships to vote either for or against the noble Lord's Amendments. A number of difficulties were pointed out on the Second Reading, and, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, nothing which has happened since has tended to diminish those difficulties; nor has the noble Lord in charge of the Bill seen his way, apparently, to meet the various points mentioned by, for instance, Lord Swaythling. The difficulties which separate those noble Lords are as irreconcilable now as they were then. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government are unable to see their way to afford any facilities for the passing of the Bill this year through the other House. No doubt the noble Lord will have an opportunity next year of bringing the Bill forward once more.

***Lord AVEBURY**: I can only speak again with the indulgence of your Lordships, but I should like to say that I did not undertake to move any Amendment in the direction desired by Lord Swaythling. What I said was that if Lord Swaythling would bring forward Amendments we would do our best to give them favourable consideration. The only Amendment which the noble Lord did move was to exempt Jews altogether from the operations of the Bill, and that Amendment did not commend itself to your Lordships.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In Schedule 1, page 3, lines 16 and 17, after the word 'consumption' to insert the words 'and in the course of the trade of supplying refreshments, of bread, fish, vegetables, cooked meat, sweetmeats, and such other articles as are usually dealt in the course of their trade.'"—*(Lord Avebury.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Bill passed and sent to the Commons.

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## COMPANIES (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

[Second Reading.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

**The Earl of GRANARD**: My Lords, this Bill is intended to reproduce, without alteration, the existing statute law relating to companies in the United Kingdom now contained in the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1907, and certain other amending Acts. Together with the Post Office Bill, to which your Lordships have already given a Second Reading, this Bill will be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses. I therefore hope your Lordships will give the Bill a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Granard.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Thursday, 7th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

### *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

Manchester Corporation Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill.—Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [by Order].—Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No 1) Bill [by Order]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [by Order].—Read a second time, and committed.

Camborne Water Bill; Rhymney Railway Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Bill [Lords].—Reported, with an Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to:—Derby Gas Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act for the dissolution and re-incorporation of the Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company, Limited; and for other purposes." [Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [Lords].]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Swansea Valley Gas Company; and for other purposes." [Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords.]

Companies (Consolidation) Bill and Post Office (Consolidation) Bill.—That they communicate that they have come to the following Resolution, viz.:—"That it is desirable that the Companies (Consolidation) Bill and the Post Office (Consolidation) Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament."

Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [Lords]; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

### *PETITIONS.*

#### CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour: From South Tottenham (two); and Tottenham; to lie upon the Table.

#### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Six Petitions from Hull, against; to lie upon the Table.

#### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Brotton; Buckhill Pit; Bullgill Pit; Carlin How; Chaloner; Clifton Pit; Delph Lodge;

Dowlais; Earnock Branch; Ellenborough Pit; Eston (two); Grinkle; Harthill and West Benhar; Holmwood; Lingdale; Liverton; Loftus; Long Acres; Lumprey; Measham; Netherseal; Netherton; North Skelton; Oughterside Pit; Quarry Bank; Rawdon; Reservoir; Roseberry (two); Seaton; Seaton Moor Pit; Siddick Pit; Skelton; Skelton Park; South Skelton; Spa Wood (two); Upleatham; Watergate Pit; and Wilton; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Crosshills; Dudley; and Nidd Valley; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Birmingham; Chippenham; Cockermouth; Emmer Green; Glasgow; Harrogate (eight); Knaresborough (five); Madley; Pontypridd; Reading; Ripon (two); Scunthorpe; St. John's Wood; Thwing, Hunmanby; and Workington; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration: From Bedlington; Bill Quay on Tyne; Cardiff; Dudley; Gateshead (six); Gosforth (two); Holywell East; Leamington (two); Newcastle on Tyne (fourteen); Ouston; Pelton Fell; Swalwell; Tottenham (two); Walker on Tyne; Wallsend on Tyne (two); and Windy Nook; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdeen; Abertridwr; Ambleside; Appleby; Applecross; Aston Manor (two); Ballater; Bargoed (three); Barrhead; Barrowford (three); Birkdale; Birmingham; Blairdaff; Bloomsbury; Bootle (two); Borgoed; Bournemouth; Bowes Park; Bradford (two); Brierley Hill; Bristol; Bush Hill Park; Cumbernauld; Cardiff (twenty-eight); Castle Douglas; Cathays (three); Chanonry; Chelmsford; Cockermouth; Crosshills; Deane; Dudley; Dumfries; Edmonton; Enfield (two); Exeter (four); Fenny Stratford; Ferry Hill; Finchley; Fochriw; Frome (two); Fulham; Glanyllyn; Glasgow (seven); Grangetown; Gwaelodygarth; Harborne; Harrogate; Haslingden; Heathfield; Hebron; Helsby; Hitchin; Honiton; Hove; Huddersfield; Hull; Inverary; Inverness; Keswick; Kingston (Wilts.); Kirkcudbright; Leeds (two); Leyton; Leytonstone (eight); Liverpool (two); Llanferres; Llangeitho; Llangollen; Llantrissant; Llantwitfardre; London; Macclesfield; Maidenhead; Maidstone (two); Market Lavington; Membury; Merthyr Vale; Nant; Nantwich; Nelson; Nidd Valley; New Southgate (six); Norwood; Nuneaton; Ottery St. Mary; Palmers Green; Peterhead; Plaistow; Pontlottyn (two); Pontypridd (three); Pulverbatch; Ripon; Rotherham; Rothesay; Rugby; Shieldhill (two); Senghenydd; Shildon; Silsden; South Molton; Southwick; Stockton on Tees; Sunderland; Tanyfron; Towyn; Trefor; Treforest; Trehafod; Usk; Walsall (four); Warcrop; Wednesbury; Whetstone (two); Winchmore Hill; Woodford; Wood Green; and Wolverhampton; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Perth, against; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdeen; Barrhead; Cranstonhill; Dumfries; Glasgow; Huntley; Longhope; and Peterhead; to lie upon the Table.

### PUBLIC-HOUSES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Barrhead, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Bath; and Nantwich; to lie upon the Table.

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## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### ALIENS ACT, 1905.

Copy presented, of Return of Alien Passengers brought to the United Kingdom from Ports in Europe or within the Mediterranean Sea during the three months ending 31st March, 1908; together with the number of Expulsion Orders made during that period requiring Aliens to leave the United Kingdom [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### ULTIMUS HÆRES (SCOTLAND) (ACCOUNT AND LIST OF ESTATES).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 6th May; *Mr. Hobhouse*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 136.]

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Copy presented, of List of Persons to be proposed for Nomination to be Members of the First Governing Body under a new Charter for the Constituent College at Galway [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Copy presented, of List of Persons to be proposed for Nomination as Members of the First Governing Body of the College to have its seat in Dublin [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### SEA AND COAST FISHERIES FUND (IRELAND) (NON-CONGESTED DISTRICTS).

Account presented, for the year ended 31st December, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT (1908–9).

Copy ordered, "of Statement of Revenue and Expenditure as laid before the House by the First Lord of the Treasury when opening the Budget."—(*Mr. Hobhouse.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 137.]

### CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

Address for "Return of all sentences of Corporal Punishment inflicted under 26 and 27 Vict., c. 44, upon persons convicted of offences under Section 43 of the Larceny Act, 1861, and Section 21 of the Offences against the Person Act, 1861, in England and Wales, from the 31st day of December, 1906, to the 31st day of December, 1907 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 224, of Session 1907.)"—(*Mr. Lloyd-Morgan.*)

### NAVAL EXPENDITURE (PRINCIPAL NAVAL POWERS).

Return ordered, "of the Naval Expenditure of each of the Principal Naval Powers, showing their total estimated Naval Expenditure in each of the last ten years, their expenditure in each of the years named on new construction, including armament, and the amount of their new construction in each of those years expressed in tonnage."—(*Mr. Thomasson.*)

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## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

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**Exemptions from School Attendance.**

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether he will state, in respect of each year since 1898, the total number of children exempted from the obligation to attend school under the provisions of the Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act (1893) Amendment Act, 1899, the number of exemptions in respect of children in Lancashire, and the number of exemptions under the provision of the above-mentioned Act of 1899, relating to children employed in agriculture.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) No statistics are available as to the number of children entitled to exemption under the bye-laws or under the Act to which the noble Lord refers. My right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in an Answer given on 11th March, stated the number of children employed as half-timers in factories, workshops, and laundries in the United Kingdom, and in textile factories in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and he could also furnish the number of children between thirteen and fourteen years of age certified for employment as "young persons" under Section 63 of the Factory Act. I regret I have no information as to the number of agricultural exemptions, but I may say that, out of 364 separate sets of bye-laws approved by the Board of Education, ninety-seven contain the special clause enabling children to be employed in agriculture at the age of eleven.

### School Attendance Regulations Abroad.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: To ask the President of the Board of Education whether he will state, as regards France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the United States of America, Canada, and Australia, the minimum age at which children can obtain exemption from the obligation to attend school; whether such exemption is partial or total, and obtained as the result of passing an examination; and, if so, the subjects of the examination.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The arrangements as to school attendance in the several countries named are too varied to admit of a clear Answer being given to the Question, except by means of a memorandum. I am having a memorandum prepared, which will give such information on the point as the Board of Education possess, and it will be laid in a few days. I may add that, so far as the Board are aware, no arrangements appear to exist in any of the countries referred to for the partial exemption of a child from school attendance.

### Elphin Cattle-Drive.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Tuesday, 28th April last, a cattle-drive took place at Bealragh, near Elphin, county Roscommon, in the midst of the country where the anti-ranching campaign of the United Irish League is in full swing, off the farm of a Mr. Stafford; whether this is the farm, let to a Mr. Hanley, which the local branch of the League have moved on several occasions to have divided up among its members, and is in close vicinity to the 1,200 acres of the Palace lands, belonging to Mr. O'Connor, Elphin, which were boycotted so rigidly last year that no farmers dare take them for grazing; whether on the 29th April last the whole 1,200 acres had to be set on fire in order to promote the growth of the new grass; and will he state what action the police propose to take.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) On the morning of 27th April it was found that during the previous night cattle had been driven off a farm which Mr. Hanley holds as tenant from Mr. Stafford. The cattle were recovered on the same morning. The police have been informed that Mr. Hanley was asked last autumn to surrender the farm for division amongst the people in the locality. The Palace lands referred to have upwards of seventy cattle upon them, but are not fully stocked. They contain 780 acres, of which forty acres of uncut meadow have been burnt by order of the owner. The force of the neighbouring police stations has been strengthened with the object of preventing interference with cattle and affording full protection to persons who may require it.

### Ballinrobe Outrage.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Saturday, the 25th April last, two shots were fired into the house of a man named Murphy, of Ballyboccagh, near Ballinrobe, county Mayo, one of which narrowly missed an old man sitting at the fire; whether the police investigations go to show that the shots were intended as murder or merely as intimidation of Mrs. Morris, who holds a boycotted farm in the district; will he say how this outrage is classed by the Government; and whether any arrests have been made, or what steps have been taken by the police.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) This is the same case about which I answered a Question put by the hon. Member for Mid Armagh yesterday. Two shots were fired at the house of James Murphy on the evening of 19th April, and a window was broken by grains of shot. Some of the grains flattened against the glass and fell outside, and those that penetrated the glass fell on the window sill immediately inside. The police therefore concluded that the shots were fired from a considerable distance, and that intimidation and not personal injury was intended. The case is still under police investigation, and its classification as an offence has not yet been decided upon by the Inspector-General. No sufficient evidence to justify arrests has yet been obtained.

### Irish Special Reserve.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether regulations for the Special Reserve in Ireland are in course of preparation; and, if so, will they be issued prior to the period of the final annual training this year of the old Militia Force, in order that officers and men may have an opportunity of studying the new scheme when mobilised.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The regulations for the Special Reserve are in course of preparation, and it is hoped will be ready by the end of June.

### Roman Catholic Soldiers in the British Army.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to a letter written by Cardinal Gotti, prefect of propaganda, purporting to regulate the affairs of Roman Catholic soldiers in the British Army; and whether, in view of the right of the War Office to send Roman Catholic chaplains wherever they may think fit to minister to Roman Catholic soldiers, as guaranteed by Rome after the Crimean War and exercised by the War Office ever since, he will say what steps he proposes to take to prevent Roman Catholic soldiers serving in India and South Africa being compelled to accept the religious ministrations of foreigners who may be unsympathetic to, and imperfectly acquainted with, the English tongue, and the subordination of the spiritual requirements of British Roman Catholic soldiers to the pecuniary interests of Foreign Roman Catholic ecclesiastics.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) After the South African War the Government of the day were approached by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, now Archbishop of Westminster, who issues to Roman Catholic Army chaplains the faculties which the law of their church requires that they should receive for their functions as priests. Through the good offices of His Grace the authorities of the Vatican agreed that commissioned chaplains should continue to serve the chief stations in South Africa, and there are now five such chaplains. The War Office has no intention of withdrawing them. At stations where the Roman Catholic troops are too few to warrant the presence of an Army chaplain use must be made, and is made everywhere, for all denominations, of the services of the local civilian clergy. Religious ministrations to the troops in India are not under the control of the War Office.

### The Army Council.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state by what statutory authority the Army Council exists.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The Army Council is created by the prerogative of the Sovereign exercised through Letters Patent, and the powers and responsibilities of its various members are defined in Order in Council.

### 5th Lancers—Alleged Mutiny at Colchester.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in 1904, whilst under the command of Colonel Allenby and stationed at Colchester, A squadron of the 5th Lancers mutinied, and this mutiny was condoned; and, if so, whether such condonation is in violation of the King's Regulations and without precedent in the British Army.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Nothing is known of the mutiny referred to by my hon. friend.

### Willenhall Drill Hall.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the sergeant instructor who has the letting of the drill hall, Willenhall, has refused to let the same for the use of a Labour and Socialist meeting, although the same building has been let for Liberal and Conservative meetings; whether this building is in any way kept up by public money; and, if so, whether he will take action to remove disabilities which in this case prevent Labour men and Socialists from the exercise of their citizen rights.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that Colonel Waterhouse, magistrates' clerk, refused the use of the drill hall, Wolverhampton, to the free trade candidate, but let the same to the tariff reform candidate; whether this building is in any way a public or semi-public building; and, if so, whether his Department will advise local public servants that equal opportunities for the use of these buildings shall be granted to all applicants on equal terms and conditions irrespective of party politics.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) In reply to these Questions, I have called for reports from the general commanding officer concerned.

### Army Ordnance Department Writers.

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether writers of the Army Ordnance Department at out-stations perform work superior to that of copyists at Woolwich Arsenal; and, if so, why they are not allowed to rise to at least the rates of pay fixed for second-class writers at Woolwich Arsenal and Pimlico.

MR. COURTHOPE: To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether His Majesty's Government will extend the same rates of pay to writers employed at out-stations as to those employed at Woolwich and Pimlico.

(*Answered by Mr. Acland.*) In reply to these Questions it is admitted that the writers at out-stations perform work somewhat superior to that of copyists; but in view of the higher all round level of rates of pay at Woolwich and Pimlico it is considered that the rates paid at out-stations to the writers are adequate. I am, however, inquiring into this matter.

### Petitions to the War Office.

MR. COURTHOPE: To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether the Regulations prohibit the presentation and forwarding of petitions by civilian employees of Army departments; and, if so, for what reason.

(*Answered by Mr. Acland.*) There is a regulation prohibiting the forwarding of petitions to the War Office, but it is not maintained in practice, petitions being frequently received and considered. These petitions have to be forwarded through the proper authorities.

### Army Ordnance Writers.

MR. COURTHOPE: To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether, seeing that the Admiralty revised the rates of pay granted to their writing staff on 1st April, 1907, the War Office will undertake a similar revision in the case of Army Ordnance writers.

(*Answered by Mr. Acland.*) The conditions of entry into the Admiralty service for writers are more stringent than in the service of the War Department, where there is no entrance examination, and the remuneration of the former is accordingly greater.

### Indian Staff Corps.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Under-Scretary of State for India whether any Royal Warrant has been published modifying the system laid down in the Royal Warrant of 1861 for the Indian Staff Corps, now Indian Army, under which officers were promoted after fixed periods of service; whether lieutenants of six years service and captains appointed to certain staff or regimental posts can be promoted to the next higher ranks on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief in India, thus superseding other officers of the same length of service; whether this practice is sanctioned by Royal Warrant, and the date of such Warrant; whether majors are promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, irrespective of length of service, on appointment to the command of a regiment or battalion and to other posts; whether this practice is sanctioned by Royal Warrant, and the date of such Warrant; whether this rule has caused the supersession of efficient officers, especially of those of Indian cavalry; whether, in the case of a field officer in military employ whose promotion it is desired to withhold, the practice of the military authorities in India is to suggest to the officer that he should take leave and retire at the expiration of such leave period; whether this practice has the approval of the Secretary of State for India; and whether all these new conditions do or do not specifically contravene the principle of Indian Army promotion as established by Royal Warrant.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) The system of promotion laid down for the Indian Staff Corps in the Royal Warrant of 1861 was superseded by provisions in successive Royal Warrants from 1881 to 1907, directing that promotion in the

Indian Staff Corps, now the Indian Army, should be made under such regulations as might be laid down from time to time by the Secretary of State for India in Council. Under regulations thus laid down in 1904 a limited number of lieutenants and captains may be specially promoted, and majors are promoted as stated in the Question without completing the periods of service ordinarily required. Some supersession of individuals is necessarily involved in this system, in so far as it is a departure from the old system of promotion after certain fixed periods of service, and I believe it is a fact that regimental commands in the Indian cavalry are, on the average, not attained until after longer service than in the infantry. The cases of officers whose promotion is withheld on account of unfitness are dealt with on their merits, and a special period of leave pending retirement is sometimes granted in such cases. The present system does not appear to the Secretary of State to contravene the Royal Warrants.

### Kingwilliamstown Teachers' Residences.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state the grounds upon which the Treasury ignore the application of the parish representatives for a refund *pro rata* of the amount contributed by them out of the purchase price offered for two teachers' residences in Kingwilliamstown, County Cork; are the Treasury authorities aware that the parish raised a considerable sum by way of contribution towards the erection of these residences, but they were vested in the Commissioners of National Education; that the parish priest, the Very Reverend Canon Riordan, frequently called the Commissioners' attention, and through them that of the Board of Works, to the condition of disrepair into which these houses were allowed to fall, and that inspectors of the Commissioners also complained of, and reported upon, their condition, notwithstanding which no steps were taken by the Board of Works towards their repair and necessary upkeep; and whether, in view of this continued neglect on the part of a public department, whereby the dwellings have now to be offered for sale, the Treasury will refund to the parish's responsible representative a reasonable share of the purchase money received from their sale.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The application of the parish representatives has not been ignored. The residences before erection were estimated to cost not less than £400. One half of this sum was contributed from public funds, the parish representatives, who were solely responsible for the erection of the houses, undertaking to defray the remainder of of the cost. The residences were built at a cost considerably below the estimate, only £61, in addition to the Government grants, being spent on the work. There has been no neglect by the Board of Works to maintain the buildings since erection. Since the buildings were completed in 1880, in consequence of the original under-expenditure by the local authorities, a sum of £250 has had to be spent on repairs and maintenance out of public funds, which would have been unnecessary if the full amount of the estimated cost had been spent on the erection of the houses. The local representatives have therefore received more than the full assistance to which they are entitled in respect of the erection and maintenance of the buildings, and in the circumstances I do not consider that they have a claim to any portion of the purchase money.

### Local Government Indebtedness.

MR. RIDSDALE (Brighton): To ask the President of the Local Government Board what was the aggregate debt of the various local authorities of the United Kingdom at the close of the following financial years: 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The following tables, which give as far as possible for the under-mentioned years the information desired by my hon. friend, have been compiled as regards England and Wales from the Annual Local Taxation Returns (England and Wales), and, as regards Scotland and Ireland, from particulars furnished by the Secretary for Scotland and the Local Government Board (Ireland). Information cannot be given for the year 1869–70, and complete information for the United Kingdom for the years 1905–6 and 1906–7 is not yet available.

| Local authorities in | Total amount of the outstanding balances of loans. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1873-4. | 1879-80. | 1889-90. | 1899-1900. | 1903-4. | 1904-5. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| England and Wales - | 84,194,956 | 136,934,070 | 198,671,312 | 293,864,224 | 393,882,146 | 466,459,269 |
| Scotland* - - - | * | * | 25,380,723* | 47,705,830 | 59,314,968 | 61,338,728 |
| Ireland† - - - | 3,068,863† | 4,374.453† | 6,542,137† | 11,493,914† | 16,008,311 | 16,917,091 |
| Totals - - | — | — | 230,594,172*† | 353,063,968† | 469,205,425 | 544,715,088 |

The amounts given in the table are stated in gross, *i.e.*, no deduction has been made in respect of the sums remaining in sinking funds or other similar funds towards the repayment of so much of the debt as may have been repayable by means of such funds.

The amounts remaining at the end of each year in sinking, &c., funds (so far as they can be given) were as follows :—

| Local authorities in | Total amount remaining in sinking, &c., funds. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1873-4. | 1879-80. | 1889-90. | 1899-1900. | 1903-4. | 1904-5. |
| | | | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| England and Wales - | Not ascertained. | Upwards of £1,300,000 | 5,610,939 | 10,715,492 | 13,963,279 | 15,032,055 |
| Scotland - - - | Figures not available. | | | 491,411 | 538,809 | 626,767 |
| Ireland‡ - - - | — | — | — | — | — | — |

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* Scotland : Figures for 1873–4 and 1879–80 are not available. The amount given for 1889–90 excludes the capitalised value of annuities, which is included in the figures for later years, and which amounted in 1899–1900 to £5,067,467.

† Ireland : The figures given for 1873–4, 1879–80, and 1889–90 include only those relating to town authorities, harbour authorities and the Belfast Water Commissioners, whilst those for 1899–1900 do not include figures relating to committees of lunatic asylums.

‡ Ireland ; Information not complete. The estimated amount at the end of 1905–6 was £450,000,

MR. RIDSDALE: To ask the President of the Local Government Board what is the number of local authorities in the United Kingdom which have in any manner the power to utilise sinking funds set aside to meet existing debts for the purposes of fresh capital expenditure.

To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state in what year the power to use sinking funds for the purpose of fresh capital expenditure was first exercised by a local authority, the name of the local authority which first exercised it, and the number of times that power has been exercised since.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I will answer these two Questions together. I only have information with regard to the matter to which they relate so far as England and Wales are concerned. The number of local authorities in them who have in any manner the power referred to is 105. So far as I am aware, the first year in which the power was given was 1892, when it was conferred on the Town Council of Birmingham by Section 72 of the Birmingham Corporation Water Act. The power was used to a considerable extent in the years 1893 to 1900, when the section was repealed and replaced by a provision in Section 4 of the Birmingham Corporation (Stock) Act, giving the power in an altered form. I am unable to state the number of times in which the power has been exercised.

### Chinese in the Transvaal.

MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state the number of Chinese in the Transvaal and on their way there respectively in January, 1905 and 1906; and the number of licences issued, and the date when they were issued, in each of the months of 1905.

(*Answered by Colonel Seely.*) In January, 1905, there were 27,222 Chinese in the Transvaal, and in January, 1906, 47,166. I cannot say how many were then on the way. The licences granted for each month in 1905 were as follows:—January, 4,225; February, 5,374; March, 0; April, 1,931; May, 3,477; June, 2,285; July, 1,529; August, 2,221; September, 0; October, 2,351; November, 13,199; December, 3,000. The licences issued in November were all issued between 12th and 18th November.

### Welford-on-Avon Charity.

MR. ESSEX (Gloucestershire, Cirencester): To ask the hon. Member for the Elland Division, as representing the Charity Commissioners, whether the three funds left prior to 1829 by the following persons for the benefit of the inhabitants of Welford-on-Avon are still in existence, and, if so, under whose control they are: Thomas Mills left £3 per annum for ever, Richard Rawlins a sum for the teaching of eight boys, Lady Anne Milward a sum of money for the annual relief of the poor.

(*Answered by Mr. Charles Hobhouse.*) The Charity Commissioners inform me that in 1885 they ascertained that the charge constituting the Charity of Thomas Mills had not been paid since 1872 and they considered that it was irrecoverable. The Charity of Richard Rawlins has been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Board of Education as a solely educational endowment. The Commissioners have no record of any Charity of Lady Anne Milward at Welford or elsewhere.

### National Memorial to Queen Victoria.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the reply he has advised His Majesty to give to the memorial presented to His Majesty on 20th February last, through the Secretary of State, as to the work connected with the National Memorial to Queen Victoria being entrusted to foreigners in England and abroad.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The Answer I have to give is that I have, by the King's command, given careful consideration to the prayer of the petition, but regret that I have been unable to advise His Majesty to take any action in the matter. On such occasions as this the choice of workmen and the method of carrying out the work are invariably left in the hands of the sculptor entrusted with its execution, and in this case his reasons for having the hard Sicilian marble, which was chosen for the central portion of the Queen Victoria Memorial, in order to ensure as much resistance as possible to the London climate, worked at the quarries at Carrara, appear to me to be conclusive. In the first place, this plan has afforded an opportunity of securing in the rough the most suitable and enduring material, free from all flaws and defects. Secondly, it has ensured a better result by the employment of men accustomed from their boyhood to the working of extremely hard marble such as that selected. Thirdly, it has saved the great expense of importing over a thousand tons of raw material which in the course of working would have had to be discarded owing to the discovery of defects. I may add that the granite for the steps and paving of the central portion of the memorial, as well as all the surrounding architectural work, is being carried out by British workmen.

### Westminster Relieving Officership.

Dr. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Westminster Board of Guardians have for the fifth time refused to recognise his ruling in declining to sanction the appointment of their own chairman to the position of relieving officer of the union, for which he had not the necessary qualifications; whether the chairman so selected has himself presided over meetings of the guardians at which the Local Government Board was practically defied; and whether, in view of the continued contumacy of this board of guardians, he will assert his authority and recognise as relieving officer the present assistant relieving officer of the union, who has rendered faithful and efficient service for more than eight years.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) It is the case that I have several times intimated to the guardians that I do not feel able to sanction the appointment by them of their chairman as relieving officer, and that they have not at present accepted the view which I have expressed on this subject. It is also the case that the chairman referred to has himself presided and voted at meetings of the guardians at which this matter has been considered. I have definitely decided not to sanction the appointment, but I understand that the guardians at their meeting on Tuesday last referred the matter to their general purposes committee for consideration and report, and I still hope that they will appoint someone else with suitable qualifications to the office without its being necessary for me to take more decided action in the matter.

### Instructions to Income-tax Surveyors.

Mr. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the abrogation of Section 133 of the Income-Tax Act, 1842, new instructions have been, or will be, issued to surveyors of taxes modifying the instructions of 1890, so that there will be uniformity of practice in appeals where loss has been sustained in business; and, if so, whether such new instructions will, on application, be supplied to any persons desirous of appealing, so that they may know what are their right under the Act of 1890 as modified by the abrogation of Section 133.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Act of 1890 was in no way affected by the repeal of the 133rd Section of the Income-Tax Act of 1842. Surveyors of taxes are of course aware of the circumstances under which, as the result of the Finance Act, 1907, appeals can now be preferred at the end of the year, and instructions for the information of taxpayers will be given in the notice of assessment to be issued for 1908–9.

### Irish Land Stock.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what amount of Two-and-three-quarters Guaranteed Land Stock was issued up to 31st March, 1907, for the purposes of the Land Purchase Aid Fund, what was the average price of issue, and what was the average rate of interest so to be paid on the money thereby obtained; what was the average price paid for Consols purchased on Sinking Fund Account during the years in which such issues of Guaranteed Land Stock were made, and what was the average interest yield on the investment so made; what is the annual charge for interest on sums so raised for the Land Purchase Aid Grant payable out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, and what is the annual return on a like sum so invested in Consols on Sinking Fund Account; and whether he can explain what is the advantage derived by the Exchequer from the process of borrowing money at a high rate of interest on direct Imperial security, and at the same time investing a like sum at a lower rate of interest.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The amount of Guaranteed Two-and-three-quarters per cent. Stock issued between 19th March, 1904, and 31st March, 1907, for the Land Purchase Aid Fund was £1,901,444. The average price of issue was £88 18s. 3d., involving a charge of interest of £3 1s. 10d. per cent. The average price paid for Consols purchased on Sinking Fund Account during the same period was £86 12s. 4d., corresponding to a rate of interest of £2 17s. 9d. per cent. The annual charge for interest in respect of the cash raised for the Land Purchase Aid Fund is £52,291, and the interest return on a like amount of cash invested in Consols at the average price paid on Sinking Fund Account would be £48,791. The matter of policy to which allusion is made is not one which can usefully be discussed within the limits of an Answer to a Question.

### Belfast Football Clubs.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Royal Irish Constabulary have no power to preserve order within the enclosures of the various football clubs in Belfast; has he received complaints from Belfast football clubs and the Irish Football League on the subject; and can any effective steps be taken to enable the police to control the rowdy element present at the larger matches.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The powers of the police in reference to private football matches are somewhat restricted; but the police attend all important football matches in Belfast with the object of preserving the peace, and upon the request of the officials they remove from the ground any persons who may be guilty of rowdyism. No recent complaint has been received from any football club or from the Irish Football League, and no disturbance of moment has arisen at any football match in Belfast for a considerable time past.

### Derrygore Estate.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on what grounds the Estates Commissioners refused to sanction an advance to enable James Flanagan, of Drumlaghy, Letterbreen, County Fermanagh, a tenant on the estate of Mr. Arthur Irwin, of Derrygore, to purchase his holding when the rest of the estate was being sold to the tenants; and have the Commissioners excluded this holding from the sale, or can they reconsider the case.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The only purchase agreement in the case of the estate of Mr. Irwin which has been lodged with the Estates Commissioners was that signed by James Flanagan. The Commissioners, in the exercise of their discretion, declined to declare this single holding to be an estate for the purposes of the Act.

### Militia Battalions, Inniskilling Fusiliers.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Secretary of State for War when it is proposed to clothe and arm the staff of the Special Reserve with modern outfit and weapons; is he aware that the late permanent staff of the Militia battalions of the Inniskilling Fusiliers were wearing old pattern caps, leggings, great costs, and tunics, and were armed with obsolete rifles and bayonets; and that the Special Reserve is in the same condition?

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Permanent staff of Militia or Special Reserve battalions are clothed in new pattern caps, greatcoats, and tunics concurrently with their line battalions. The permanent staffs of the 3rd and 4th Inniskilling Fusiliers have received their new caps. The drab greatcoats will be supplied as soon as the officers commanding have indented for them. Puttees cannot be issued until the stock of leggings is exhausted. It is intended to arm and equip the men of the Special Reserve infantry with the same pattern rifle and accoutrements as are held for the Regular Reservist. No alteration will, however, be made until after the completion of the annual training this year.

### 1st Devon Royal Garrison Artillery.

MR. LAYLAND-BARRATT (Devonshire, Torquay): To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the dismissal of two sergeants of the Dartmouth Company of the 1st Devon Royal Garrison Artillery; and, if so, if they have any right to appeal; and, if not, whether he will grant a special inquiry into the case.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) My attention has been drawn to the matter mentioned. These men have no right of appeal to the Army Council. I do not consider that the circumstances of the case justify any special inquiry.

### Catholic Truth Society.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he can say why the publications of the Catholic Truth Society are accepted for prizes in public elementary schools and given to Protestant pupils; and will these same schools be permitted to receive publications of Protestant societies for the same purpose.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The selection of prizes awarded to children in public elementary schools rests with the bodies or individuals who present them. It is not a matter on which the Board of Education issue regulations.

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## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### H.M.S. "Majestic."

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the battleship "Majestic" was sent to sea, after her refit at Chatham, and remained cruising for some time without her port hawse pipe and cable and with the hawse pipe blocked up, so that one anchor was useless; and whether he will put a stop to so dangerous a practice when there is no emergency to justify it.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The port hawse pipe, being defective, was removed for use as a pattern for the new one, and during the time the latter was being made, the hawse pipe was blocked up and plated over so that the ship could proceed to sea if required. As the vessel had two anchors and hawse pipes fit for use, it cannot be acknowledged as a dangerous practice. No special orders are considered necessary, the defect being an uncommon one.

MR. BELLAIRS: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware there are such things as gales around the British coast?

MR. MCKENNA: Yes, Sir.

### Accidents to Destroyers.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that an assurance was given by the Admiralty in the House on 11th June, 1907, that an adequate reserve of plates for the repair of destroyers would be kept in future; whether the destroyer "Quail" had the whole of her bow torn off by a collision with the "Attentive," and the destroyer "Kestrel" lost a portion of her bow in collision with the "Teviot," both on the night of 6th August; and whether he can state what interval of time elapsed before sufficient plates were received from the contractors to enable both vessels to be repaired at Portsmouth.

MR. MCKENNA: Yes, such an assurance was given; and my hon. friend correctly describes the damage done in the accident referred to. The reserve of ordinary plates was not drawn upon because they were not of the exact dimensions required, and time permitted of plates of exact sizes being obtained from contractors.

### The Accident to the "Gladiator."

MR. DICKINSON (St. Pancras, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, at the time of the accident to H.M.S. "Gladiator," two of the seamen on that vessel were in irons awaiting court martial; what was the fate of these men; and whether he will consider the desirability of discontinuing the practice of placing men in irons on board ship.

MR. McKENNA: The rumour that there were two men in irons on board the "Gladiator" on the day of the accident is without foundation: there were two men under a sentry's charge at the time, and both of them were saved. The practice of placing men in irons is only resorted to in a case of absolute necessity.

### Life-saving Device for Submarines.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the Siebe-Gorman life-saving device has been ordered as part of the equipment for all new submarine boats of the C class; whether only one of the earlier type of submarines has so far been supplied with this apparatus; and whether the remainder of the older submarine boats, over forty in number and with crews aggregating some 500 men, will also be furnished with this, or some equally efficient, life-saving device at the earliest possible opportunity.

MR. McKENNA: The hon. Member may rely upon the best life-saving device available being supplied at the first opportunity to all submarines in His Majesty's Navy.

### Rosyth Dock Contracts.

MR. JOHN WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, in the proposed contract for dock construction at Rosyth, it is intended to include a clause providing machinery for the settlement of disputes which may occur between the workmen and the contractors as to the wages paid or the working conditions imposed during construction, with a view to prevent possible delays in its completion.

MR. McKENNA: The Board have had the matter under careful consideration. As at present advised, we do not think it practicable to incorporate in works contracts special machinery for the settlement of labour disputes. The past experience of contracts for works, over many years, has been that no case of serious labour trouble has been brought to the notice of the Admiralty by either the contractor or representatives of the men. While the Board are very glad to hear representations on the subject from my hon. friend, we do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by formulating provisions other than those already defined by Act of Parliament.

### H.M.S. "Highflyer."

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether H.M.S. "Highflyer," of the East Indian section of the Eastern Fleet, has sustained damage to the main crank-shaft; what is the extent of such damage; and whether a new crank-shaft is to be fitted at once.

MR. McKENNA: An extended fracture has developed in the main crank-shaft of the starboard engine of the "Highflyer," and this is now being temporarily repaired at Bombay to enable the vessel to return to England using both engines, when the new shaft will be fitted.

### H.M.S. "Terrible."

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, in view of the fact that the cruiser "Terrible" broke her propeller shaft on 28th September, 1906, and has been lying at Portsmouth ever since her return, can he state by what date all repairs and the refit of this vessel will be completed, and so render her able to perform services in repayment of the great outlay on capital cost and subsequent upkeep; and for what length of time a nucleus crew has been on board this vessel.

MR. McKENNA: All repairs and refit will be completed by the end of the current year. She has had a nucleus crew on board since November, 1906.

### Naval Ordnance Stores.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the stocks of Naval Ordnance Stores purchased in previous years to be drawn upon without replacement during 1908–1909, include stocks of guns, projectiles and ammunition, torpedoes, and guncotton.

Mr. McKENNA: The Naval Ordnance Stores drawn on without replacement include projectiles, ammunition, and guncotton, but not torpedoes or guns.

### British Programme of Naval Construction.

Mr. NIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the size of the British programme of new construction for 1908–9 was influenced to any extent by the speed of construction of armoured ships in Great Britain.

Mr. McKENNA: The reply to the hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative.

### Oriental Learning at Madras University.

*Mr. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Senate of Madras University has decided to institute courses of study in Oriental learning; and, if so, whether he will deposit in the Library the Papers relating to this departure.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Buchanan, Perthshire, E.): The hon Member has no doubt seen the full reports of the discussions in the Senate, ending in a decision to the effect stated, which have appeared in the Indian newspapers. The Secretary of State regrets that he has no official Papers which he could deposit in the Library as suggested.

### The Gordon Highlanders in India—The Church Difficulty.

Captain KINCAID-SMITH (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India under what circumstances the Gordon Highlanders under orders to proceed from Peshawar to Jullundur were suddenly ordered on 13th February, 1908, to proceed within a few days to Calcutta, at great inconvenience and expense to all concerned; whether this alteration in the destination of the Gordon Highlanders was made owing to the want of a Presbyterian Church at Jullundur, or for military reasons, or at the instigation of the Presbyterian Church authorities; and whether it is now proposed to have a separate roster of garrison stations for Scottish regiments by which they will necessarily be restricted to the comparatively few stations where there are Presbyterian Churches.

Mr. BUCHANAN: With regard to the first part of the hon. and gallant Member's Question, I would refer him to the Parliamentary Papers recently issued. As regards the last part of the Question, there has never been any intention of having a separate roster for Scottish regiments. The question how to provide adequate Presbyterian Church accommodation at stations to which Scottish regiments may be sent, where it does not now exist, is under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

Captain KINCAID-SMITH asked for a further Answer to the latter part of the Question.

Mr. BUCHANAN: I must demur to the word "instigation." The hon. Member will find a full Answer in the Papers to which I have referred.

Captain KINCAID-SMITH: Is it not in accordance with Liberal principles to make these regulations optional with Scottish regiments instead of putting them on a separate roster?

Mr. BUCHANAN: There is no separate roster.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON: Can the hon. Gentleman make a statement showing at what stations there are Presbyterian Churches?

Mr. BUCHANAN: That is in the Papers.

An HON. MEMBER: Are we to understand that the military stations in India are to be subject to the differences of British denominations in that country?

Mr. BUCHANAN: No, sir.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): May I ask how long it will take the Government to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion on this subject?

Mr. BUCHANAN: If the hon. and gallant Gentleman would refer to the statement of the Secretary of State some time ago he would know that we are engaged, and have been for some years, in trying to find the necessary funds.

Captain KINCAID-SMITH: Will the right hon. Gentleman cancel this order?

Mr. BUCHANAN: No, Sir.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Will the Government appoint a Commission to inquire into this business?

Mr. BUCHANAN: No, Sir.

### The Afghan Government and the Recent Raid.

Mr. B. S. STRAUS (Tower Hamlets, Mile End): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he can say that the Afghan Government were officially cognisant of the raid into British territory last week or not.

Mr. BUCHANAN: There is no information to support the view that the Afghan Government were officially cognisant of the recent raids.

### Indian Government Contracts.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can supply the names and addresses of the firm or firms who obtained the order for some 100-feet and 150-feet spans as per advertisement in the *Engineer* newspaper of 31st May, 1907.

Mr. BUCHANAN: No advertisement for spans was issued on behalf of the Secretary of State on the date mentioned, nor can any such advertisement be found in the issue of the *Engineer* for the 31st May, 1907. It has not hitherto been the custom to publish the names of firms whose tenders are accepted by the Secretary of State, but I have no doubt the Secretary of State will be ready to take it into consideration.

### St. Helena Doctor.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the position which has lately arisen, and may arise again, owing to the only doctor in St. Helena being incapacitated from work, and the distance and delay involved in procuring other medical assistance, he will consider the desirability of appointing an assistant medical officer for that Colony.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Colonel Seely, Liverpool, Abercromby): The Secretary of State has not received any intimation of the Colonial Surgeon of St. Helena being incapacitated from work, and regrets that he cannot add anything to the answer returned by my predecessor to the Question asked by the hon. and gallant Member on the same subject on the 26th March last.

### Mr. Mackenzie King and the Colonial Office.

* Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is in a position to communicate to the House the result of the conference of Mr. Mackenzie King with the Colonial Office.

Colonel SEELY: No Sir. I do not think this is a matter upon which any statement can properly be made at any rate at the present time. Mr. Mackenzie King, whose presence was cordially welcomed here, had several conferences with the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies upon matters of interest to Canada and took back with him the information which he desired and which it is hoped will be of material assistance to the Dominion Government.

* Mr. REES: Was the account published in Canada of the result of the mission official?

Colonel SEELY: I have no information whether it was accurate or not.

### Natives and the Natal Legislative Council.

* Mr. REES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government of Natal proposes to provide for the special representation of Natives in the Legislative Council, for the creation of a council for Native affairs, for the granting to Natives of inalienable titles to their allotments, for the establishment of Native land settlements, and for appointing Native district councils to control such settlements.

Colonel SEELY: A Bill of this description has been published by the Natal Government, but the text has not yet been received.

### Cape Naval Volunteers.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has had any correspondence with the authorities at Cape Town with regard to the disbanding of the Cape Naval Volunteers; and, if so, will he lay it upon the Table.

Colonel SEELY: No, Sir, the Secretary of State has had no correspondence on this subject.

### Inter-Colonial Conferences.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was by arrangement with the Home Government that His Majesty's High Commissioner has been excluded from the Inter-Colonial Conference on Customs and Railways now meeting at Pretoria; and whether he will lay any correspondence which has passed with reference to this subject upon the Table of the House.

Mr. ADKINS (Lancashire, Middleton) asked whether it was not the fact that this conference was exclusively one of self-governing colonies, and that, therefore, it was not in accordance with precedent for the High Commissioner to be present.

Colonel SEELY: In reply to the supplementary question I have to say that that is the case. No suggestion has been made by his Majesty's Government that the High Commissioner should preside. The matter has been regarded as one for the Ministries of the four colonies to arrange. During the time that the Transvaal and Orange River Colony were under Crown Colony Government the High Commissioner has been accustomed to preside at such conferences, but the circumstances are clearly altered now that all the four large South African Colonies possess responsible Government. It is not intended to lay any correspondence.

### Unskilled White Labour in the Transvaal Mines.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the rate of pay per day offered to the unemployed unskilled white workmen of Johannesburg to work in the Transvaal mines; and was this pay in addition to board and lodging.

Colonel SEELY: The men were not employed as I understand by the day but on piece work, and the money earned by them varied, as shown by the figures so far available, from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 10d. per shift. The rates offered in every case were calculated as nearly as possible on the cost of Kaffirs to the mines with a slight difference in favour of white men. No board or lodging was given.

Mr. FELL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what work the unskilled unemployed workmen of Johannesburg could do in the mines except that ordinarily done by Kaffirs; and what was the grievance which made 274 out of the 395 engaged abandon the work without giving it a fair trial.

Colonel SEELY: The material in possession of the Colonial Office does not enable me to give details of the work assigned to the unemployed workmen, but it appears to be clear that those who refused work did so because they objected to being put on a level with Kaffirs. The Rand Unemployment Investigation Committee are, however, still hopeful of the success of the experiment.

### West Indian and Canadian Trade.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether there are any constitutional considerations which would prevent the West Indian Colonies from making preferential commercial arrangements with Canada; and whether he can give any information concerning the progress of the negotiations between the West Indies and the Dominion.

Colonel SEELY: In reply to the first part of the hon. Member's question I am not aware of any constitutional considerations, as such, but I would refer the hon. Member to my reply to a Question by the hon. Member for Govan on the 5th instant. As to the second part, no negotiations are at present in progress.

Mr. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan): Can the hon. Gentleman give any indication of the state of public opinion in the West Indies?

COLONEL SEELY: I am afraid I cannot.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: Are any negotiations in progress?

COLONEL SEELY: Not at present.

### Colonial Crown Agents Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can now state the names of the persons who will constitute the Committee to inquire into the organisation of the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies; whether he will undertake that some experienced commercial men will be placed upon the Committee; and whether he will undertake that the House of Commons shall have an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon the terms of reference to the Committee before the terms of reference are finally settled.

COLONEL SEELY: The composition of the Committee is as follows:—The Right Honourable Sir Francis Mowatt, Sir Ralph Moor, formerly High Commissioner for Southern Nigeria; H. J. Gibson, Esq., Assistant Comptroller and Auditor-General; Rowland Bailey, Esq., Comptroller of Stationery Office; Stanley M. Leathes, Esq., Second Civil Service Commissioner; C. Alexander Harris, Esq., a principal Clerk in the Colonial Office, and my noble friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies has requested me to act as Chairman. The terms of reference are settled and are as follows:—"To report upon the best method of selecting the clerical and technical staff for the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, and particularly to consider the conditions of tenure, the scale of payment of salaries and pensions, and how far arrangements in that office are in accord, or can be brought into harmony, with the principles governing the Civil Service." My noble friend authorises me to say that he will favourably consider the propriety of adding to the Committee a gentleman with special commercial experience.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: Are these terms of reference finally settled or is the Government willing to accept suggestions upon them?

COLONEL SEELY: I am afraid not. I am afraid the terms are settled, but I think the hon. Gentleman will agree that they are of wide scope.

*MR. REES: Will the position of the Crown Agents as intermediaries between the Colonial Office and the commercial world come within the terms of reference?

COLONEL SEELY: This is a matter to be decided by the Committee when they meet.

*MR. REES: Are the terms of reference confined to minor members of the clerical staff?

COLONEL SEELY: No, Sir, not at all. If my hon. friend will read the terms of reference as to the conditions of tenure he will see that that is not so.

### Russia and Persia.

MR. LYNCH, (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Russian troops are in occupation of any Persian territory; should the answer to this Question be in the affirmative, whether he can inform the House of the nature and extent of this occupation; and what steps His Majesty's Government are taking to preserve the integrity of Persian territory which Great Britian and Russia under the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention mutually engaged to respect.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): I have received no information to this effect.

### Turkey and Persia.

MR. LYNCH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether Turkish troops or irregulars are in occupation of any portion of Persian territory; and what steps His Majesty's Government are taking to secure the integrity of Persian territory on the side of Turkey.

SIR EDWARD GREY: His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tehran reported by telegraph on April 30th, that a very serious raid had been made by Kurds who had penetrated as far as Urmi. This news has since been confirmed by His Majesty's Minister at Constantinople, who has further reported that the Ottoman Government has sent stringent orders to the authorities on the frontier to do all in their power to prevent Kurds from committing depredations. I cannot say to what extent Turkish troops or irregulars are involved at this moment in violation of Persian territory; there has been a great deal of trouble on this part of the frontier during the last few months, which has formed the subject of representations at Constantinople, both by His Majesty's Government and the Russian Government, who desire to do all they can to promote an equitable settlement of the dispute.

MR. LYNCH: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire to what extent Turkish troops have participated in these raids?

SIR EDWARD GREY: The whole matter is being closely watched—we are doing all we can to promote an equitable settlement. I cannot say more.

### Siamese Treaty.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is now in possession of information with regard to the terms of the Siamese Treaty which he can communicate to the House?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I am unable at present to communicate to the House any further information as to the terms of the proposed agreement, which are now under consideration. But, as I informed the hon. Member for Stirlingshire on April 30th, whenever any agreement has been come to, it will be presented to Parliament.

### The Soudan—The Murder of Mr. Scott-Moncreiff.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can communicate to the House any facts with reference to the murder of Mr. Scott-Moncreiff, Deputy-Inspector of the Blue Nile Province of the Soudan, and the steps taken to punish the assassins?

SIR EDWARD GREY: According to telegraphic reports received from His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo, a certain Abd-el-Kadr collected a party of armed Arabs near Messellamia in the Blue Nile Province, proclaimed a prophet, and defied the authority of the Government. The Egyptian "Mamur" and Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, Deputy-Inspector of the province, with some police, proceeded to the spot, and there to our great regret lost their lives, but details as to the actual circumstances of their death are so far lacking. The Governor of the province proceeded to the scene of the disturbance with 400 Soudanese Infantry, on the approach of which the Dervish band abandoned their position and broke up. Several were captured, and their leader has since been caught by the people of a neighbouring village, and handed over to the authorities; he will be brought to trial. The body of Mr. Scott-Moncrieff was found in the Dervish camp.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give any information regarding the murder of the late Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, Deputy-Inspector of the Blue Nile Province, and the attack on the force under Dickenson Bey, in which he, Major Logan, and two native Egyptian officers were wounded.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I beg to refer the hon. Member to the reply just returned to the hon. Member for Mid Armagh.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Can the right hon. Gentleman give any information as to Dickenson Bey and Major Logan who were reported wounded?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I will inquire.

### British Subjects in Morocco.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British Consular announcement that in future His Majesty's Government cannot undertake to make any pecuniary advance for the ransom of British subjects captured by brigands in Morocco indicates a wish on the part of His Majesty's Government that British subjects should quit Morocco and British firms should close business relations with the country; and whether he will state the authority to whom British subjects in Morocco should in future apply for protection.

Sir EDWARD GREY: The Answer o the first part of the Question is in the negative. I may point out that the notice embodied no new principle, but merely repeated the warning contained in a circular which was issued in 1881 and was published in a Parliamentary Paper, Miscellaneous No. 8 of that year. It is to the effect that His Majesty's Government cannot undertake pecuniary liability for what may happen in countries which are not under their control; but it did not imply at the time of issue that His Majesty's Government would give any less protection than heretofore. It does not imply that now, and it does not apply only to Morocco, but to all countries where life and property are insecure.

### Osman Digna.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether there is reason to suppose that Osman Digna has developed a form of religious mania during his imprisonment at Damietta; whether a milder form of exile in a congenial climate would satisfy the needs of public security; whether his imprisonment is regarded as a punitive measure; and, if so, by what right he is punished without trial or sentence.

Sir EDWARD GREY: I have no information to the effect that Osman Digna is suffering from religious mania. As to the reasons for Osman Digna's retention at Damietta, I beg to refer the hon. Member to the letter which I caused to be addressed to him on 15th April in connection with a previous Parliamentary Question on this subject, in which it was stated that his return to the Soudan was undesirable from a political point of view as it might cause uneasiness among those who once suffered under his rule, and produce unrest among his former followers, but that the question might be reconsidered when sufficient time had elapsed to enable the authorities to judge of the effects of the repatriation of the other prisoners. Osman Digna remains at Damietta in the interests of public security. It must be remembered that an Emir who was released and allowed to return to the Soudan last year was murdered almost immediately.

### The Dervish Emirs at Damietta Prison.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is proposed to make any change in the conditions of imprisonment of the Dervish Emirs confined at Damietta prison; whether they were subjected to close imprisonment within a single building and its courtyard; whether it is usual to allow prisoners of war a certain freedom of movement and intercourse; whether several of these prisoners were mere boys at the date of their capture nine years ago; whether the condition of the Soudan is still so disturbed that their release could lead to political difficulties; and whether, in any event, a warmer and more congenial climate than Damietta will be selected for prisoners accustomed to the heat of the Soudan.

Sir EDWARD GREY: If the hon. Member will refer to the letter which I caused to be addressed to him on 15th April in connection with a previous Parliamentary Question on this subject, he will see that, with the exception of Osman Digna, all the Dervish prisoners who were recently confined at Damietta have now been transferred to Wadi Halfa. Nearly all the Emirs have now been released, and those above referred to who are still in confinement are those considered by the inhabitants of the Soudan as responsible for the massacres perpetrated during the years immediately preceding the reconquest of the country. Sufficient time has not elapsed for the bitter feeling of resentment against these men to have died out, and they would, if brought back to the Soudan, undoubtedly be exposed to insults if not to violence of a serious nature. As the hon. Member, however, will see from the letter above referred to, the question of the release of some of the less important of these prisoners will be considered later by the Government of the Soudan. As regards the disciplinary regulations to which the prisoners were subjected while they were at Damietta, Lord Cromer reported on 8th March of last year, in connection with a Parliamentary Question asked by the hon. Member for Brentford on 21st February, that they were treated as political prisoners, comfortably housed, and well fed, and not subjected to any severe disciplinary regulations. Their wives and families remained with them, and their children were being educated. Further information may be found in the reply returned to the Question asked by the hon. Member for Brentford on 3rd March last. I have no information as to the ages of the prisoners at the time of their capture.

### Reported Resignation of the Persian Government.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give any information with regard to the reported resignation of the Persian Government; and whether any steps have been deemed necessary to safeguard the lives and interests of British subjects in the event of disturbances in the capital.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have no information as to the reported resignation of the Persian Government. So far as I am aware, there is no reason to apprehend any disturbances at Tehran involving danger to the lives and interests of British subjects in the capital.

### Port Hamilton.

MR. NIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the arrangement made with China in 1887 by which Great Britain agreed to evacuate Port Hamilton has been amended in view of the Treaty of Portsmouth or the events leading thereto; and whether Port Hamilton has since been the subject of communications between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of China and Japan.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The Answer to both Questions is in the negative.

### Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood). I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received any resolution or petition in support of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill from any person or association interested in the general commerce of the country and unconnected either with colliers or with colliers' associations.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): Yes, Sir, I have received resolutions in favour of the Bill from a large number of trades councils and associations of workers in different industries.

### Aliens' Right of Appeal.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister when he proposes to introduce legislation to carry out the pledge given by His Majesty's Government through the President of the Board of Trade to secure to would-be-immigrants the right of appeal to the High Court against refusal to land.

MR. GLADSTONE: My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question. No pledge to introduce legislation was given. The Government have only undertaken to consider the question whether such legislation would be practicable and whether it would be beneficial to immigrants.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that on 14th April Mr. Churchill declared to a deputation of the representatives of the Jewish race that the Government would introduce legislation in order to set up receiving-houses? Does the Government intend to carry out that pledge? If not, was the statement made in order to deceive and humbug the Jewish electors?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has put three questions by way of supplementaries. It will be advisable for him to put them down—two of them, anyhow.

### Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.

MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether he can state the number of miners throughout the country who, on ballots taken, have declared themselves opposed to the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill; and what proportion does this number bear to the total number of miners voting at the same ballots.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no special sources of information on this subject which are not open to any inquirer, and I have no official figures; but I have of course general information contained in statements which have been made to me as showing the state of opinion among the miners expressed by the ballots which have been taken. I think the matter is one which can best be dealt with in the course of the debates on the Bill.

Mr. HARVEY (Derbyshire, N.E.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that false representations have been made on this subject at by-elections?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not know to what particular statement the hon. Member refers.

### Victoria Wages Board.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY (Paddington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State to the Home Department if, in view of the official information which they afford, he can see his way to publish, as an appendix to the forthcoming Report of Mr. Aves on the wages boards system of Victoria, the official memoranda and statistics on the subject contained in the Victorian factory inspectors' Reports published since the wages boards were established.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am informed by Mr. Aves that the bulk of the official statistics are already included in his Report, and that the appendices which will accompany the Report will contain a great deal of information as to the views and experience of different representative persons in the colony. To print the official reports on the subject of wages boards in full would occupy a disproportionate amount of space in the Report, but I will consider what further information from those Reports can usefully be printed.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): Before the right hon. Gentleman finally makes up his mind to publish the figures will he submit them to an expert in industrial statistics?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Why?

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD: I am referring to the Victorian inspectors' Report on the operation of the wages board.

Mr. GLADSTONE'S reply was inaudible.

### German Cutlery Trade.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Home Department if his attention has been directed to a report on the cutlery trade of Solingen, by Dr. Harold Scurfield, the medical officer of Sheffield, according to which one of the most noteworthy features among the German factories is that it is compulsory for the owners to provide lavatory basins with hot and cold water, shower baths, and clothes lockers for the use of the employees, with the result that the men go home from their work in clean clothes and with clean hands and faces, whereas at one time the Solingen workmen worked under the filthy conditions which frequently obtain at Sheffield; and whether he can promise legislation to increase health and industrial efficiency through the compulsory provision of the means of cleanliness for British workpeople.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir, the attention of the Home Office has been called to this report, and I may say that the conditions of work at Solingen had already been the subject of inquiry by the Home Office in connection with the framing of regulations for the grinding industry. The feature mentioned by my hon. friend, as well as other and more important features in the German factories, are receiving our attention. The provision of washing and cloak-room accommodation has hitherto only been required by law in factories and workshops in this country where danger to health exists, as for example from the use of poisonous materials. The point is always borne in mind in framing regulations for dangerous trades, and requirements on the subject have been included in a number of the existing codes. I am not prepared, however, to promise legislation to make such provision generally compulsory in all factories and workshops.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the report referred to in the Question shows that the death-rate among German cutlers is only one-third of that among British cutlers?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The matter is receiving our attention.

### Law of Truck—Burslem Magistrate's Decision.

MR. JOHN WARD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether his attention has been called to a case at the Burslem police court on 14th April, in which the stipendiary magistrate appears to have recommended a system of striking a percentage of the wage paid instead of making deductions from the worker's wages; and whether any steps have been taken to inquire into the effect of the stipendiary's advice upon the proper enforcement of the law with reference to truck in the general trades of the country.

MR. GLADSTONE: My attention has been called to this case, as the prosecution was one undertaken by the Factory Inspector of the district. The question at issue was whether the percentage system was equivalent to a deduction from wages or was merely a statement of the method of calculating the worker's wage. I have referred the point to the Truck Committee for their consideration.

### Fines in West End Teashops.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the system of deductions and fines prevailing in teashops in West London; whether he is aware that for being five minutes late a fine of sixpence on a wage of eight shillings weekly has been imposed; and whether, in view of the provisions of the Truck Acts, 1831–96, he has any power to order an investigation or to institute summary proceedings in such cases.

MR. GLADSTONE: My attention has not been specially called to this matter; and the enforcement of the provisions of the Truck Act of 1896, in so far as they apply to shop assistants, does not rest with the Home Office. The whole question of fines is under the consideration of the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the working of the Truck Acts, and I understand they have taken evidence with regard to the system of fining in shops.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON: When may we expect the Report of the Committee?

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot give a definite reply. The inquiry has taken a longer time than was expected.

### Mercuric Chloride in Blasting Explosives.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state to the House the resolution which was unanimously passed by Lord Rayleigh's Committee in reference to the destruction of all blasting explosives containing mercuric chloride; and whether the Committee, in addition to the Home Office experts, included many distinguished War Office and independent experts.

MR. GLADSTONE: The resolution to which the hon. Member refers related only to those blasting explosives containing mercuric chloride which were at the time under seizure in Messrs. Kynoch's magazines. It was passed unanimously by the Conference after hearing what Messrs. Kynoch's representatives had to say, and its terms were as follows:—"That inasmuch as these explosives are admitted to contain an unauthorised constituent which masks the official test on which the acceptance of the explosives depends, and inasmuch as an explosion has occurred which has been ascribed to spontaneous combustion in the official report to the Home Office by the Inspector of Explosives, the Conference cannot with the evidence before them recommend that these explosives may consistently with the public safety be put to any useful purpose or dealt with in any manner otherwise than by destruction." The Conference included distinguished Admiralty and independent experts, but, in view of the litigation pending between the War Office and Messrs. Kynoch, it was not deemed desirable that the War Office experts originally appointed members should attend this particular meeting.

### A Russian Prisoner.

MR. JOHN WARD asked the Home Secretary a Question, of which he had given private notice, whether a Russian subject, now serving a sentence of imprisonment for assault in Wandsworth Prison, was to be deported to

Russia on 12th May; and whether, in view of the fact that this man was to be shot on his return for some offence alleged to have been committed in his own country, the Secretary of State would consider the advisability of varying the order for deportation.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have no information at this moment on the subject, but will make inquiries.

### Tramway Brake Failure.

Mr. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been directed to the frequency of tramway accidents from failure of brakes; and whether he proposes introducing any legislation which will render an independently-acting emergency brake, under the control of either driver or conductor, compulsory on all tramways in the United Kingdom.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Kearley, Devonport): The whole question of tramway brakes and their efficiency is now being investigated by a Committee appointed by the Municipal Tramways Association and another by the Tramways and Light Railways Association, and when their conclusions are received as to the best form of brake the question of legislation will be dealt with.

### Board of Trade's "Cost of Living" Tables.

Mr. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade in what way, and from what basis, the Board's calculations of the cost of living in different towns and districts are made.

Mr. KEARLEY: The information will be found fully set out in the Prefatory Note and in the General Report on the "Cost of Living of the Working Classes" (Cd. 3864) of this year.

### Trade and Market Trusts.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will grant a Return showing the number and names of the Foreign and British trusts, rings, cartels, and other combinations having for their object the monopolisation of trade and markets, regulating the output, and keeping up prices, operating in this country.

Mr. KEARLEY: My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question. I regret that it is not possible to grant this Return as there are no sources available from which the desired information could be compiled in the form of an Official Return. There is literature on the subject with which the hon. Member is no doubt familiar.

Sir GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has taken into consideration any means for checking the operations of trusts, rings, cartels, and syndicates, which have for their object the restraint of trade and the restriction of free competition in a country thus far committed to free trade.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Hobhouse, Bristol, E.): I shall be very happy to consider any suggestions submitted to me by the hon. Member. In my opinion, however, the best method for reducing to a minimum the prejudicial effects of such operations as those to which the hon. Member refers is to maintain the existing free fiscal system of this country.

### Dangerous Motor Speeds.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been directed to the fact that John de Solla, who on 30th April was convicted at Marylebone Police Court of driving a motor car in a manner dangerous to the public, was shown to have driven at 35 to 40 miles an hour in Maida Vale, and to have charged a cab, knocked its driver into the road, and injured its two lady passengers; if he is aware that the total penalties inflicted on Mr. de Solla were a fine of £5 5s. and £2 2s. costs; and whether he can promise legislation to secure that such offences, which are becoming quite common, shall be punished by imprisonment without the option of a fine.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. John Burns, Battersea): I have seen a newspaper report of this case. Whether any alteration should be made in the law as regards penalties for the offence of driving a motor car in a manner dangerous to the public is a matter which will receive my consideration, but I do not think I can promise to introduce legislation to the effect suggested in the Question. It does not seem to me that it would be reasonable to inflict the penalty of imprisonment without the option of a fine in all cases of this kind. I may point out that in the particular case referred to in the Question, the magistrate did not think it right even to impose the maximum fine allowed by the Motor Car Act.

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a motor car is not by legislation permitted to proceed more than twenty miles an hour, and where persons deliberately break the law would it not be wise to introduce special punishment, especially in view of the fact that many cars are specially built for the purpose of breaking the law.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I may also inform the hon. Member that cars are not allowed to go even two or three miles an hour if in the opinion of the police such speed is dangerous to the public.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman really think £7 is a proper price to pay for injuring two of my constituents?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Perhaps my hon. friend will pardon me for not attempting to appraise the value, elective or otherwise, of his constituents.

### Motor Car Legislation.

MR. WATT: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce legislation this session dealing with motor cars, or whether it is intended to renew the Motor Car Act, 1904, for another year in the Expiring Laws Continuation Act.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I do not think I can give any promise to introduce legislation dealing with this subject during the present session. In the absence of such legislation I should propose to renew the present Motor Car Act for another year by including it in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

### Rights of Members.

MR. WATT, who was seated under the gallery on the Opposition side, rose to put a supplementary Question to the Question just answered regarding motor car legislation. Members of the Opposition immediately raised loud cries of "Order," and the hon. Member, after several attempts, was finally compelled to resume his seat.

*MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member would sit on his own side of the House he would catch my eye more readily.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): On a point of order, may I ask whether, if all the seats are taken on the other side of the House—[OPPOSITION cries of "They are not!"]—and if seats are vacant on this side—that is, seats on which no Member's card is put—is not any Member entitled to go and take one of those seats—and having taken a seat, is he not entitled to address the Chair from it as much as from any other part of the House?

*MR. SPEAKER: It is true that an hon. Member has that right—but whether it is always convenient to exercise the right is another matter. The space occupied by the Opposition is small, but there is no reason why it should be invaded.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: That, Sir, is not the point I put. If an hon. Member unable to find a seat on his own side of the House comes over here and finds a seat unoccupied, is the fact that he has been crowded out of his own side and has found refuge here to deprive him of his right of addressing the Chair?

*MR. SPEAKER: I have said that the hon. Member has the right, but whether it is always advisable to exercise your right is another matter, and I think that what has occurred this afternoon shows that it is not desirable.

MR. WATT again essayed to speak, but the Opposition protest was at once renewed, and he was compelled to give up the attempt.

### Fenton Death from Vaccination.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he is aware that, on the 9th March, 1908, Doris Irene Leese, daughter of George Leese, of 8, Grove Road, Fenton, Staffordshire, died, at the age of three months, as the result of vaccination, as shown in the death certificate; and if, in consequence, he will take steps to stop the distribution by the Local Government Board of vaccine lymph until some stuff has been discovered which can be used without danger.

MR. JOHN BURNS: My attention has been called to this case, and I am making inquiry with regard to it. I could not, however, undertake to stop the issue of glycerinated calf lymph.

### Rothesay Post Office.

MR. LAMONT (Buteshire): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the post office buildings at Rothesay are being enlarged in order to adapt them for taking over the telephones in 1911, or in order to cope with an increase in postal work?

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The primary object of the enlargement is to meet the increase of ordinary Post Office business, but space is also being provided for the transfer of telephone business in 1911.

### Canadian Pacific Mail Contract.

MR. McHUGH (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether negotiations are in progress in reference to the carriage of mails by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company; what are the terms of the existing contract with that Company, and when does the contract terminate; and if he is in a position to assure the House that neither a new contract nor a continuation of the existing contract will be decided on until the House has had an opportunity of considering the matter.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which expired on the 6th ultimo, was subject to a payment of £60,000 per annum of which £15,000 was paid by the Dominion. The document is printed in full in the Parliamentary Return No. 76 made to an order of this House on the 12th of March, 1907. A new contract on a different basis is now under negotiation, and will be submitted to this House for confirmation.

### Foreigners in the Telephone Service

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General, whether he has taken any special measures, and, if so, whether he will state the nature of those measures, to secure British subjects competent in the French language for the posts now occupied by aliens in His Majesty's telephone service in the United Kingdom.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Special inquiries have been made, and are being made, with the object of securing British subjects who possess such familiarity with colloquial French as is necessary for the service of the Continental Telephone lines by night. There are two foreigners only employed.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: When will the special inquiries be completed?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: We are always on the look out for men who will suit us and if the hon. Member can suggest anyone, or will himself volunteer for the job, I shall be very glad to take him on.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I will certainly give consideration to that offer.

### Night Duty in the Post Office.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether Post Office servants performing extra work at night receive the same allowances, in the shape of extra pay and extra time off duty, as those doing similar extra work by day; and, if not, for what reason this differentiation is made.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: No difference is made except that seven hours duty by night (8 p.m. to 6 a.m.) is treated as equivalent to eight hours duty by day.

### County Court Funds in the Post Office Savings Bank.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state the amount of money standing to the credit of the Registrars of County Courts in the Post Office Savings Bank on the 31st day of March last.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I regret that the figures asked for by the hon. Member are not available. They are not required for Departmental purposes; and their special preparation would involve considerable labour and some expense. The latest returns available show that on the 30th of June, 1904, the sum of £301,770 6s. 9d. stood to the credit of accounts opened by Registrars of County Courts under the County Courts Acts and the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: And are the sums included in the "savings of the people"?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON asked for notice.

## Walsall Grammar School Dispute.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he is aware that at Queen Mary's Grammar School, Walsall, where cigarette-smoking is punishable by flogging or expulsion from the school, no written rule or minute exists which prohibits this offence; and whether, seeing that there are already more than seventy schools, including some of an equal and higher grade than Queen Mary's School, Walsall, where corporal punishment is not used, he will, in the absence of any such rule, recommend the prohibition of flogging.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury): I am not aware whether the rule referred to is in writing, but my information is to the effect that the boy admitted that he knew of its existence, and the question does not, therefore, seem material. As I have already stated, I am reluctant to interfere with the responsibility of governing bodies for the measures they adopt to enforce discipline in their schools, and I do not think the facts which have been brought to my notice call for a recommendation such as my hon. friend suggests.

## Welsh University Grants.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he proposes to increase the grant to the constituent colleges of the Welsh University.

MR. HOBHOUSE: A Committee was appointed by my predecessor to inquire into the position of the University of Wales and its colleges; and until I have received the Report of the Committee I am unable to make any statement on the subject.

## British Investments Abroad.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can give an estimate of the amount of British capital invested abroad during the last ten years; and if he can also state at the same time the income received from foreign investments during the last ten years respectively.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I will refer the hon. Member to the statistics given on page 217 of the Fiftieth Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue (Cd. 3686 of 1907) which gives the only figures available on this subject, and to the remarks on page 216 of the same Report which explain why fuller statistical information is not available.

## Sugar Imports.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom in the year 1907 and its value; and the amount of duty paid upon it?

MR. HOBHOUSE: The quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom during the year 1907 was 34,649,775 cwts., and the value was £19,134,154. The duty paid on the net quantity (30,926,044 cwts.) of sugar cleared for home consumption during the year was £6,169,678.

## Stock Dealing Libel Case.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether his attention has been called to a recent libel case in the Courts, in which certain persons trading as Arnold and Butler, and describing themselves as stock and share dealers, general bankers, and investment experts, were accused of obtaining money by fraud, and in which such persons, when the case was called for trial, stated, through their counsel, that they were not prepared to offer any evidence in refutation of such accusation; whether he is aware that these persons are still extensively circularising people in the country, soliciting subscriptions from small investors upon extravagant promises of profit; and whether he will direct the attention of the Public Prosecutor to the matter.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir W. ROBSON, South Shields): I have already drawn the attention of the Public Prosecutor to this case.

### Land Registry Return.

MR. ROWLANDS (Kent, Dartford): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether he can state when the Return ordered on the 19th February, showing the work done in the Land Registry in each of the years 1906 and 1907, will be issued.

SIR W. ROBSON: It is nearly completed and will be issued almost immediately.

### Glasgow Distress Committee.

MR. CLELAND (Glasgow, Bridgeton): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that the distress committee of the city of Glasgow have, at the present moment, only sufficient funds in hand to maintain the existing relief works for a few weeks; and whether, having regard to the growing unemployment in the shipbuilding industry, he will consider the advisability of increasing the grant of £9,600 already given to the distress committee.

I beg also to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that the Government grant to the Distress Committee of the city of Glasgow amounted to £9,600, while the funds raised locally amounted to £7,975, that the grant to the Edinburgh Distress Committee amounted to £6,595 and the funds raised locally to £586, and that the county of London raised locally a little over £100 and received a grant of £62,000; and whether, in view of the growing unemployment in the West of Scotland and the inadequacy of the Government grant, he is prepared to recommend a further grant to the Glasgow Distress Committee in proportion to the grants received by other similar bodies.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I am aware of the position to which my hon. friend refers, and I have been in personal communication with the Lord Provost and Chairman of the Distress Committee. The situation is being examined by the Local Government Board, and as soon as their Report is received it shall be considered.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): Is it the case that the city is being penalised because of the magnanimity of its citizens in giving more than any other city?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Royal Scottish Museum.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland what is the estimated value of the objects exhibited in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; and whether any of these objects are insured against risks by fire.

MR. SINCLAIR: No estimate of the present value of the objects exhibited in the Museum has been made and, having regard to the extent and varied character of the collections, to make even an approximately correct valuation of them would occupy much time and involve considerable cost. No insurance is effected by the Treasury on any objects in the Museum.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that objects have been lent on loan to the Royal Scottish Museum by lenders who have not been informed that loans to the Museum are at owner's risk in case of fire; and whether, in the event of the destruction of these objects by fire, originating in those buildings, which, as the directors' report states, are in dangerous proximity to the Museum, any compensation will be paid to the owners by the Government.

MR. SINCLAIR: The practice of the present director in regard to loans of objects to the Museum is to inform the lender that the authorities cannot be responsible for loss or damage to objects and that no insurance is effected against fire. He is not aware of any cases in which this procedure has been omitted. In the event of loss by fire no provision exists for compensating the owner.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: There are cases of lenders of valuable objects who have not been so informed.

MR. SINCLAIR: If the hon. Member can give me them I will see that they are informed.

### Irish University Bill.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the recrudescence of cattle-driving and boycotting and outrages in which firearms are used in connection with agrarian disputes in the South and West of Ireland, the Cabinet will drop the proposed State-endowed Roman Catholic University Bill.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): My right hon. friend is very pre-occupied to-day and he has asked me to answer the Question in the negative.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Does the right hon. Gentleman repudiate the statement he made at Southampton warning people against cattle-driving?

MR. BIRRELL. I shall require notice of that Question.

### Agitation in the South and West of Ireland.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is fully informed of the condition at present prevailing in the South and West of Ireland as regards the Unionist minority; whether he is aware that a vigorous campaign has been restarted since 1906 by the United Irish League, in which firearms are used with increasing frequency, directed against farmers who graze their holdings; and whether he can make any statement to the House as to the steps the Government propose to take to restore law and order, and insure that the United Irish League will cease holding courts and terrorising the peasantry into attending them.

MR. BIRRELL: The Government are fully informed of the condition of the South and West of Ireland, but if the hon. and gallant Member means to suggest that Unionists in particular are affected, there is no foundation for the suggestion. It is unfortunately the fact that in some districts there has been a considerable increase in the number of offences in which firearms are used, and that an agitation against the grazing system, mainly in the form of cattle-driving, is in operation. The Government are taking all possible measures for the preservation of the peace and the punishment of offenders, and for the protection of the persons and property of those who are affected by the agitation. The Royal Irish Constabulary has been strengthened by the addition of 400 men, who have been assigned to the counties affected, together with 236 men drawn from the Reserve and from other counties. In all there are serving in the disturbed counties 636 extra police, for whom the local authorities have to pay. Offenders are prosecuted according to law in all cases in which evidence is forthcoming.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.): Is it not a fact that in several cases recently it has happened that the police have been driven back by the mob and compelled to retire? In the interest of the preservation of the law is it not desirable that the force detailed for special service should be sufficient to resist attack?

MR. BIRRELL: I agree that it is a matter of the utmost importance that the police force should be in sufficient numbers to resist any attack that may be made upon them, and the most careful endeavours are being made to ensure that result.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Has the right hon. Gentleman seen a telegram which appeared in a morning paper from the police officer in charge of the district saying that this story is untrue?

MR. BIRRELL: I have not seen the telegram.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: It is in the *Daily Mail* this morning.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of reintroducing the Arms Act and of applying the Pistols Act to Ireland?

MR. BIRRELL: The question of applying the Pistols Act has been under consideration for some time, and I am willing again to consider whether its introduction would do any good. Personally I have come to the conclusion it would not.

Mr. MOONEY (Newry): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the last published statistics of crime show that Derry and Down are the worst counties?

Mr. LONSDALE: Will the right hon. Gentleman do something to prevent the distribution of arms among the peasantry in the South and West?

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: And on the 12th July in the North?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Irish Teachers' Classification.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he is aware that the teachers who have passed through training colleges in Scotland and Wales when applying for posts in England are classed as trained teachers, but that teachers who have passed through similar institutions in Ireland when employed by local educational authorities in England are regarded as untrained, and are consequently in receipt of lower salaries; and whether, in view of the fact that the qualifying examinations in Ireland are as difficult as those in Scotland and Wales, he will say what steps he proposes to take in order to remove the difference of treatment of Irish trained teachers.

Mr. RUNCIMAN: I am not aware that any uniform basis of classification as "Trained" or "Untrained" has been adopted by local education authorities, but the matter is entirely one for the discretion of each authority and it is not a question upon which it is within the province of the Board to advise. The Board have had no occasion to adopt such a classification for the purposes of their own administration. For statistical purposes the Board endeavour to include as trained only those teachers who have completed a course of training in a college recognised under their own regulations.

### Breaches of the Game Laws in Ireland.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will state the number of cases of breaches of the Excise game laws, brought to the notice of the Board of Inland Revenue by the Irish Game Protection Association last year, in which no action was taken by the Board; and whether, having regard to the evidence available that a large number of unlicensed persons continue to kill, sell, and buy game, the Board of Inland Revenue will take more vigorous measures to prevent the destruction of a national asset in Ireland.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: There were twenty-five cases last year in respect of which, from one cause or another, no action was taken by the Board. All possible vigilance is exercised by the Board's officers to detect evasions of gun and game duty.

### Irish Land Stock.

Mr. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state what amount of two and three-quarters per cent. of Guaranteed Irish Land Stock has been issued under the Irish Land Act of 1903 to date; what has been the total amount of the issues made to the public within this period, on what dates such issues were made, and what were the average prices received on each issue thus made; what were the flotation charges on the respective issues made by means of public subscription; what has been the total amount of this stock issued to the National Debt Commissioners; on what dates and for what amounts were such issues made, and what were the respective prices paid by them; what has been the total amount shown in detail for discount losses chargeable to date on the Irish Development Grant; and what is the amount of money the Estates Commissioners have on their hands at the present date for advances to tenants who have purchased through direct sales from landlords.

I beg also to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what has been the total amount received and credited to the Sinking Fund Account under the Land Purchase Acts previous to the Act of 1903; what has been the amount for the credit of this account for the year 1891 to 1907, both years inclusive, and what have been the respective amounts received in each of the years covering this period; to what purpose has this fund been applied; if invested in two and three-quarters per cent. Guaranteed Irish Land Stock, what has been the amount invested and the average price paid for it in each of the years mentioned; what has been the total amount of the Sinking Fund Account to date under the Irish Land Act of 1903; what have been the respective amounts credited to it in each of the years from 1904 to 1907, both years inclusive; and to what purpose has it been applied

MR. HOBHOUSE: The information asked for by the hon. Member in these Questions has been supplied to me, but it is in a tabulated form and very voluminous, and I will not take up the time of the House by reciting it. If the hon. Member will allow me I will have it circulated with the Votes.

### Down and Louth Mail Service to Wales.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether arrangements can be made whereby letters from county Down and county Louth for Bangor, North Wales, may be sent by the Greenore route and sorted at Bangor, thus avoiding the delay caused in delivery by sending them to Crewe and then back again to Bangor; and whether letters intended for delivery between Greencastle and Kilkeel, county Down, could be sorted so as to secure delivery on the day of arrival, instead of being kept overnight at Kilkeel and then sent back to Greencastle.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I regret to find that a despatch for Bangor such as that suggested would not be justified owing to the small amount of correspondence affected. Letters from England for the districts referred to do not arrive in time for the morning delivery, and as a second delivery is not warranted, no improvement can, I fear, be made in this service. The letters may, however, be obtained by callers at the Kilkeel and Ballyardle Post Offices.

### Carlisle Pier, Kingstown.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the Papers laid in connection with the permission given the London and North Western Company to sail boats to and from Carlisle Pier, Kingstown, includes the report of Captain Meldrum, nautical adviser to the Post Office, made since the London and North Western Company applied for permission to go to the pier, as to the feasibility of sailing two lines of steamers from Carlisle Pier without interference with the mail service.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: All the correspondence asked for by the hon. Member is given in the Paper issued to-day. The report of the late Captain Meldrum did not form part of the correspondence between the Post Office and the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company and the London and North Western Railway.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Why does the right hon. Gentleman refuse to include that report from the nautical adviser of the Post Office as to the suitability of this pier for the service?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: It is a confidential report to the Department.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Am I right in supposing it condemned the action of the Post Office in this matter?

[No Answer was returned].

### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS (Kent, St. Augustine's): May I ask the Prime Minister the business for the next week?

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): On Monday the first order will be the Resolution in Committee for expenses under the Children Bill, and after that the Second Reading of the Irish Universities Bill. On Tuesday we shall move a Resolution to enable the House to take Reports of the Committee of Ways and Means after eleven o'clock, and after that the Second Reading of the Housing Bill. If, as I hope will not be the case, that Bill is not completed on Tuesday, we shall continue it on Wednesday. Otherwise the Orders will be the Third Reading of the Prosecution of Offences Bill, the Second Reading of the Public Offices Sites Bill, and some other minor Bills.

### NEW MEMBER SWORN.

George Rennie Thorne, esquire, for the Parliamentary Borough of Wolverhampton (East Division).

## SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir **William Brampton Gurdon** reported from the Committee of Selection, that they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Education (Local Authorities) and Coroners' Inquests Bills): Colonel Seely; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Education (Local Authorities) Bill), Mr. Mallet (and in respect of the Coroners' Inquests Bill), Mr. Cooper.

Report to lie upon the Table.

## PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Ordered, "That Mr. Mitchell-Thomson be added to the Public Accounts Committee."—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WAYS AND MEANS).

Ordered, "That the Committee of Ways and Means have precedence this day of the Business of Supply."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WAYS AND MEANS).

Ordered, "That the proceedings of the Committee of Ways and Means, if under consideration at eleven o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

## WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Emmott (Oldham) in the Chair.]

## THE BUDGET STATEMENT.

***The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY**, (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.): This is, I suppose, the first time in the memory of any of us when the annual financial statement has been submitted to the Committee of Ways and Means by any other Minister than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, although there are precedents for that course as far back as the time of the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel. I need hardly say that it would have been more agreeable to me to leave the task where it naturally falls, in the hands of my right hon. friend; but we both felt that my relinquishment of his office, and his accession to it, are so recent that for me to take his place this afternoon would be a matter not merely of personal, but of public convenience. But it is only for this afternoon. I hope and believe that in the later stages of our discussions the Committee and the House will have the full benefit of the assistance and guidance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

### THE YEAR'S TRADE.

It is usual and appropriate on this occasion, by way of preface to that part of the financial statement which deals with the national accounts, to make one or two observations of a more general character with regard to the trade and economic conditions of the country. Sir, as regards the calendar year—we are dealing with the calendar, and not the financial year—1907, the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, that branch of our trade which admits of statistical measurement and therefore most readily challenges comparison, was greater than in any previous year, in volume as well as in value, in imports as well as in exports. In my Budget speech of two years ago I pointed out that the exports of British and Irish produce in the preceding year, as compared with those of 1900, which we always take for this purpose as the standard year, and measured by the prices of 1900, showed an increase of 23 per cent. This growth has continued in the two succeeding years at an augmented pace, so that in 1907 the exports of British and Irish produce, compared with, and valued at the prices of, 1900, showed an increase of more than 43 per cent.

Imports during the same period showed expansion, but of less extent absolutely and to a much smaller degree relatively. The increase of imports, tested again by the 1900 standard of values, rose from £523,000,000 to £600,000,000, or rather less than 15 per cent. in the course of these years. But, Sir, this expansion in our foreign trade is part of an international movement, and the signs that the tide had begun to ebb were everywhere visible before the end of 1907. The trade returns for the first quarter of

1908 showed that both imports and exports had in that period fallen below the high water mark of 1907; but what has been lost in this way is only a part of the gain of a year ago, because the reduced figures of 1908 are still well in advance of those of 1906, which was, in its turn a record year. If we look for a moment at the domestic side of the matter, employment improved in the first half of 1907, compared with 1906, while the decline which in the latter half we find was more marked than in the first quarter of 1908. On the other hand, the Board of Trade statistics of the rates of wages relating to interests in which 9,000,000 of people are employed showed a higher level of wages at the end of 1907 than at any other time in the period since 1903, over which these records extend. The upward movement lasted continuously from the second half of 1905, and was still in progress at the end of the first quarter of 1908. British trade, then, I think one may say, has suffered no violent shock; and, while it is dangerous to prophesy, so far as present indications go they do not point to more than a slackening in the rate of expansion that has been proceeding with extreme and unparalleled rapidity.

### FINANCIAL REVIEW.

I say so much for the general conditions of our trade, and now pass to a review of the finances of the State for the year which ended on 31st March last. The Budget of 1907 was based on the system under which a portion of the revenue raised by Imperial taxes was not paid into the Treasury, but handed over to the Local Taxation Account. That system was brought to an end by Section 17 of the Finance Act of last year, and according to its provisions the whole revenue of the year has been paid to the Exchequer and all the grants to the Local Taxation Account have been issued from the Exchequer. The result is that the Exchequer accounts for 1907–8 contain a complete record of the transactions both on the receipt and issue side. In comparing the Budget estimates of last year with the actual results, the following figures represent the totals. The total revenue for this year was estimated at £152,835,000, the total expenditure £152,502,000, leaving a margin of £333,000 for contingencies. In fact, it has turned out that the revenue estimated at the figure I have just stated actually produced £156,538,000, showing an increase on the estimate of £3,703,000. And instead of an expenditure as estimated of £152,502,000, the actual issues from the Exchequer amounted to £151,812,000, showing a reduction on actual as compared with estimated expenditure of £690,000. If you add together these totals you obtain the figure of £4,726,000, which is the amount of the realised surplus for the year.

### REVENUE.

I will say a few words first on the revenue and the causes which account for the excess in the actual receipts over those I estimated for a year ago. On a comparison between the estimated and actual Exchequer receipts from revenue in 1907–8, it will be found that under ten of the twelve heads set out increases over the estimates are shown, the only exceptions being Excise and Stamps. Customs revenue, owing to the loss of the coal duty, which contributed nearly £1,500,000 in the previous year was estimated to produce less by £1,192,000 last year than in the preceding year. The actual receipts of the Exchequer, however, exceeded estimate by £567,000, reducing the loss from £1,192,000 to £625,000. This striking recovery has been caused by the increased revenue from sugar, in which the estimate has been exceeded by £310,000; tea, showing an excess of £208,000; and tobacco, with an increase of £240,000.

### CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

On the other hand, the decline in productivity of the alcoholic group of Customs duties has been maintained. Foreign spirits show a falling off of £80,000 compared with the receipts of the previous year, and of £47,000 as compared with the Budget estimate in the year just ended. In the case of wine a slight increase over the previous year's receipt had been anticipated, but the result shows a further reduction of £59,000 on the receipts from that source. Under the head of Excise the total receipt has remained almost stationary. An increase of £153,000 was anticipated from beer, of which only one half has been realised. Instead of an increase of £110,000 from British spirits, there is a decrease of

£90,000. I pointed out in my Budget statement of last year that the total revenue from alcoholic liquor, after declining steadily since 1899, had at last in 1907–8 shown an upward tendency. The reaction had been short-lived. Although beer in 1907–8 continued to improve the total revenue from beer, wine, and spirits combined shows a decrease of £151,000.

### ESTATE DUTIES.

Now I come to the estate duties, which by their nature would appear to be one of the most speculative and uncertain branches of revenue. I am glad to say that they have once more vindicated their claim to trustworthiness. In the first three quarters of the year the receipts were lower by three quarters of a million than for the corresponding period of the preceding year; but they righted themselves in the last quarter. The result is that the full year's receipts into the Exchequer were below the record figure of 1906–7 by only £14,000, while the Budget estimate was exceeded by £373,000. We have had the benefit during the year to some extent of the enhanced rates of duty which were authorised by the Finance Act of 1907. I estimated that in a full year those enhanced duties would realise £1,200,000. In the first year of their operation I said that they might be expected to produce £600,000. The actual yield in 1907–8 was £610,000. These figures reflect the highest credit upon the officers of the Inland Revenue. Stamps have been a stationary source of income. The revenue fell short of the estimate by £30,000; but that result does not point to any abatement of business activity except in the region of the Stock Exchange. The receipts from the transfer of stocks and shares show a diminution compared with the previous year of £357,000. There was a substantial increase on balance under the remaining heads of stamp duties.

### INCOME-TAX.

I now come to the most interesting item—namely, the income-tax. In last year's Budget I estimated that the income-tax, if the basis had remained unchanged, would have yielded £32,500,000 in 1907–8, or an increase of £900,000 over the Exchequer receipts in the preceding year. But, as the Committee remembers, the basis of the tax was altered by reducing its rate from 1s. to 9d. on the earned incomes of all persons whose total income from all sources does not exceed £2,000. The estimated loss to the revenue from this differentiation I put down at £1,250,000 for the year, and I further reckoned that a sum of £750,000 would be lost to the year's revenue through delays in collection in consequence of the change in the law. On this account the estimated yield of the tax for 1907–8 would be £30,500,000, or £1,100,000 less than the actual receipts in the preceding year. The payments into the Exchequer last year on account of income-tax amounted actually to £32,380,000, being £1,880,000 in excess of the Budget estimate and actually £780,000 in excess of the sum paid before the alteration of the tax in the preceding year. It is desirable to analyse these figures in order to see what the explanation of them is. I estimated the relief to the taxpayers as the result of the differentiation at £1,250,000. Here again I have to thank the officers of the Inland Revenue for their extraordinary prescience in these matters. It is actually £1,240,000—a difference of £10,000 between the estimate and the actual result. That is a subject matter of congratulation and of commemoration. The number of taxpayers who participated in this relief of differentiation was approximately 750,000. But the zeal and efficiency of the Inland Revenue officers have been so admirable that, instead of the arrears being £750,000, the whole of that sum was brought in and collected within the time. The result, therefore, is this. The tax which would have been raised on the amount of profits, in excess of the estimate, disclosed within the year at the old rate would have been £2,370,000. The loss by differentiation was £1,240,000, leaving a balance of £1,130,000. If you add the amount of £750,000 allowed for delay and as arrears not collected within the financial year, you get the figure £1,880,000, which represents the actual excess over the estimate. How has this been brought about? I see it often stated, and it is commonly supposed, that the reason why the benefits of differentiation have cost so little is due to the more stringent regulations with regard to the disclosure of salaries of employees and others in the Finance Act of last year. That is not the case. These provisions have produced, I admit, a certain amount of additional revenue; but the main cause of this remarkable increase is to be found in the differentiation clause itself. The mere offer of the lower rate of tax has sufficed to increase the amount of income submitted. Thus I may say that differentiation has worked, not only a financial, but a moral reform. The gross income brought under review in 1906–7 was £943,000,000. In 1907–8 (the differentiation year) the amount was £980,000,000, being an increase of £37,000,000 in the gross income brought under review for the year, compared with an average increase of £14,000,000 in in the three preceding years. I have often heard it said, and I fancy it is a common belief, that the income-tax in this country is at the rate of 1s. in the £. It is nothing of the kind. The average rate of the income-tax per £ during the year which has just concluded was 9·6d., a little over 9½d., as compared with an average rate of 10d. in the two preceding years. I hope I may say, without undue self-complacency, before I depart from this matter, that differentiation, always deemed to be just and fair, was for sixty years strongly denied by almost every great authority to be workable in practice. Differentiation has been proved by experience to be not only practicable, but smooth and easy in its operation; and it has in fact paid for itself, and it has removed, once and for all, the most obvious and crying grievances and inequalities—I do not say all of them by any means—but the most crying grievances and inequalities which have marred the equity and clogged the efficiency of the income-tax as a permanent instrument of revenue.

Now, Sir, to sum up the first part of the account, the total revenue derived from taxation, as hon. Members will see by the Table, was £130,320,000, or £268,000 more than the corresponding revenue of the preceding year, and £2,635,000 more than the Budget estimate. The non-tax revenue amounted, as the Table shows, to £26,218,000, being an increase of £1,068,000 over the Budget estimate, and of £1,234,000 over the corresponding revenue of 1906–1907. The revenue derived from the Post Office and Telegraph Service exceeded the Budget estimate by £300,000, a very satisfactory increase, and showed an increase over the preceding year of £875,000. The Post Office ascribes this increase to an all-round extension of business and not to any one specific cause. Under the head of "Miscellaneous," as hon. Gentlemen will see, the excess of receipts over the estimate is no less than £658,000, and to it is mainly attributable the surplus of the non-tax revenue. The receipts from the Mint, which I estimated at £210,000, realised £721,000. For some years before 1906–1907, as I said last year, the Exchequer receipts from this source showed a steady decline and they seemed about to disappear altogether. I think that was the case when the right hon. Gentleman opposite was at the Exchequer. But a sudden revival took place in 1906–1907, largely owing to an exceptional demand for silver coin for the West African Colonies and Australasia. That was thought by the authorities to be a spasmodic revival, but it has continued since. In West Africa, I am bound to say, these coins are largely used, not as a currency, but as articles of ornament. In 1907 the shipments of silver to West Africa and Australasia exceeded those of 1906 by more than 50 per cent. Those, I think, are all the observations I have to make in order to account for the very large difference between the estimated revenue and that which has been actually received.

## EXPENDITURE IN 1907–8.

I pass now, and I shall deal with it very briefly, to the other side of the account—the expenditure, which is set out in Table I. The Budget of 1907 provided for a total expenditure of £152,502,000. There were other grants voted on Supplementary Estimates amounting to a total of £942,000. The principal items were £200,000 for the Unemployed Act, £100,000 for the Small Holdings Act, and £260,000 as the first instalment of the additional charge imposed upon the Post Office in order to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee of this House on Post Office servants. There was also an exceptional issue under the head of the Consolidated Fund Services in connection with the Exchequer liability to the Supreme Court fund. On the other hand, as hon. Gentlemen will see if they look at the headings of Supply Services, the Exchequer issues to the Army and Navy and the Civil Service were reduced to the extent of £1,869,000 by savings on expenditure on the Army £645,000, on the Navy £278,000, and on the Civil Service, mainly the Board of Education, no less than £809,000. As a result the issues from the Exchequer amounted to a total of £151,812,000, against an estimate of £152,502,000 showing a net saving of £690,000 on the expenditure provided for by the Budget. It is in that way that we have a realised surplus for the year of £4,726,000, which in due course, subject to a deduction which I shall hereafter explain, becomes the old Sinking Fund of last year, and will be applied during the current year to the reduction of the National Debt. I will ask the Committee to look for a moment at the figures shown in Table III., which give the Exchequer balance at the beginning and the end of the year. The balance at the beginning of the year was £6,932,000, and at the end of the year it was £8,919,000.

### REDUCTION OF DEBT.

Now I come to what, I think, is perhaps a more interesting, and, certainly, in my view, a more important aspect of the finance of last year—that is, the reduction of debt that took place in 1907–8. I want to explain again—previous Chancellors of the Exchequer have done it more than once—the distinction, which, I am sure, is thoroughly familiar to the minds of hon. Members, between what we call National Debt in the strict sense —that is to say, dead-weight debt— and the gross capital liabilities, which include sums borrowed under various Naval and Military Works Acts, Post Office Telegraph Acts, and so forth, each of which has a sinking fund of its own. Dealing first with the dead-weight debt which is popularly recognised as constituting the National Debt, we have during the year that has gone by effected the following reduction in the three categories of which it is composed: The Funded Debt has been reduced by £6,319,000, Terminable Annuities by £1,457,000, and the Unfunded Debt by £10,254,000; so that the capital of the National Debt at the end of the financial year, as compared with the beginning of the year, showed a reduction of £18,030,000. This reduction, I need hardly say, is wholly without precedent. To show how that is brought about, the following figures may be interesting: I pointed out in my Budget speech last year that the net provision that would be available for the reduction of our aggregate liabilities would be no less than £13,400,000, assuming that the Fixed Debt Charge remained at the statutory figure of £28,000,000. But, as the Committee will remember, I increased the Fixed Debt Charge for the year by £1,500,000, making it £29,500,000, thus raising the estimated provision for the reduction of the debt to £14,900,000. In point of fact, the addition during the year to the other capital liabilities—liabilities under the various Acts I referred to a moment ago—was less than had been estimated by £800,000, the actual addition being £1,191,000, as against the estimate of £1,970,000. This raised the net sum available for the reduction of debt to, approximately, £15,700,000, a sum which sufficed to cancel debt to the nominal amount of £16,839,000. The Committee will, therefore, see that while the reduction of the National Debt was £18,030,000, the reduction effected in the aggregate gross liabilities of the State, is £16,839,000. Whichever way you look at it, whether at the reduction of the dead-weight Debt by over £18,000,000 or at the reduction of the gross liabilities of the nation by very nearly £17,000,000, I think that is a result upon which the Committee and the country may fairly congratulate themselves. As I shall show in a moment, it has an important bearing upon the future of our finance.

Before I come to the estimate of the revenue and expenditure of the current year, perhaps this will be a convenient point to deal with the anticipated reduction of debt in the year 1908–9. Assuming that the Fixed Debt Charge is placed for the current year 1908–9 at £28,000,000 and I intend to keep it at that; and assuming, further, that no part of the realised surplus of last year is diverted from its statutory destination as Old Sinking Fund, then the estimated amount of the provision which will be available for the reduction of debt in 1908–9 will be £14,376,000. That is made out in the following way: The Old Sinking Fund of last year—the realised surplus of last year—amounts to £4,726,000, the portion of the Fixed Debt Charge of £28,000,000 representing repayment of capital to £9,785,000, and the miscellaneous receipts applicable to the reduction of debt to £500,000, making a total of £15,011,000. Against that I have to set off the estimated borrowings on capital account, of which hon. Members will find the details at the bottom of Table VI., page 5, under the Telegraphs Acts and various other Acts. I estimate the borrowings on capital account at £2,785,000, but from that has to be deducted the amount provided on the Votes for the repayment of principal, £2,150,000, leaving a net addition of £635,000. If you subtract that sum from £15,011,000 you get the reduction of the liabilities of the nation by £14,376,000. I must say here that I am going to make a charge upon that amount, and £600,000 will be diverted for further capital expenditure on new public offices instead of entering upon a fresh loan by way of terminable annuities. Following a precedent of 1897–8, I divert £600,000 from the Sinking Fund which is very properly applicable to bricks, mortar, and land, to a purpose to which I think it may appropriately be applied. The amount then applicable to the reduction of debt will be £14,411,000. Now, when that amount in cash comes to be applied to the actual extinction of debt, I do not think I am going into the region of speculation—at any rate, not into the region of hazardous speculation—when I say there will be further reduction in the nominal capital of the Debt during the financial year to not far short of the enormous amount of £15,000,000, or from £711,476,000 to £696,500,000. Allowing for the estimated increase of £635,000 on other capital liabilities, the estimated reduction of total capital liabilities in 1908–9 is £13,776,000. These are very remarkable figures, and I wish the Committee to allow me to dwell on this point for a few minutes longer, because I wish hon. Members to appreciate how we stand with regard to our financial liabilities and what has been done in the last three years in that respect. I deal first with the National, or dead-weight Debt for a reason that will be apparent later on. I start with the figure showing the total amount of the National, or dead-weight Debt twenty years ago. On 31st March, 1889, the amount of the dead-weight Debt was £697,000,000; the Committee will bear that figure in mind. In 1903, at the close of the South African War that figure had risen from £697,000,000 to £770,700,000. On 31st March 1906, which may be said for all effective purposes to be the time when we first became responsible for the conduct of the financial affairs of the country, two or three months after we came into office, the amount was £743,200,000. On 31st March, 1909, the last year for which I shall have responsibility for national finance, it is estimated that the amount will be reduced to £696,500,000. In other words, the figures will be brought back to what they were twenty years ago. I do not in any way want to depreciate the financial policy of my predecessors, but the figures show that, while from 1903 to 1909 the total reduction was £74,200,000, in the first three years it was £27,500,000, at the rate of about £9,000,000 a year; in the second three years it was £46,700,000, or about £15,500,000 a year.

### CAPITAL LIABILITIES.

I come next to compare the capital liabilities, not in regard to dead-weight Debt alone, but as regards the aggregate capital liabilities of the nation. Here again I start reminding the Committee of the date I have already mentioned. On 31st March, 1889, our total capital liabilities amounted to £697,600,000; in 1903 the amount was £798,300,000; in 1906 it was £789,000,000; and for 1909 it is estimated at £748,000,000. In other words, applying the same analysis as before, in the years between 1903 and 1906 the gross liabilities of the nation were reduced by £9,300,000, or at the rate of £3,100,000 a year, and in the second three years the reduction, in round figures, was £41,000,000, or at the rate of £13,700,000 a year. Finally, there is the item, a very important item, of the interest on the dead-weight Debt. When we came into office, in my first financial statement the total interest charged on the National Debt on 31st March, 1906, was £18,812,000, and on 31st March, 1909, at the expiration of three years, it will be £17,585,000. In other words, there is a saving, a permanent saving, in the interest to be annually provided for the National Debt of very nearly £1,250,000.

Now let me summarise this statement. In three years to 31st March, 1909, we shall have paid off nearly £47,000,000 of National Debt; we shall in three years have reduced, we estimate, the aggregate capital liabilities of the nation by £41,000,000, and we shall have effected a saving in interest annually of nearly £1,250,000. We shall have brought back the capital of the National or dead-weight Debt, notwithstanding the South African War and other sources of liabilities which have since arisen, to the same figure as that at which it stood at the corresponding date of 1889. Now all this has been done out of the taxation of the country. And, when people talk about the demands of democracy, I may be allowed to say that there is not a more creditable chapter in the annals of democratic finance than that which records the fact that during three years, with a passionate desire for diminution of expenditure and for the mitigation of burdens on the people and on industry, they should have acquiesced in the appropriation of this enormous sum of between £13,000,000 and £15,000,000 a year out of taxation to redeem the principal of our National Debt. I do not know that there is anything like it or approaching it in the history of national finance. For seventy years between 1835 and 1905 there were only two occasions, and these widely apart, on which the reduction of the principal of the National Debt amounted to more than half as much as the figures I have mentioned. In 1853-4, Mr. Gladstone being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the principal was reduced by about £10,000,000, and in 1865-1866 by over £9,000,000, but the occasions were separated by twelve years interval. Now when our attention is directed to the advantages other countries are supposed to enjoy—I do not wish to go into controversial matters—when it is represented that they have a better fiscal system than our own, and when we find they are obliged to borrow year by year, and even decade by decade to make both ends meet—I say nothing as to the rate at which they have to raise their money—I think it is rather a source of satisfactory reflection when we find we have been able to make this reduction in our National Debt. I state these facts, not as affording an opportunity for self-glorification, but to draw a solid lesson from them, a lesson that will bear very much on the finance of future Chancellors of the Exchequer. I have pointed out that we shall have brought back by 31st March next the aggregate of our National or dead-weight Debt to the same figure as that at which it stood in 1889. What was the provision then made for reduction of the burden of debt? Mr. Goschen was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, a most cautious and conservative financier, who set very great store upon reduction of the permanent burden on the nation. In that year the total sum applicable to Sinking Fund purposes was £5,100,000. This year, 1908-9, with practically the same capital debt, we are applying a a fixed debt charge of £28,000,000, including a Sinking Fund of £9,785,000, with the addition of the Old Sinking Fund of over £4,000,000 from the realised surplus of last year. Mr. Goschen reduced the permanent annual charge from £26,000,000 to £25,000,000. I do not hesitate to say, I am entitled to say—after the efforts it has been my duty and my pleasure to make in this matter—that the time has come, in the various interests we have to safeguard and promote, and in connection with finance and the reductions we shall have made in March next, to justify a review of the situation. I do not think—though, of course, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will exercise his unfettered judgment in making future proposals—I do not think that if I were in his position I should be justified in asking the taxpayers of the country to continue to pay £14,000,000 or £15,000,000 a year for further reductions of Debt. I think the efforts we have made, unprecedented in their character, will justify a review of the situation and the setting free of some substantial part of the revenue which in the last three years we have applied to that purpose.

### ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE IN 1908–9.

I am sorry to detain the Committee so long, but I am coming now to a matter of general importance, the estimated revenue and expenditure of the year. Hon. Members will turn to the table of figures I have supplied to the Committee. That shows the estimated expenditure for the current year to be £152,869,000. The estimated expenditure for the current year exceeds last year's estimate by £367,000, and exceeds the actual issues of last year by £1,057,000. The first item that calls for remark is the reduction under the heading Consolidated Fund Services of £1,500,000, which means the difference between the special sum of £29,500,000 last year appropriated for Debt and the statutory figure of £28,000,000 fixed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite to which we now revert. Apart from that automatic reduction the estimated ex-expenditure shows an increase of £1,867,000. The items of increase are almost entirely due to the Navy and the Post Office, each of which contributes about £900,000, or one-half of the total net increase. The Committee is quite familiar with the causes which have led to the increase in the Navy Vote; and in the Post Office service the increase is about half due to the automatic and inevitable growth of expenditure and the remaining half to the recommendations of the Committee presided over by the present Secretary to the Treasury. The ultimate cost of those improvements is calculated to amount to £700,000 a year. Large as this additional expenditure is, I do not myself consider it an undue price to pay for an authoritative settlement of the outstanding grievances of so large a body of Government servants. The other items call for no special remark.

### ESTIMATED REVENUE IN 1908–9.

I now come to what is a more interesting topic—namely, the estimated revenue. Before I deal with the specific heads I may make one or two observations of a general character. The first is this. The revenue of 1907–1908 benefited at the expense of 1906–1907 owing to the holding back on a large scale of the clearances of dutiable articles, in view of anticipations—which were not realised—of possible Budget changes. The result was that we got into the revenue of last year a good deal more than we should have done under Customs if those anticipations had never come into existence. The Customs think the revenue of 1907–1908 gained £250,000 from this source, and there will be no equivalent gain in 1908–1909. Another point to be noticed is that last year was Leap year and very happily situated in regard to the incidence of Easter, with the result that there were two more days for the receipt of revenue in 1907–1908 than in 1908–1909, and the Customs Department estimate the extra days to be worth about £200,000 to them. Those two facts must be borne in mind by those who think perhaps that our Estimates are of too conservative a kind. The Customs have estimated as against the receipts in 1907–1908 amounting to £32,490,000, for receipt on the basis of existing taxation, of £32,600,000, or an addition of £110,000. That might have been a little larger if it had not been for the two facts to which I have called attention. Excise, as I pointed out, was a disappointing head of revenue. Population grows, but the people, instead of drinking more, drink rather less. I am speaking in the character of an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer. Excise is estimated for the ensuing year, as against £35,720,000, the receipts in 1907–8, at £35,500,000. We estimate for a falling off of £220,000. I am afraid we must contemplate something like that. Estate duties—the most gambling head undoubtedly in the whole series, but one of which past experience encourages a sanguine view—realised £19,070,000 in 1907–8. I am going to put them at £19,500,000, or an increase of £430,000. The Committee may ask why I do that. I take the receipts from estate duties of the last three years, which were £55,499,000. The year 1907–8, of course, included £610,000 derived from the enhanced scale of duty on the large

*Mr. Asquith.*

estates. Deduct that from the total of the three years and you arrive at £54,889,000, the total under the old scale of duties. That gives an averagee receipt in the three years of £18,300,000. Our duties we hope will yield £1,200,000. I do not say they will at once, but we hope they will, and if you add that to the other sum you get £19,500,000—which is the figure I ventured to estimate —or an increase of £430,000 over last year. Stamps I put up very slightly. I put them at £8,100,000, which is an increase of £130,000; land tax, £700,000, a decrease of £30,000; house duty, £1,900,000, a decrease of £60,000. Then I come to income-tax, and here the Committee may be surprised. But I am going to estimate—and I think I am justified in doing so—the receipts at £33,000,000, as against the actual receipts last year of £32,380,000, or an increase of £620,000. If I am asked why I do that my answer is this. The income-tax assessments for the current financial year will be based upon the average of the past three years. We bring a very good year into the average —namely, last year—in place of a rather bad year which was still affecting the average in the income-tax receipts for last year. The income-tax for this year will be on an average of three extremely good and indeed booming years, and under these circumstances, I think, we may reasonably assume that a larger amount of income will be brought under review, and we are justified in raising the estimate to the extent which I have suggested. That brings the total receipts from taxation to £131,300,000, or an increase on the receipts of last year of £980,000.

I come now to the non-tax items. The Postal Service I put at £18,250,000, as against £17,880,000, an increase of £370,000. In the next year we propose to separate the telegraph and telephone services, a change which has long been needed. The telegraph service I put at £3,000,000, the telephone service at £1,520,000, or a total of £4,520,000. The increase on the two together is £100,000. Crown lands I put at £530,000, an increase of £10,000; Suez Canal shares, £1,170,000, a decrease of £20,000; miscellaneous, which includes that very uncertain item of the Mint, we go as far as to put at £2,000,000 which shows a diminution of £208,000 as compared with the very exceptional receipts of last year. That will bring the total non-tax revenue to £26,470,000, or an increase of £252,000. If tax and non-tax revenue are now added together, the total estimated revenue is £157,770,000, or an increase of £1,232,000. We will put the two figures together and subtract one figure from the other and you will get—estimated revenue, £157,770,000; estimated expenditure, £152,869,000; which brings out an estimated surplus of £4,901,000.

Before I go further I must mention a matter which, although comparatively small in its dimensions, is of great interest to the mercantile community—I mean the duty on marine policies of insurance. The present scale for voyage policies is at the rate of 3d. for every £100 insured; for time policies at the same rate of 3d. where the time is not longer than six months; and at the rate of 6d. where the time exceeds six months. As a general rule, under modern conditions time policies are taken out for ships and voyage policies for goods. The vast majority of voyages are quite short—perhaps only a few days—and it is not equitable that the same duty should be charged on a policy for goods covering a short voyage as on a policy for ships covering a period of six months. I propose, therefore, as from 1st January next, to reduce the duty on voyage policies from 3d. to 1d. per cent. (except in cases where it is already a fixed duty of 1d. as regards which no change is proposed). The total amount produced at present is not more than £250,000, and, although it is impossible to forecast the effect of the change, I estimate that it will result in a loss to the revenue with a full year of about £80,000, and, in the present year, when the change will operate for only one quarter, at about £20,000. It sounds a small sum, but I believe it will be a great convenience and a change which will be much appreciated by the mercantile community.

Another, and more far-reaching change which I propose to take power to make in the Finance Bill is to transfer the Excise Department from the Inland

Revenue to the Customs. From the point of view of administrative economy and efficiency I think—and my opinion is shared by almost all these distinguished Government officials who have had the closest experience of the inner working of both offices—a substantial gain will result to the public service from that change. It will have no effect upon the finances of the present year, but I wish to take power to effect the transfer by Order in Council if and when the time should arrive.

### OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Now I come to questions of greater general interest. Last year, in introducing the Budget, I said that this Parliament and this Government had come here pledged to social reform; and I pointed to two figures in our modern society that make an especially strong and, indeed, an irresistible appeal, not only to our sympathy, but to something more practical, a sympathy translated into a concrete and constructive policy of social and financial effort. One is the figure of the child. I reminded the House that in less than forty years—since 1870—you have added to your annual provision for the education of the children of this country out of taxes and rates an annual sum of over £24,000,000 sterling. There is not one of us who would go back upon that. The other figure is the figure of old age, still unprovided for except by casual and unorganised effort, or, by what is worse, invidious dependence upon Poor Law relief. I said then that we hoped and intended this year to lay firm the foundations of a wiser and a humaner policy. With that view, as the Committee may remember, I set aside £1,500,000, which was temporarily applied to the reduction of debt, and I anticipated that other £750,000 which, through the activity of the Inland Revenue, has been swept into the old Sinking Fund of last year, would also be available. I propose now to show how we intend to redeem the promises which I then made. I need not remind the Committee that this question in one shape or another has been before the country now for the best part of thirty years. The first schemes that were put forward proceeded on the footing either of compulsory or voluntary insurance, accompanied and fortified by State aid. The Royal Commission on the Aged Poor in 1895 reported adversely to all the proposals which had up to that time been made. There followed a series of inquiries into schemes for granting immediate pensions to the aged and deserving poor. There was Lord Rothschild's Committee, there was a Select Committee of this House presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wimbledon in 1899, and there was Sir Edward Hamilton's Departmental Committee of 1900, and again a Select Committee of this House in 1903. Much valuable information was accumulated and classified in the course of these inquiries, with the result, I think, that all the material facts may now be said to have been ascertained. But up to this moment nothing has been done, nothing at all. In the meantime other countries have been making experiments. The German system, which is one of compulsory State-aided assurance, has been in existence since 1889. Under it pensions averaging a little over £6 13s. a year are paid to insured persons of the age of seventy and upwards. The State contribution amounts to less than 40 per cent. of the whole, and it would seem that in 1907 not more than 126,000 persons out of a population of over 52 millions were in receipt of old-age pensions. More instruction, I think, for our purposes is to be derived from the legislation initiated in Denmark in 1891, in New Zealand in 1898, and subsequently in New South Wales and Victoria. These systems, though differing widely in their details, have several important features in common. In the first place, they do not depend for their application upon either voluntary or compulsory contribution on the part of the pensioner. In the next place, they are limited in all cases to persons whose income or property is below a prescribed figure; and, thirdly, in all cases they impose some test or other varying in stringency and in complexity, of character and desert in regard to such matters, for instance, as past criminality or pauperism. Although both in Denmark and in New Zealand the expenditure upon the pensions has, in the course of time, exhibited a tendency to increase beyond the original estimate,

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yet the cost of administration has turned out to be relatively small, amounting in New Zealand in 1907 to not more than 1·67 per cent.; and I think I may say that in none of these communities is there any dissatisfaction either with the principles or with the working of the law, and certainly no disposition to go back to the state of things which prevailed before old-age pensions were set up. His Majesty's present Government came into power and went through the last general election entirely unpledged in regard to this matter, not that they were insensible to its importance or to its urgency, but they felt it right to enter into no binding engagement until they had had full time to survey the problem in all its aspects, and—what is still more important—to lay a solid financial foundation for any future structure it might be possible to raise. It was accordingly not until we had seen our way to make some substantial provision for the reduction of the national liabilities that I found myself able to announce in the Budget of last year that this year it was our intention to make a beginning—and more than a beginning I never promised—in the creation of a sound and workable scheme. I have sometimes seen pledges and assurances on this subject rather misinterpreted, and I may in passing just refer to what on two occasions, speaking for myself and for the Government, I said upon the subject. First in the debate on the Address on 13th February, 1907, I said this:—

> "I am as anxious as the hon. Gentleman"—

one of my hon. friends, I think, below the gangway opposite—

> —"to make a start. Let me say I have long since come to the conclusion that it is not necessary, I am not sure that it would be either expedient or politic, to proceed by what I may call a direct frontal attack and attempt to take the whole position with a single blow. I believe on the contrary you will have to proceed more or less tentatively and by stages."

Later on I said—

> "Speaking for myself and the Government, there is no object within the sphere of social reform we are more desirous to have a share in bringing about than the starting of a really effective scheme, even though it be on a small and limited scale, on lines socially and financially sound, for further development."

I repeated the same statement in opening the Budget last year in language which is on record, and which I need not now repeat.

Let me pause to say that there is one governing consideration which in framing our proposals we have kept steadily in view. The problem of making better provision for the aged is only one of a group of questions the settlement of which, although it cannot be simultaneous, should as far as possible be harmonious and self-consistent. A Royal Commission, as the Committee is aware, has now been at work for some time investigating the administration of the Poor Law, and we understand that its Report may be expected before many months. Without in any way anticipating what, of course, we do not know—namely, the character and extent of the recommendations of that Commission, I think we may assume that it will give effect in some shape or other to what has long been regarded by careful observers as the most urgent of all reforms—namely, the re-classification of that vast heterogeneous mass of persons, young and old, sound and infirm, underserving or unfortunate, who at present fall within one province or another of the area of Poor Law administration. It appears to the Government to be a preliminary specially necessary in itself—and reasonably certain not to clash with any wider proposal which the Commissioners may make to take the care of the aged and place it once for all outside both the machinery and the associations of our Poor Law system.

Having referred to these general considerations let me come to rather closer quarters with the actual problem. We have had to consider this matter very carefully, and the first conclusion at which we arrived, and as to which I do not think there will be any really serious difference of opinion in this House, was that all so-called contributory schemes must be ruled out. They do not meet the necessities of the case. If the contribution which is to be the condition of a pension were left to the option of the would-be pensioner, the assistance of the State might be confined to a comparatively small class, and that not by any means necessarily the most necessitous or the most deserving class. On the other hand, if it were sought to make the contribution compulsory with no practical machinery in this country—whatever might be the case in Germany—by which it could be worked, you would certainly have to face the hostility of many other competing bodies like the trade unions, friendly societies, insurance companies, and a host of others. Moreover—and this in itself, though not an argument against the merits of a contributory scheme, is conclusive against it as a solution of the problem, or an attempt to solve the problem—none of its benefits would come into actual enjoyment until after the lapse of twenty or more years. The best statement you can find, and it is not only cogent, but conclusive, of the objections to a contributory scheme from the point of view of practical politics and the actual exigencies in our own British social and economic life, is to be found in the speech of the right hon Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, delivered in this House on 22nd March, 1899. I refer everybody to that speech who wants as lucid and as forcible a statement as can be made of the overwhelming objections to such a scheme. It is well known that the right hon. Gentleman favoured the contributory principle at one time, and this speech represents his considered views after he had carefully studied the whole problem and realised its difficulties. The next, what is called the universal scheme, associated with the name of Mr. Charles Booth, is also out of the range of practical politics. The actual working cost of such a scheme is problematical, because no one can tell in advance how many of the people legally entitled would fail or decline to claim their pensions, nor is there any reason why that proportion should remain constant from time to time. The possible cost, as distinguished from the actual, might vary according as seventy or sixty-five was selected as the qualifying age, from £16,000,000 to something over £27,000,000—figures which are obviously prohibitive. It is, at any rate, certain that under such schemes pensions would be claimed and received by those who had no right to them from any view of necessity or desert. A further point is that in our view the obligation to provide the pension must, as between the State and the pensioner, rest on the Treasury and not on the local authority. The objections to any other plan are grave and insuperable. It is sufficient for the moment to point out that to make the charge a local burden would first of all lead to every inequality and make large differences between place and place as the proportion of the aged poor to the whole population varied. It would reintroduce the terrible evils of the old laws of settlement and bear most heavily on the most necessitous districts. The Government are clearly of opinion that, as between the State and the pensioner, the obligation must rest on the State and the Treasury. It must not, however, be left out of account that the saving to local rates in respect of poor relief, which will result from a system of State pensions, ought in the long-run to be considerable, and account will of course have to be taken of this in future adjustments of the Exchequer contributions in aid of local rates. But that will not affect the position as between the State and the pensioner.

It follows from these considerations that any practical scheme must be based on some kind of discrimination—by which I mean upon the ability of the claimant to comply with certain qualifying conditions. Those conditions resolve themselves into four distinct categories—age, means, *status*, and character. As to age—sixty, sixty-five, seventy, and seventy-five have all been put forward as the minimum age. In New Zealand and Australia sixty-five is the age. In Germany seventy. As to means, this, of course, is a necessary basis of any scheme that proceeds by way of discrimination. The means of the applicant may be taken into account in one or in both of two ways—either as an absolute disqualification or as *pro tanto* reducing the amount of the pensions. In New Zealand both tests are applied. The possession of an income of £60, or of property of the value of £200, disqualifies, and the amount awarded is limited to such sum as will not bring the total income above £60 a year, £1 being deducted in respect of every £10 of capital value of property. In Denmark, private income up to £5 10s. a year is left out of consideration, and the amount of the award is calculated according to the needs of the applicant. In this country, the Reports of the

Committees of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wimbledon and of Sir Edward Hamilton disqualified all persons whose income from any source exceeded 10s. a week, that is to say, £26 a year. What does that mean? The actual result in figures of the 10s. disqualification for the year 1907, and for the whole of the United Kingdom, is as follows. I will take two cases—persons over sixty-five and persons over seventy. Of persons over sixty-five, the total number was 2,116,267. Deduct the number with incomes over 10s. a week, which is 778,283, that would bring the total pensionables to 1,337,984. Of persons over seventy, there were 1,254,286. Deduct the number with incomes of 10s., which was 393,405, that brings the total pensionables to 860,881. But all these figures I would point out are in the highest degree conjectural.

Then as to *status*. It will be common ground that any scheme should be confined to British subjects, and as naturalisation in this country is on the whole cheap and easy, it will be necessary to add as a qualification either ten years, or twenty years if you like, residence in the United Kingdom. Under this heading criminals and lunatics must also be excluded. By criminals, I mean persons actually under sentence. The deduction on this account is very small—about 1½ per cent. A more serious question is how far the *status* of pauper is to be regarded as a disqualification for a pension. In Denmark, the receipt of Poor Law relief within ten years disqualifies for pension. The right hon. Gentleman's Committee fixed it at within twenty years. Most of the Bills which have been introduced have made similar suggestions. I may say at once that the Government do not take that view. It is a very hard thing and a very unnecessary thing to make the mere fact of receipt of Poor Law relief during twenty, ten, or even within five years an absolute disqualification. We propose, therefore, and this is provisional, for the whole thing is necessarily experimental in the first year and subject to revision as experience is gained, to exclude in the first year actual paupers, that is, persons actually in receipt of Poor Law relief, and not to go back ten or fifteen years. We do not go back on the past.

As to character, I think the less you go into that question, short of actual conviction for crime, the better. All those suggested tests which look so well on paper, thrift, prudence, good repute, etc., when you put them into a concrete shape, are not only extremely difficult to apply, but in their application produce cases of unwarrantable hardship. Subsequent misconduct, of course, is a totally different matter. I am speaking now of past character. Having run through these various heads, let me again trouble the House. I will take the case of persons over sixty-five years and persons over seventy years. Persons over sixty-five years, as I have already said, number 2,116,000. If you deduct those with incomes over 10s. a week, as I have already done, the number is 778,000; aliens, criminals, and lunatics, 33,000; and paupers, 368,000, or a reduction to a total of 1,179,000, leaving the total of pensionable persons at 937,000. The number of persons over seventy being taken at 1,254,286, and making similar deductions, you get a total of pensionable persons of 572,000. Here, again, the figures are very conjectural. That is the best estimate that we can make, and we must not be held too closely to it, if experience shows different results.

## AMOUNT OF PENSION.

As regards the amount of the pension, it has been generally agreed in this country that 5s. a week, or £13 a year, should be the sum. Let me assume that the maximum of £13 a year—and I prefer to speak of it as so much a year instead of so much a week—was to be awarded in all cases, and to make no allowance, as you must do, for the differential treatment of married couples. The annual cost of providing pensions for the total number of pensionables—and I hope I shall be forgiven for that barbarous word—would work out as follows. For persons over sixty-five the cost would be £12,180,000; and for persons over seventy the cost would be £7,440,000. To both these figures you must add the cost of administration, estimated by Sir Edward Hamilton's Committee at 3 per cent.;

and the experience of New Zealand shows that that is a very outside figure. On the other hand, there are certain heads of deduction which ought to be taken into account in forming the estimate of cost. In the first place, it is reasonable to suppose that, through ignorance, inadvertence, and other causes, a substantial proportion of persons legally entitled to pensions would not claim or receive them. In the next place, married couples ought, when living together, to be pensioned at a lower rate than single people. The number of husbands and wives so living together over sixty-five years of age and upwards, form about 26 per cent. of the total population at that age in any year; that is, roughly speaking, about a quarter, not more, of the total number of pensioners will receive not more than 3s. 9d. instead of 5s. per head, or £9 15s. instead of £13 a year. Then, of course, there is another very important consideration. There must clearly be provision for the forfeiture or suspension of the pensions if they are shown to have been obtained by fraudulent misstatements, or if the pensioner is subsequently convicted of serious offences.

Now I will bring these various considerations to a head in a moment. We think, first of all, the financial situation admits of a substantial first step being now taken. We think next that the social and economic conditions of the United Kingdom are so different from those in other countries, like Denmark, New Zealand, and so on, in which alone any relevant experience has been obtained, that we ought in the first instance to proceed with great caution upon lines which may admit of subsequent development; and we think, further, that the experimental effort which we are about to make should be one of which, as far as it goes, we should from the first be able to foresee—I do not say with precision, but with reasonable accuracy—the ultimate cost, and thus avoid committing Parliament to a mortgage of indefinite amount upon the future resources of the country. The proposals that we make having regard to these various considerations are as follows: First, the income limit, apart from pension, should be fixed at £26 a year, subject to reduction in the case of married couples living together from £52 to £39 per year. I say a year because, as many of these old people are in more or less casual employment, now with a job and now without one, it is very much better to take the whole income for the preceding year than the weekly income from time to time. Secondly, we think that the age limit, having regard to the figures which I quoted to the House a short time ago, at which a pension should accrue, should, in the first instance at any rate, and for the purpose of our present proposal, be fixed at seventy. Thirdly, there is no substantial difference of opinion, I believe, as to the amount of the pension, which should be £13 a year and in the case of married couples living together £9 15s. per head. Fourthly, we think that stringent conditions should be provided—and by stringent I mean effective—for forfeiture or suspension, following in the main those which prevail in New Zealand. A much more difficult question, and one as to which I am bound to confess that my own opinion and that of many of my colleagues in considering this matter has fluctuated, is whether or not we are to follow the example of New Zealand and Denmark and adopt a sliding scale, and proportion the amount of the pension given to the means of the pensioner—that is to say, if a man has only 2s. a week, give him 5s.; and if he has 10s., give him only 1s. We have come to the conclusion, on the whole, to do nothing of the kind. I quite agree there is an apparent paradox in a man with 10s. getting the same pension as one who has nothing at all, but as the sums with which we are dealing are relatively so small, we are inclined to the conclusion that it is not desirable to introduce any sliding scale, and that we should have a fixed pension of 5s. for everybody who satisfies the prescribed conditions. Then, further, to make clear what I have already stated about the *status* of the candidates, we think that all persons should be disqualified who have within, say, five years of their application been convicted of serious crime or of such offences as desertion, habitual vagrancy, and so on.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.) here asked a question which did not reach the Gallery.

MR. ASQUITH: We intend to take property into account—if the right hon. Gentleman asks me the precise figure, I cannot give it to him at this moment—as they do in New Zealand.

### METHOD OF WORKING.

Let me say a word now as to the manner in which this scheme is to be carried out, before I come to deal with its cost. I am only going into the broadest outline, as the House will understand. I am ashamed to take up so much time, but this is a matter in which I am sure everybody is interested. The outline which I am supplying will be filled up in detail by my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board and others on further inquiry and at a later stage. I want now just to get the main features. The applicant will be supplied at the post office with a form of application, in the filling up of which it will be the duty of the local postmaster to give him all the assistance which he needs. The application when filled up will then be transmitted to the local pension authority. The selection of an area over which the pension authority is to act is a difficult matter, but on the whole, we have come to the conclusion to take administrative counties and municipal boroughs and urban districts with a population of 20,000 and over. The pension authority will be a committee appointed by the county, or the borough, or the urban district council, as the case may be, either from within or from without its own body. To meet the case of very large boroughs like Liverpool, with its population of 700,000, it will be necessary to enable the committee to appoint sub-committees; or again in the counties the area is too large to secure effective administration by one committee, and we propose that the pension authority shall act through local committees appointed by them for suitable areas. As this money is entirely provided by the State and not by the locality, as it comes out of the taxes and not out of the rates, it is perfectly clear that the central authority must have some voice in the matter, and, indeed, a very decided voice; and so to secure central control, we propose to set up in each of these districts a pension officer who will act with the pension committee. The pension officer will be an excise officer, for they are the class of man best fitted for this kind of work, and we hope to come to an arrangement with the local authority by which, in consideration of our handing over to them the collection and enjoyment of what are called the establishment licences which it is now part of the duty of the excise officers to collect, making a fair contribution of course out of State funds for the expense so cast upon them, these excise officers will be set free during the necessary part of their time for the purpose of pension duties. If the pension authority and the pension officer between them agree, there is an end of the matter, and the pension is granted; but if there is a difference of opinion, then there must be an appeal, and that appeal ought to be to the Local Government Board or to some officer appointed by them. That seems to be the simplest machinery that could possibly be devised for the purpose. The pensioner, then, as soon as his application is granted will receive a pension certificate with a book of weekly or monthly coupons, as the case may be, which will be payable to him at the post office. The pension, of course, will be inalienable and incapable of being charged, and will be payable only to the pensioner or to those authorised to receive it. I think that is all I need say on this point about machinery.

### COST OF SCHEME.

Now, Sir, as to cost. All estimates, as I have said, either of the number of pensionable persons or the ultimate cost of the scheme, are, on our present materials, in the highest degree conjectural; but we think it safe to assume that, given the above conditions, the maximum number of actual pensioners will not exceed 500,000, and that the maximum cost, after making the allowance I have suggested in the case of married couples living together and so forth, in any year is not likely to exceed, and will probably fall somewhat short of, £6,000,000 sterling. As it will take time and much adjustment of detail to get the necessary machinery into working order, no scheme can be brought into operation until 1st January, 1909, and as, even then, it will not be in full blast, I estimate that the charge upon the actual current financial year will not be more than £1,200,000.

Now, Sir, I am well aware that in laying these proposals before Parliament they will be assailed, I will not say in an unfriendly spirit, for, as a matter of fact, I am sure they will not. When I say assailed, I mean in the way of friendly criticism upon different lines of attack. It will be said, on the one hand, by some of my hon. friends that our proposals do not go far enough. They will tell me that the income-limit is too low and the age-limit too high, and that, perhaps, in other respects the conditions are more stringent than they need be, though they are much less stringent than in any system which is now in actual working order. My reply is, and it is a reply which I beg my hon. friends to follow, that you make by this scheme immediate provision for something like half a million aged persons who are at present, to a large degree, dependent on the precarious charity of relatives and in imminent danger of becoming dependent on Poor Law relief, with all its humiliating disqualifications. On the other hand, it will be said, perhaps, by some Gentlemen above the gangway, though I do not think by very many of them, that this is a Socialistic experiment discouraging to thrift; that it is the inauguration of the policy, as I have seen it described in some quarters, of doles and largesses which was fatal to Rome—the first step of an inclined plane of which no one can see the bottom. Our reply is that, if this is Socialism, it is Socialism of a kind for which both parties in this country have made themselves responsible and for which they are equally ready, I believe, to accept responsibility. It stands, in our view, in principle on precisely the same footing as the free education of children. As for the well-worn metaphor of the inclined plane, it has been enlisted in the past against every effort to achieve reform by experiment and by instalment, and I need not dwell upon that. Perhaps, indeed, the most singular of all objections made by way of anticipation against our proposals is that they involve not only a plunge into Socialism but—and here I am on more delicate ground—a return to protection. Old-age pensions, I see, in some much-esteemed quarters are represented as the necessary or the inevitable forerunner of tariff reform. I do not know whether I am suspect in this matter or whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer is suspect. I can only repeat what I said last year—that I would not buy even such a boon as this for the veteran and worn-out workers of this country at the cost of free trade.

I must now pass to the concluding part of what I have to say. The charge upon the current year for this scheme of old-age pensions is not estimated to exceed £1,200,000. I am still left, therefore, as far as the current year is concerned, with a balance undisposed of amounting to about £3,700,000. We are making ample, and, indeed, unprecedented provision for the repayment of the Debt. Is the Chancellor of the Exchequer justified in all the circumstances in drawing from the taxpayers £3,500,000, of which the State has no immediate need? In our view, the answer to that question, in accordance with the sound traditions and almost unvarying practice of British finance, is in the negative.

### REDUCTION OF SUGAR-TAX.

Last year I gave relief, and substantial relief, to a large class of income-tax payers. This year, therefore, assuming that relief by way of remission of taxation is to be given, it would be the natural course for the indirect taxpayer to be relieved. There is one impost in particular to which, as my declarations in the past will have prepared the Committee to believe, my colleagues and myself have felt compelled to give special attention. I refer to the sugar duty. The sugar duty is one of those experiments in indirect taxation which were introduced by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, primarily, no doubt, to meet the expenses of the war, but which were regarded by him as permanent additions to our fiscal system. That was in the pre-tariff reform days, and that was the way in which he sought to broaden the basis of taxation. When we look back upon those experiments however, we find that neither the corn tax nor the coal tax survived for long, and the sugar tax was, I think, almost universally regarded—quite as much, I believe, by the occupants of the benches opposite as by anyone else, judging from their public declarations—as sooner or later doomed to the same fate. The truth is that a sugar duty is one of the most objectionable of all our indirect taxes, because it is at one and the same time a tax upon food and a tax upon raw material. Unfortunately, it is very productive. Last year it brought in £6,700,000. You will see in a moment that the resources at my disposal do not enable me to propose its immediate and total abolition. I am compelled to stand in a white sheet, but I do not think I am quite such a bad offender as some hon. Gentlemen may think. Undoubtedly I have on previous occasions expressed doubts whether a partial remission of the sugar tax, although I have always said it would be a great boon to manufacturers who use sugar as a raw material, would reach the ordinary consumer in the shape of a measurable reduction in the retail price. I also expressed a doubt, that subsequent investigation showed to be ill-founded, as to whether a reduction of a farthing would have any effect upon retail prices. I am satisfied that it would. I do not think it would in the case of tea, but in the case of sugar I think it would. Every Chancellor of the Exchequer has to learn something. Although I was wrong in saying that a partial remission of the sugar tax, although it would benefit the manufacturer, would not be brought home to the consumer, the difficulties are very considerable, and they ought to be explained to and realised by the Committee before I come to the proposal I am about to make. This customs duty upon imported sugar is 4s. 2d. per cwt. The popular idea is that the rate of duty is a halfpenny per lb. In point of fact it is 100 halfpennies upon 112 lbs. of sugar. The figure is not a halfpenny per lb., but ·893 or, in round figures, nine-tenths of a halfpenny per lb. The rate was fixed for a good, or at any rate plausible, reason. When Sir Michael Hicks Beach imposed the duty in 1901 it was extremely important for him to conciliate the trade, and in order to make the thing work smoothly, and also, no doubt, to compensate the trade for the new restrictions which it had to undergo, he said that while the burden to the consumer would no doubt be at the rate of a full halfpenny in the pound, he would charge the importer, not 4s. 8d., but only 4s. 2d. per cwt., leaving him 6d. to compensate him for all the incidental drawbacks and disadvantages of the new state of things. The Committee will see that the moment you realise that the rate is not a full two farthings but only one farthing and a fraction of another, the practical problem not of abolishing altogether but reducing the tax is one of considerable complexity. There are three ways in which it can be done. The first is to halve the duty a it stands. That, I think, is an objectionable way, and I have very great doubt whether, if you adopted that course, the half would actually go to the consumer. A considerable amount would go to him in time, but I think there would be considerable delay before he got the full benefit. Another way of dealing with the matter would be to reduce the duty to one farthing per lb., giving the consumer the benefit of the four-fifths of the farthing, which represents the difference between one farthing and the total duty now. That would be much the cheapest way. There again, I very much doubt whether the consumer would reap the real benefit. The third course, the course the Government proposes to adopt, is this—the most expensive but the most effective—to reduce the duty by one farthing, not to one farthing, so that the Exchequer would retain only the benefit of the odd four-fifths of a farthing which remains. If you do that you give the consumer an irresistible claim to the benefit of the farthing on the retail price; it is the only way in which I believe that that result can be absolutely attained. We propose to reduce the duty of 4s. 2d. per cwt. to 1s. 10d. We propose that that reduction, as far as raw and refined sugar is concerned, should take effect as from May 18th, and on drawbacks at the same date. On articles manufactured, of which there is, no doubt, a considerable quantity in stock, it is only fair to give the persons concerned longer notice; and we, therefore, propose that the reduction, as far as they are concerned, shall not take effect till July 1st. There is a further point to be remembered as to the financial effect for the current year of this reduction. We shall still have nearly six weeks of imports at the old rate of duty. The total loss to the revenue for the year I estimate at £3,400,000.

### FINAL BALANCE SHEET.

I am now in a position to show a final balance-sheet. For the year 1908–9, the estimated revenue on the existing basis of taxation is £157,770,000, and the expenditure is estimated at £152,869,000, showing a surplus of £4,901,000. The revenue given up in connection with the sugar duty is £3,400,000, and in connection with the stamp duty on marine insurance policies £20,000 (for the quarter which will fall in 1908–9). There is thus a total remission of taxation estimated at £3,420,000. To the expenditure side of the account has to be added the amount required for old-age pensions. The cost of the scheme for the quarter of the year for which it will be in operation will be £1,200,000. It is further proposed to grant to the local authorities for the cost of collecting certain licence duties £40,000. The total increased expenditure is £1,240,000. This, added to the amount of taxation remitted, will involve the reduction by £4,660,000 of the surplus, which was estimated at £4,901,000. There is thus a final balance of £241,000. That is the effect of our proposals. I do not know in what spirit they are to be attacked. I will only in my concluding words anticipate one obvious but, I think, superficial criticism. It will be said, I imagine—I should probably say it myself if I were a critic of this Budget—"You are looking out for the present and leaving the future to look after itself." That is as far as possible from being true, and let me say why. As I have shown, by the conjoint operation of the proposals in this Budget with the fruits of last year's surplus revenue, we are making in this year, 1908–9, provision for the further reduction of the Debt of the country by £15,000,000. It follows that next year, even if, in this matter of Debt reduction my right hon. friend emulates and indeed outstrips the most strenuous efforts of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Goschen, he will still have at his disposal a free revenue of a very substantial amount. He will further have in hand £1,200,000—this year's contrition to old-age pensions. In my judgment there cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that a free trade Finance Minister has come to or is nearly approaching the end of his resources in the matter of new taxation. My solitary contribution in that direction during my three years of office has been a comparatively trivial addition to the death duties last year, because, as I have said, I regarded it as my first and main duty to do what I could to reduce the national liabilities. The field is open to my right hon. friend, and I have the most complete confidence in his ability, if he should be in need—I do not know that he will—to make it yield a fruitful and abundant crop. This year, at any rate, we have done all that seemed to us possible. After meeting every obligation that the service of the country requires, we ask the House to sanction the application of the residue of the national income at our disposal in cheapening the raw material of some of our most important industries, in mitigating the cost of the consumer of one of the prime necessaries of life, and in laying a solid basis for a fuller and more humane provision for old age.

### TEA.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Customs duty now charged on tea shall continue to be charged until the first day of July, nineteen hundred and nine, that is to say—Tea, the pound, fivepence.—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.): If the Prime Minister does not think it impertinence on my part I would congratulate him on the method and manner of his statement. I hope he will permit me to do so on behalf of myself and my hon. friends. He is a master of lucid statement, and he makes his way clear as he proceeds, never wasting time by unnecessary words, and I must say, without any disrespect to his successor, that to listen to such a statement as we have heard to-day must make us regret that we are not to have any more Budget statements from the Prime Minister himself. The statement made by the Prime Minister to-day is, without the possibility of contradiction, one of the most important Budget statements made for many years in this House. It has been the subject, as the Prime Minister has said, of many months' consideration on his own part and on the part of his colleagues, and he may be quite certain that I am not going to be so rash in following him to go, without even a moment for consideration, into any detailed, criticism of the great schemes which he has outlined, or the great reforms which he has proposed. I venture however to make one or two observations. I think I can the assure right hon. Gentleman for all who sit on these benches, whatever we may have to say as these debates proceed in the way of criticism of his proposals for old-age pensions, our criticisms, as he himself anticipated, will not be conceived in any hostile or unfriendly spirit. There are distinguished gentlemen outside this House who are opposed to any State-aided system of old-age pensions except such as we have been long accustomed to through the Poor Law. I doubt whether there are half a dozen in this House who take the same view. We have, without distinction of party, watched the growth of this movement. Many Members on both sides of the House have contributed to the formation of public opinion on the subject, and I think the state of public opinion has reached a point where this question had to be dealt with in some form or another by any Government on the first occasion on which they could see their way not merely to make some provision in the current year, but, to use the right hon. Gentleman's words, on the first occasion on which they could lay the foundation of a future scheme on a solid basis. I am not likely to under-rate the difficulties which surround any attempt to deal with this question. I have been very conscious of them, as I have shown by such references as I have made to the subject in public or in this House, and no doubt, whatever solution the Government had arrived at, they would have been open to much criticism, as I have said, not of an unfriendly character, but of a reasonable and friendly kind. There is much to be said against any particular settlement at which you arrive. For my part I have favoured the idea of a contributory scheme. I am well aware of all the difficulties that can be urged against such a proposal, but I believe that the growth of public opinion was such that many of those difficulties were lessened by criticism, and it had become possible to frame, or it might have been possible to frame, a contributory scheme, which would also have been a compulsory scheme, with the prospect at any rate of sufficient acceptance. That is my own view, and had the Government decided to follow that course, of course there would have been certain obvious advantages. If you frame a contributory scheme you at once lessen the burden on the Exchequer, or, to put the matter in another way, which, I think is clearly a practical way to state it, any given amount of money you have at your disposal will go much further than it will with a non-contributing scheme. It will contribute to make provision for a much larger number of people when those people make a personal contribution of their own during their young years, and if you associate with those personal contributions of their own what I should have liked to see, compulsory contributions from those who employ them—if the Chancellor of the Exchequer will allow me again to quote Germany—on the German model, with a given sum of money you could reach three times the number of people you can reach with a non-contributory scheme. But I am bound to recognise from the moment a responsible Minister propounds a non-contributory scheme, and as long as that non-contributory scheme is not rejected by the House, which I do not anticipate it will be, the non-contributory scheme holds the field and a contributory scheme becomes, in my opinion, impossible, not merely in the present but in the future. No one supposes that the right hon. Gentleman himself desires, and no one desires, that, assuming his scheme to go through this year as he has described it, it should be the last word said about pensions or pension schemes in this House or the country. He has cut his coat according to his cloth, more or less, and he has fixed the amount of the pension to a certain extent on the conditions of the income of the pensionable people, and in regard to the amount of money he has available. But I imagine that he and all of us would like the pension to begin at a lower age, and would like some other changes in the direction of making them more beneficial at least to the deserving poor—I do not use that word in too narrow a sense—than he has been able to do. I think the tabling of a non-contributory scheme of this kind makes it impossible in any development we may make in future to go back to any contributory form, and more difficult than it otherwise would have been to go the length which all of us would desire to go. I will make one more observation on that part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement. He sketched to us some of the conditions which were to debar people who had arrived at the pensionable age from receiving pensions. He sketched them very vaguely, and I make no complaint whatever about that, but naturally all the conditions about the granting of pensions will need careful examination as we proceed with the discussion of the measure. I confess that, as I listened to the right hon. Gentleman, I felt that unless the scheme when it is developed is better safeguarded than would at present appear, I should fear that there might be a good deal of abuse and that the pensions might reach a good number of people who were very little deserving of such special aid from the State. After all, what you give to those who do not deserve it, you withdraw from those who do deserve it. And with any given sum of money I would much sooner that it was spent on the more deserving than wasted on those which have no claim on our sympathy and who in their earlier years have not behaved as the average decent citizen should. I guard myself by again saying that I do not want anything in the nature of an inquisitorial investigation into character. I do not believe that to be for one moment possible, and I do not mean to suggest that every man should be excluded who has not for all the years of his life a stainless record. But I do say that those who have been ne'er-do-wells, those who have been thriftless, those who have been of no use to themselves and very likely a burden to their relations and to the State during a long period of their lives, have not a claim to the benevolence of the State, such as the great mass of the more deserving poor have. I will not press that part of the subject at the present time. I think it would be unfair to myself to do so, and after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, it would be unfair to his statement and to all the work that that statement indicates to attempt to criticise his plan in more detail.

I turn from that to his general Budget statement. There are one or two observations which I would like to make. He opened it with a cheerful account of the state of trade during last year. No doubt the figures of exports and imports were all that the late President of the Board of Trade could have desired, if he had had the liberty of framing them for himself. But I do not think that they indicate an equal degree of increase of prosperity throughout the nation; and I think that a more careful inquiry would show that except in one or two very large and very important trades no doubt, but still except in these one or two trades, last year was not a particularly good year either for the manufacturers or the people they employ. If you look at the Board of Trade returns as to the increase of wages, you will find that increase on which the Prime Minister commented; but if you analyse them a little further you find that it is almost wholly accounted for by the increase in the amount of wages paid to miners and to operatives in the textile trades. If you take out the miners and the operatives engaged in the textile trades you have practically taken out the whole additional boon which this prosperity has brought to the working classes of the country. Well, that is not a very satisfactory feature. But incidentally, with regard to an observation which the Prime Minister threw out, I mean his reference to coal—I suppose he wanted me to tread on the tail of his coat—I do not quite know on what authority he said that we, on this side of the House, were pledged to the abolition of the coal tax.

MR. ASQUITH: The right hon. Gentleman knows what I was referring to.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: What I said to many of my friends was that this tax, of course, stood in a peculiar position. It was unlike any other tax in our fiscal system, and I expressed to them, partly on that ground, partly by reason of the nature of the trade, and partly by reason of the political influence which the trade had in this House, my belief that the tax could not be permanently maintained. But as far as public utterances are concerned I have gone no further than that. I do not believe that the tax had up to this time last year done any injury to the coal trade of the country. I made no other promise to the deputations which waited upon me than that it might be repealed. But that is very different from saying that it was right and proper to take off the coal tax when the right hon. Gentleman did take it off, viz., at a time when the export coal trade was booming and when the demand was growing. It has been growing ever since, and had the tax been continued in force, the result would, in my opinion, without the shadow of a doubt, have been that the foreign purchaser would have paid the tax. I do not believe that the coal trade of this country has benefited in the least since the abolition of the tax. It might be benefited when the export trade became slack, but when the tax was taken off it was no benefit to the trade here but a gift to the foreign purchaser of the money he would have had to contribute to our Exchequer. Of the other taxes, the most noticeable feature in the results of last year is, I think, the repetition in the failure of the Excise to show any elasticity. When outside Committee of Ways and Means, we congratulate ourselves on this fact, because it means lessened drinking habits on the part of the people; but when inside Committee of Ways and Means, it gives some of us a little anxiety, because the drinking habits of the people are themselves the cause of so large a proportion of the revenue we collect. Indeed, I think the right hon. Gentlemen — the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—when they are in the course of other debates denouncing the liquor trade at large, should remember that, so long as they hold office, they are partners in that trade, and partners who go off with a very large portion of the "boodle." Now, it is not excessive drinking which profits the revenue; neither is it excessive drinking which profits the brewers and the publicans. It is the moderate, steady drinker who brings in the steady revenue. I commented three or four years ago when I was Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the continued fall in the revenue from Excise. Now it has not fallen so much, but it remains stationary. I believe that no doubt in good times there is always a tendency for the people to spend more freely on luxuries of this kind, but does that indicate a permanent change in the habits of the people? There is a permanent change which I do not believe any return of prosperity, however large it may be, will undo. It means that they are increasingly spending their spare money in other ways; that all the additional attractions which games and the opportunity of travel offer, are now being more fully taken advantage of by them, and that if more be spent in this particular way they want to spend less on exciseable liquors. Now, as to our Income Tax Returns. In this connection, as an old Chancellor of the Exchequer, I would like to express my congratulations to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and his authorities upon the extraordinary accuracy of the forecasts on which they based the returns of income. That must be indeed a source of satisfaction to the right hon. Gentleman. The Prime Minister, however, made one observation in treating of the income-tax which, I think, perhaps, had some bearing on our general fiscal system, and upon the future changes which he foreshadowed in the concluding observations which he made. He said that the reduction in the amount of the tax charged on earned incomes had actually resulted in more income being presented for taxation.

MR. ASQUITH: Had been followed by.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Had been followed by more income being presented for taxation; and therefore the right hon. Gentleman thought that probably the removal of a sense of injustice, the idea that there was something to get—even if they were to give something—that there were various motives induced by this change which themselves called forth more income subject to the tax and had brought that income within the purview of the tax-collector. That may very well be true, but if true the reverse action would bring about a reverse tendency. And when you talk with a light heart of a further increase of the death duties and a graduation on a higher scale of the income-tax, you will find that, just as when you offer a boon more income comes forth to the tax, so when you inflict punishment more income is withheld from you. I think that the remarkable fact to which the right hon. Gentleman referred has a direct bearing on the expediency of enlarging the income-tax and death duties on big estates. I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman, without any *arrière pensée*, or any reservation, on what he has been able to accomplish in the way of reduction of the National Debt. It was an urgent need. I think I am entitled to say that, acting as Chancellor of the Exchequer in circumstances of very considerable difficulty, I added £1,000,000 to the Fixed Debt Charge in order that we might make faster progress with that reduction. I venture to make two criticisms on what the right hon. Gentleman has accomplished, not in an unfriendly spirit but by way of painting in details, which, in the large picture with which the right hon. Gentleman was concerned, may have escaped his notice and might escape the notice of the Committee. The first observation I have to make is that the right hon. Gentleman has, of course, added nothing to the Fixed Debt Charge in the course of the years for which he is responsible. He added £500,000 in one year and some £1,500,000 in another year. But in each case he withdrew these sums by extraordinary Supplementary Estimates. He took for the Volunteers the £500,000 allocated for the Fixed Debt Charge in the first year; and in the second year £1,500,000 for the same purpose. And I have to observe that in the reduction of £47,000,000 in the Debt for which the right hon. Gentleman—not unfairly—claimed credit in the years for which he was responsible, no less than £13,000,000 accrued from the realised surpluses, that is to say from the old Sinking Fund. They are not voluntary contributions which the right hon. Gentleman has made; it was not his intention to make them, but they arise through having under-estimated his revenue, and £3,500,000 of what he claims was really my contribution.

Mr. ASQUITH: I quite agree, but I am not claiming that.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I thought the right hon. Gentleman included that.

Mr. ASQUITH: I quite agree that the right hon. Gentleman left me £3,500,000, for which I was very grateful to him, but it is not included.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The sum, being the realised surplus of 1905–6, therefore would be included in the year 1906–7. There remains about £10,000,000 in all of his own realised surpluses, which are sums which have gone, according to old-established principle and statute, to the reduction of Debt, but which it was not the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to devote to that purpose. He has been enabled to devote them to the reduction of Debt by the fact that he under-estimated his revenue and over-estimated his expenditure, and that he had these balances over at the end of the year. Of the use which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to make of the surplus of this year I have no criticism to make, as far as concerns the small change which he announced in regard to marine policies of insurance. Indeed, I welcome that change greatly. I believe it will be a great boon to those concerned, and will relieve them of some injustice and unfairness which the tax has hitherto imposed upon them. I confess that I am more doubtful about the wisdom of the right hon. Gentleman, who last year most prudently and most skilfully began to collect a nest-egg for his own old-age pension scheme, in this year spending all his available money up to the hilt. It is not as if the old-age pension scheme were the only new expenditure which we can contemplate in the near future. It is perfectly clear that we must have largely-increased expenditure on the Navy. I do not believe that anybody competent to speak on the matter believes that we could compensate it by reductions on the Army. We must have large expenditure on these matters. We have growing expenditure in all other directions—throughout the Civil Service Estimates. All these matters tend to come upon us with increasing force and with added growth year by year. In these circumstances, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is starting a pension scheme admittedly incomplete and experimental, it is unwise for him to spend his surplus up to the hilt in the present year and to leave nothing as a nest-egg for next year.

Let me say a word upon what has happened in this respect since the present Government came into office. Upon no subject, I should think, were the right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and the Prime Minister in particular, more accustomed to enlarge in the country than on the extravagant expenditure of the Unionist Government. One expectation that they held out to the country was that they would reduce expenditure. Well, have they done it? [A MINISTERIAL MEMBER: They have reduced the Debt.] I said, have they reduced expenditure? It really is not an answer to tell me that they have reduced Debt. The issues for the Supply services in 1905-6 were £109,700,000 odd; the issues for last year are given as £109,185,000; but the Estimates for the current year are £111,934,000. That shows—what we have all along contended—that to a certain extent, according to your opinion of what is important and what is not, you may cut something off here or something there in the Estimates, but you cannot make a material reduction on the whole, because of the new claims which are constantly pressing upon you. And, although there may be some difference as to what may be chosen, in the main there is very little difference between the two sides of the House on that point, because those new claims absorb, and more than absorb, any reductions that you can make. I confess that in those circumstances I am not altogether happy at the resolution which the right hon. Gentleman has come to to balance his Budget with only a surplus of £250,000, and to leave liabilities of several millions unprovided for for next year, except by additional taxation which may then be imposed, or by a reduction in the provision which is at present made for reducing the National Debt. No doubt that figure is fixed at a very high sum at the present time—a very much higher sum than was thought necessary by Mr. Goschen at the time that the dead-weight Debt stood at practically the same figure as at present. But I think the experience of the years which intervened—the experience of the South African War and all that has followed upon it—should lead us to be very slow to come back to such a provision as was made and thought sufficient by Mr. Goschen and other authorities at that time. I myself feel that until we have carried the Debt to a considerably lower figure we ought not to make any material reduction, at any rate in the Fixed Debt Charge. The right hon. Gentleman announced that instead of borrowing for the completion of the public buildings he was going to raid the old Sinking Fund to the extent of £500,000 or £600,000 for their completion. I heartily approve of the action which he has taken. I think it is sensible, reasonable, and wise finance. I make no criticism of it, but I beg him to read the speeches in which a Liberal predecessor, Sir William Harcourt, denounced similar action when taken by us.

MR. ASQUITH was understood to say that he had read those speeches.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Of course, I have had no opportunity of refreshing my memory. I can only say that I have vivid recollections of fierce denunciations in connection with exactly similar proceedings when the surplus which Sir M. Hicks Beach did not wish to devote to the reduction of Debt was applied to the creation of new obligations on account of capital works for the Army and Navy, which is a similar matter. I assume that the right hon. Gentleman will not attempt to proceed far with his Resolutions to-night, but, as usual, will reserve the income-tax or some big Resolution of that kind, on which we shall be allowed to discuss, not merely the subjects immediately raised by the Resolution, but the whole scope of the Budget and of the fiscal system of the country. With that understanding I shall postpone any further observations.

MR. ASQUITH: What we propose to do is to reserve the income-tax and have a general discussion upon that on some future day. But we must have the other Resolutions to-night. There are very few of them.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Is it necessary to take the sugar duties?

MR. ASQUITH: Yes, it is necessary to take the sugar duties, but the income-tax raises everything.

MR. RICHARDSON (Nottingham, S.) expressed his gratitude to the Prime Minister for the message of hope which his Budget would be to those who had been looking forward to old-age pensions. They would realise that this Budget brought within their grasp some of the elements that would help to make for them a little heaven on earth. He was delighted to hear from the Prime Minister that the people were indulging less in strong drink, and that the right hon. Gentleman was able to wipe off a big slice of the National Debt. The present Government would be known in the future as a Business Government. The peaceful settlement of a great industrial war by the late President of the Board of Trade, and the introduction by the right hon. Gentleman of the Patents Bill, added to the present Budget, proved that the Government understood that this nation was not merely a fighting nation, but was also a commercial nation. When last year's Budget was introduced, he voted against the reduction of the sugar tax, believing the working classes would prefer to keep the tax at the rate at which it then stood, because it would then be possible to start old-age pensions. His conduct had been largely criticised in his constituency. He had explained his views to the Trades Council, and they had passed a resolution exonerating him from any blame. He had recently had another interview with them, and without a single dissentient they came to the conclusion that he should vote for old-age pensions, even with the retention of the sugar tax. It therefore gave him intense satisfaction to find from the present Budget that not only were they to have old-age pensions, but half the sugar tax taken off. In the name of 40,000 trade unionists he thanked the Government for their proposal.

*SIR F. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said that as one who had identified himself with the repeal of the sugar tax for many years, and had made many appeals to previous Chancellors of the Exchequer on this subject he warmly thanked his right hon. friend for the concession he had made in the remission of half the duty. He had also identified himself with old-age pensions for many years past, and he wished to congratulate his right hon. friend for not having parted with his control over the Exchequer before he had carried out the pledge of last year by launching this important reform, and associating it for ever with his name. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Worcestershire had argued that the Liberal Government had not sufficiently reduced the expenditure of the country to meet the expectation of their followers or to redeem their own pledges before the election. That was not a matter on which he should attempt to enter. He had a strong feeling that the expenditure of this country might be and ought to be still further reduced, but he thought that the very fact that they had the late Chancellor of the Exchequer there to-day insisting as he had insisted that the Government had not half fulfilled their pledges to reduce expenditure, and that this grand Budget could accomplish so many things without any such sweeping reduction of expenditure, was the most vivid demonstration of the limitless resources of this country. These mighty social reforms would be accomplished in the near future without, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, cutting down the expenditure of this country to anything like the level his own supporters had expected. The Budget statement was a magnificent demonstration of the triumph of free trade, and a grand record of the purity and soundness of the principles upon which the commerce of this country was based. What was the record of the Government? In three years they had struck off one-twelfth of the total dead-weight Debt of the country, and they had reduced the annual charge for the payment of interest upon the Debt by one-nineteenth. This magnificent achievement had been effected by a great Free Trade Government. Last year his right hon. friend had been able to accomplish a reform with which he (Sir Francis Channing) identified himself twenty years previously, when he first became a candidate for this House, namely, the relief of precarious earned incomes. That great and solid reform achieved and carried out by his right hon. friend was shown by the statement to which the Committee had just listened to have been a splendid reform in more ways than one. This year half of the sugar duty had been repealed, greatly to the benefit of the great sugar-using industries of the country, and repealed in exactly the way and at the time that would best meet the interests of those great industries, and while carefully securing to the consumer the whole benefit of the remission it had enabled those engaged in the manufacture of sugar products to get rid of their present stocks at current rates and without loss. He wished to point out the benefit to the consumer from the remission of the sugar duty. It was a matter which really required a good deal of close consideration. He had examined very carefully the incidence of this duty upon various incomes for many years past, and he was in a position to tell his right hon. friend what was the precise measure of the benefit which he had given. Taking the figures as given by the Board of Trade, the agricultural labourer with an income of 18s. 6d. a week on the average, by this remission would receive, reckoning it as income tax, what was equivalent to a reduction of 1½d. in the £., while the artisan with 30s. a week, according to his calculations, would receive very nearly five farthings in the £. All this was due to the skilful manipulation of the right hon. Gentleman in dealing with the matter. These were very great and solid benefits, and he congratulated his right hon. friend on the consummate skill, boldness and wisdom which marked their embodiment in the Budget. The other subject with which he had been identified in that House for many years was the question of old-age pensions. The Prime Minister almost complained of the over-zeal of the collectors of Inland Revenue, who had so swept up the arrears of income tax that £750,000 had been passed into the old Sinking Fund and was lost in the magnificent series of achievements which led to the reduction of the Debt, and was, therefore, not available for the old age pensions scheme at the present time. There they had another proof of the splendid triumph of Free Trade principles. [An ironical cheer from Sir F. BANBURY.] Yes; the Member for the City mocked at that, but he should wish to know how the hon. Gentleman regarded the enormous deficits in Germany and the United States as compared with the magnificent record of this Budget, the commencement which was being made by his right hon. friend with old-age pensions, and at the same time this grand reform of the sugar tax —a good pair of horses—which his hon. friend opposite knew so much about —which were being driven at full-speed through the financial gates of that prosperity which was consequent upon Free Trade. They had £1,200,000 set aside, to begin with, for old-age pensions for half a million of people. He must say at once that he thought the Prime Minister was extremely wise in setting his old-age pension scheme free from many restrictions and limitations and getting rid of the Poor Law tests, the difficulties of which had been pointed out and debated for years past, and which were unworkable and impossible of application. His right hon. friend was right in saying that people who were not actually in prison at the present time should have every chance of enjoying this great boon, but he deeply regretted that he had not assented to the benefit being given to those who were 65 years of age. During the subsequent course of the Budget he should contend very strongly in favour of that age, and he thought very good reasons might be adduced showing the financial possibility and practicability of such a proposal in connection with the Budget scheme laid before the House by the right hon. Gentleman. He believed they could combine a pension scheme for aged persons of from 65 years with the relief from the sugar duty, which was such a magnificent contribution in the present Budget. He was quite sure that hon. Members on both sides of the House were aware that rumours had been current that the proposals for old-age pensions could not be carried out without a considerable addition to and a graduation of the income-tax, additional death duties, or things of that kind, yet here they had the income-tax payers let off with generosity. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh."] Yes; that was the great feature of this Budget, that they had no graduation, and that they had not increased the death duties. Having listened to many Budgets, he thought the present Budget was one of the most merciful and generous Budgets to the wealthier classes that had been advanced for a long time. There were plenty of resources which might have been very easily tapped in order to secure the enormous benefit to the poorer classes of filling up the gap between 65 and 70 years of age. He knew numbers of poor old people of the most deserving kind in the community; he had sat with them in their cottages, and he knew how great a disappointment it would be that the age had not been reduced to 65 in the present Budget. He contended that the country had vast accumulations of wealth which, in his opinion, might be subjected to a further extension of the death duties, and they would find also in the subjects which they had been discussing during the past week an ample range of financial resources which were within the reach of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which might have been used to fill up the gap between 70 and 65 years of age. He would just allude to the question which had been before the House for some days by one illustration. It seemed to him that it would be perfectly open to the right hon. Gentleman, it would be logical, moral, and honest, to impose higher licence duties. The whole of the licensed houses of London and the great towns and urban districts were now paying less than £1,300,000 a year, but if they were taxed on the scale which obtained in New York, they would be paying 15½ millions in the year to the Exchequer. That would mean an addition to the revenue at the disposal of the Exchequer of no less than 14½ millions sterling, which would be more than ample to cover the margin between the ages of sixty-five and seventy. That was a point which they would have to argue later. This Budget was opening the door to the mitigation of the sufferings of old age. Further, the remission of half the sugar duty enormously benefited the community and a great group of industries and would greatly increase employment, while at the same time the wealthier classes were being generously left exempt from additional taxation, which he believed many of them had expected.

*Mr. CHAPLIN (Surrey, Wimbledon): I can assure the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down that I will not attempt to accept the challenge which has been offered more than once from that side of the House on a question which he and right hon. Gentlemen opposite will insist upon calling free trade in this country. But I do desire to associate myself heartily and entirely with my right hon. friend who spoke before me in all that he said, not only with regard to this scheme and the spirit in which it will be met by Gentlemen on this side of the House, but even more, perhaps, in what he said of the character and ability of the statement in which the right hon. Gentleman explained his scheme to the House. If I may be permitted to say so, the thought occurred to my mind often while he unfolded his scheme, that I had heard no explanation of a large measure like this to the House equal to his since the days of Mr. Gladstone, of whose marvellous lucidity of exposition it greatly reminded me, and I do not think I can pay the right hon. Gentleman a greater compliment than that in regard to his two speeches on the Licensing Bill and the scheme he unfolded to-night for old-age pensions. It is to that I intend entirely to confine my own observations. The right hon. Gentleman's scheme differs very materially from the scheme of 1899, for which I have been reminded by him that I was to some extent responsible myself, although I am glad to remember my association with the right hon. Gentleman opposite who served upon the Committee with me, and I for one would have every satisfaction if we were to agree as often in the case of debates in this House as I think we did upon that occasion. I do not criticise the scheme to-night. There will be ample opportunities in future, and there will be many different points on which I and others on this side of the House will all think it our duty to offer opinions. I rise merely for the purpose of asking for some further information on two or three points. I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say he had some reason to believe that with regard to the Royal Commission which is sitting on the Poor Law it was probable that they would recommend that the care of the aged should be taken out of the Poor Law.

Mr. ASQUITH: It is not the fact that I have any knowledge whatever whether the Commission is going to do that or not. What I said was that I thought they would in some shape or other give effect to the re-classification in different categories of the different classes of persons.

*Mr. CHAPLIN: I followed the right hon. Gentleman very carefully with regard to what he said on re-classification, in which I entirely agree with him, but I thought he went further and said he thought it was not unlikely that the aged would be taken almost entirely out of the Poor Law. The next point on which I wanted to ask information is this: I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that as between the State and the pensioners the obligation to provide the pensions must rest on the Treasury and not on the local authority. Then there was a sentence which followed immediately after that, which I did not catch quite distinctly, and which led me to feel some apprehension that possibly there was an intention on the part of the Government in the time to come to withhold subventions, if they thought desirable, from the local authorities. I do not quite know what the meaning of that sentence was.

Mr. ASQUITH: I said it was to be entirely without prejudice to the question what the relations in future were to be between the State and the local authorities in regard to Poor Law expenditure and everything connected with it.

*Mr. CHAPLIN: Then there is only one other point—where the right hon. Gentleman came to the question of discrimination. I entirely agree that there must be discrimination. There were four different points, and one was the question of character. The right hon. Gentleman said that the less inquiry made on that point the better. But what is it he proposes? Is there to be no inquiry into character? For instance, I put a question that occurs to me now. Would it be intended that a confirmed, habitual drunkard should have a pension? Is there any provision in the Bill against that; is it intended or not? That is one of the points I should rather like to have cleared up, because it seems to be a very extraordinary thing, with a Licensing Bill to bring about a great diminution of drunkenness, to have habitual drunkards treated as pensioners under the new Bill. As regards old-age pensions, I am aware on this side of the House of no hostility to the proposal in principle, and the scheme submitted to us, when we come to examine it will be fairly considered.

*Mr. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the sympathetic view he had taken on the question of old-age pensions. They all knew the great work done by the Chaplin Committee, and one of the interesting features was that although they resolved that their scheme should be confined to the deserving poor, in their estimate of the number of poor of seventy years of age of pensionable character they put the number at 387,000, and the cost at £5,800,000, against the Prime Minister's estimate of 500,000 in number at a cost of £6,000,000. These two sets of figures came very near each other, and he thought it rather a remarkable illustration of how thoroughly the Committee over which the right hon. Gentleman presided had gone into the question. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had made two observations which he would like to emphasise. When speaking about the coal-tax he added that the political influence which the trade exercised in the House was a very serious element in considering whether that tax ought to be abolished. Might he ask the right hon. Gentleman to cast his mind a little forward, and imagine what would happen if, instead of an export duty on coal, we had a large number of import duties on a large number of articles, and each trade interested in maintaining or increasing those duties? He thought it would be found that the political pressure in the House would be rather alarming. With regard to his observation about pledges that had been made by the Government and by Members on that side of the House with regard to reduction of expenditure, he thought the right hon. Gentleman took rather too superficial a view for an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said: "What have you done with regard to expenditure?" and he compared the expenditure under the Supply services with what had taken place in a previous year. Might he give him one figure which had perhaps escaped his observation? In the last year for which she right hon. Gentleman as Chancellor of Exchequer was responsible there was, in addition to the ordinary revenue expenditure, a charge of £6,400,000 for loan expenditure as naval and military works, while in the current year the charge for loan expenditure on that head was only £1,100,000. He agreed with the criticism of the right hon. Gentleman, so far as the surpluses were concerned, that though they had gone for a very good object, namely, the reduction of Debt, it meant that they were really taking more out of the pockets of the people than was justified by the national expenditure. It was generally agreed that, although deficits were to be avoided, from the financial point of view surpluses were almost equally detrimental. The accuracy of the forecasts had in past years been remarkable, and perhaps never more so than in the past year, with one exception. They had erred last year with regard to the forecast of income-tax, and it was pointed out in the debates on the Budget of last year that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was rather underestimating his revenue. They found that the remission of 3d. in the £ on earned incomes and the new regulations with regard to income-tax, instead of providing, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer anticipated, a deficit of £750,000, yielded an actual surplus of £1,800,000. He thought, as he said at the time, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer took far too conservative an estimate of the revenue, and that it was their duty to try and make the revenue and expenditure balance as near as possible. In the last two years they had taken £5,000,000 a year out of the pocket of the taxpayer in addition to what was necessary for the ordinary expenditure of the country. Though the surplus went to a very good object; the provision for the Debt ought to be deliberate and not accidental. With regard to the increased produce of the income-tax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out that the income coming under the review of the Inland Revenue authorities had increased during the year by £37,000,000, and he attributed that in a large degree to the reduction of 3d. on earned incomes. He humbly begged to disagree with that. If a larger view were taken of that part of the national income, they would find that this £37,000,000 was really no more than the average increase in that income previous to the war in South Africa. He had occasion the other day to go into the figures, and the amazing result was that eleven years ago the income coming under the review of the Inland Revenue authorities amounted to £705,000,000. According to the Prime Minister it was £943,000,000 last year, and this year it amounted to £980,000,000. If they compared those figures they would find that in those eleven years that part of the national income had increased by £275,000,000. It was a most remarkable result. He merely pointed it out to emphasise the fact that though during the years of the war the increase in this part of the national income was very small, and as the Prime Minister pointed out last year only amounted to £14,000,000, this year it had come back to more like its normal figure. He would like to put in a *caveat*, which he had always done, with regard to the expedition of collection of income-tax in England. According to a Return presented to Parliament the other day, at the end of February of this year, in Scotland they had collected 94 per cent. of the whole income-tax. In England they had only collected 63 per cent. That meant that England had only collected two thirds as against what Scotland had done in the same period. On the other hand, he must admit that the Inland Revenue authorities had made considerable progress in the matter, because in 1901, when he raised the question first of all, the collection in England at the end of February was only 53 per cent., so that they had really made an advance of 10 per cent. Still, he thought the progress was rather slow. One very gratifying feature of the Budget statement was that it showed the great elasticity of the revenue. In 1906 the revenue, including the local taxation charges, amounted to £153,800,000, and the estimate for the present year was £157,700,000. The net remission of taxation already made amounted to £3,500,000. Thus they had practically a revenue of £160,000,000 raised on the same basis as three years ago as compared with £153,800,000 in 1906. He was sure the House was very much indebted to the Prime Minister for his statement with regard to the remission of the sugar duty. It had often been said that that was a war tax, but Sir Michael Hicks Beach said he meant it not as a war tax but as a permanent addition to the National Revenue. The very year in which the sugar tax was imposed the increase in the ordinary expenditure swallowed up all the new taxes, so that the sugar-duty was not really a war tax but was put on in order to provide for peace expenditure. They were all grateful that the Prime Minister had seen his way to make this change and no doubt he had left it to his successor to take off the other half of the duty next year and had thus left something for him to do. The Prime Minister had not dealt with new taxation or with new sources of revenue, and apparently he had left that also for his successor to deal with. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would next year, he hoped, not only take off the balance of the sugar-duty but make the pensionable age sixty-five instead of seventy. They were much struck with the simplicity of the scheme submitted by the Prime Minister for old-age pensions. Hitherto the schemes of foreign countries and those formulated by Royal Commissions and committees had been rather intricate in their machinery, but the scheme formulated by the Prime Minister was very simple in that respect. He wished to point out that those who represented labour in the House, and others representing labour constituencies, who had taken an interest in the question, desired a scheme of old-age pensions which would insure that the pension should not be given as a charity but as a right. There was nothing finer in any Act of Parliament than the preamble of the New Zealand Act which laid down that it was equitable that deserving Colonials, who during the term of their lives had helped to bear the burdens of the Colony by paying taxes and developing its resources by their labour and skill, should look to a pension in their old age. He did not think anyone expected that a complete or comprehensive scheme could or would be submitted at the present time. He was very much struck with the able speech of the hon. Member for Blackburn upon the Licensing Bill. When discussing local veto the hon. Member said that although it was limited it was better that a new thing should begin in a small way rather than in a more extended form. After that declaration he thought they would have the support of the Labour Party in the proposals which had been submitted for starting an old-age pension scheme at the age of seventy. The present was perhaps an occasion when a bolder and more comprehensive view might have been taken of the question of taxation and something done to get additional revenue in order to provide that an old-age pension scheme should start at the age of sixty-five, but the Prime Minister had refrained from doing anything in regard to increasing taxation or looking out for new sources of revenue. He thought the old-age pension scheme was being started on the right lines and it was capable of expansion. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer said there had been a great increase in ordinary expenditure under various heads and of what he should call beneficial expenditure such as that of education. He thought the spirit of the time was in favour of spending rather more than less money upon education. He thought the present Government had reduced their expenditure in the right quarters. They had charged to revenue what formerly had been charged to loan, and that had tended to increase ordinary expenditure. If they took the year 1905–6, the last year for which the right hon. Gentleman opposite was responsible, they found in comparing the Estimates of the current year that there had been a reduction on Army expenditure of £3,500,000, and on Navy expenditure of £5,200,000, or in all a reduction on those two services alone of £8,700,000. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite would find that at least on armaments a considerable reduction had been made. Not only had they elasticity of revenue, but the total revenue raised compared very favourably with Continental countries. Only last Thursday the

German Budget Committee were discussing how to meet the financial crisis in which that country was at present placed with regard to its expenditure. The Imperial Secretary to the Treasury made a statement, and he should have thought that in Germany he would have had a simple remedy. If it were true that tariffs were paid by the foreigner, all the German Secretary to the Treasury had to do was to increase their tariff or else add new tariffs. But he was not surprised to find that the Imperial Secretary to the Treasury in Germany said that there was only one way of meeting the difficulty, and that was by a reduction of expenditure. That was what in this country they had attempted to do, and while in England they were reducing their Debt in the proportions indicated by the Prime Minister, Germany had increased her National Debt by £200,000,000 upon ordinary expenditure, and during the next five years she would have to borrow £10,000,000 a year to meet ordinary expenditure. So that five years hence Germany would have added £250,000,000 to her National Debt in a period during which this country was providing from £13,000,000 to £15,000,000 a year to the reduction of Debt. There was only one way for them to economise, and that was on the Army and Navy. He was aware they must keep up the Navy to a proper standard of superiority, but that ought not to prevent its economy. He had endeavoured to point out that extravagance begot inefficiency, and that economy produced efficiency, but whilst they looked upon the expenditure upon the Army and Navy as a national insurance he wished to ask who ought to pay for it. If the commercial classes were to be protected against the financial disasters of war, then it was only right that property as well as incomes should bear its proper share of the burden. He thought a very considerable part of that insurance ought to be derived from an increase on the income-tax on higher incomes. That would be proposing what was quite legitimate, and what was fully justified by the needs of the nation. He congratulated the Prime Minister on the excellent statement which he had laid before the House, but regretted that with regard to old-age pensions the age limit was not fixed at sixty-five.

*Mr. LAURENCE HARDY (Kent, Ashford) said they would all agree with the last speaker in his statement that the Prime Minister had left the Chancellor of the Exchequer something to do next year. He did not think any Budget possessed more remarkable features than the one just introduced. In the first place, it gave the lines of the new Budget next year which were generally kept secret, and it also left unlimited liabilities to be fulfilled without any income to meet them. They had heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Worcestershire something as to what the needs of next year were likely to be. With regard to old-age pensions a balance of nearly £5,000,000 was to be found this year, but no nest egg was left on this occasion. They knew that the system of loans had been given up, and that involved larger expenditure. Next year in regard to Rosyth they would certainly have to anticipate a considerable sum of money being required to carry forward that improvement. Every item of expenditure showed an increase, and there was no provision made for that. They had heard that the cost of the advantages given to Post Office servants would come on future years. Incidentally it was most interesting to discover things in regard to which it was not always easy to get information by the process of Question and Answer. They now knew that for some considerable time the House was not going to be asked for large additional expenditure in connection with the Education Bill of this year. If that Bill were to be pursued, there would be an expenditure of £1,400,000 under it, and provision would have to be made for the money as some portion of the expenditure would fall at the end, if not at the beginning, of the present financial year. He presumed, therefore, that the Education Bill was not to be proceeded with. The hon. Baronet the Member for East Northamptonshire had referred to the effect which the reduction of the sugar tax would have on the domestic budgets of artisans and agricultural labourers, but if he went to his constituents and pointed out what they were receiving in that direction, he should ask them how much they got in connection with the abolition of the coal-tax. He did not think that the remission of the coal-tax resulted in any reduction of the budgets of artisans and agricultural labourers. He himself opposed the reduction of the corn tax and the remission of the coal tax. He did not think experience would show that the reduction of the coal tax would justify the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing it up as a precedent when dealing with the remaining taxes. With regard to old-age pensions he was Chairman some years ago of one of the strongest Committees he could remember which inquired into this question. The Unionist Members took a great deal of interest in the question. There was no object which he more desired to see carried out than a just and fair scheme of old-age pensions for the deserving poor of the country. He agreed with the preamble of the New Zealand scheme which had just been read. It decisively provided for a discriminatory scheme; it distinctly said that they desired to give the pension for services well rendered to the State. That was the particular line which he and his friends desired to see followed in reference to any scheme of old-age pensions. They wanted in any such scheme to ensure that the pension should be a kind of reward for services well rendered. In that case it must be discriminatory to a considerable degree. He was glad that the Prime Minister had made the scheme so far discriminatory. He wished to know whether the scheme was to be dealt with in the clauses of the Finance Bill, or embodied in a separate Bill. It was surely a question which should be dealt with by a separate Bill, even if the funds were to be found in connection with the Finance Bill. In regard to the *status* of foreigners, he wished to know what was the decision of the Government as to the length of residence that would be required before they would be able to participate in the scheme. The Prime Minister said it might be ten or twenty years, but did not tell the House what was the actual number of years decided upon. He thought the limit of 5s. was one which, on the whole, met the case in the rural districts, but the fact that the scheme had been framed in a manner which made it very difficult to enlarge it raised in his mind a question as to how far it really would be suitable for London and the other large towns of the country. These were matters which could not be entered into until they saw the scheme itself. He hoped they would be able to pass some scheme on substantial lines which would not lend itself to desires on the part of others to go one better. When they had dealt with it they ought to consider the question finally settled. Although this must to some extent be tentative, it ought to be the duty of the House to see that it was laid on lines which did not admit of constant bargaining. With reference to the Budget as a whole, he regretted that the Government had not made that due provision for the future which they ought to have done in bringing forward such a large scheme. It might have been better if the Government had waited for the Report of the Poor Law Commission before committing themselves to such a scheme. If they had done so, it might have been possible to start on better and firmer lines. He congratulated the Prime Minister on making such a large remission of taxation. The right hon. Gentleman had in that way put it out of the power of hon. Members below the gangway or elsewhere to make demands for the enlargement of the scheme during its passage through the Committee Stage.

*SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) congratulated the Prime Minister, the Government, and the country on the very favourable circumstances under which the Budget had been introduced. They had been enjoying for several years past an exceptional degree of prosperity and the Prime Minister was in clover, but it was by no means certain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would twelve months hence find himself in such favourable circumstances as they were in that day. He agreed that, while they had been enjoying an exceptional degree of prosperity, it had been a wise course for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do his utmost to make liberal reductions in the indebtedness of the country. He congratulated him on the reduction he had announced in the stamp duty on voyage policies. That charge had been grossly unfair and utterly indefensible, and he only wondered that so great an injustice had been tolerated so long. The Prime Minister had made interesting revelations in regard to the income-tax, and last year's experience had proved that the lower the tax the higher the proportionate yield. It was a very important discovery to have made, and he thought the explanation given was very intelligible. The success which had been achieved by the policy of differentiation must be very gratifying to those members of the Income-Tax Committee who made themselves responsible for that recommendation. He was glad the Prime Minister had been able to announce a reduction in the sugar tax. If nothing had been done in that direction a great many people would have been smarting under a sense of injustice. He imagined that the right hon. Gentleman would have been very glad if he could have entirely removed the tax. Amongst all the claims made for remission of taxation he thought the right hon. Gentleman had made a very wise choice. The right hon. Member for East Worcestershire thought the removal of the coal tax had been a mistake and that its removal had not brought any advantages. He was sure that Members connected with the coal trade could point to foreign contracts for coal for large amounts which could never had been accepted but for the removal of the tax, and the securing of the contracts must have been a benefit to those engaged in the trade in this country. That day would be historic and memorable as marking the beginning of a system of old-age pensions. That was a subject which many people had been talking about for a great many years, but now the House of Commons had happily begun to take practical steps towards its realisation. It must have been very gratifying to the House to hear that one of the conditions under which provision was to be made for old-age pensions was that it should be entirely outside the Poor Law. It was also gratifying to hear that the experiments tried and the experience gained in other countries had proved to be very valuable to the Prime Minister, and that they were able to learn something from their young and vigorous Colonies. It was clear, from the speech of the Prime Minister, that the Cabinet had given the most thorough and careful investigation to all the schemes and suggestions and difficulties that had been put forward in regard to old-age pensions. Of course it would have been easy for the Prime Minister to have won greater applause and roused greater enthusiasm if he had produced a very much larger scheme, lowering the age and increasing the provision. But they must all, or nearly all, be agreed that it was very much wiser to proceed in the first instance comparatively slowly on this subject until they could learn in the school of experience and then future steps might be taken with much greater confidence.

**Sir EDWARD SASSOON** (Hythe) said that he was glad that his hon. friend took a more sober and chastened view of the possibility of British finance than the hon. Member for East Edinburgh, who seemed to exalt in what he considered the great elasticity of our revenue, while omitting from the purview of his reflections the fact that most of our present taxation still stood upon the old level while large reductions had been made on the Army, and they knew that considerable appropriations would have to be taken in regard to the Navy but had been postponed to a future period. The Prime Minister had expounded his Budget with that distinction and power which he had accustomed the House to associate with all his efforts. He would, as a humble Member of the Unionist Party, offer his congratulations to the right hon. Gentleman on having imperishably attached his name to an urgently needed social reform, but, at the same time, one which would place an eventual obligation on the State of certainly not less than £12,000,000 a year. It was perfectly evident that the age-limit proposed would have to be reduced. The question they had to ask themselves was whether the commerce and enterprise of this country, great as was their power of endurance, would bear the weight and strain of this future tremendous pressure. He had no doubt the Prime Minister was right in discarding the contributory basis for his pension scheme. He had very properly pointed out that it would involve the postponement of the concession of pensions to a great many people who had already arrived at the age of sixty-five or seventy. At the same time it was matter of common knowledge that most of the friendly societies in the country were opposed to any scheme of pensions from which a contributory basis was absent; they considered that such a scheme would act in the direction of weakening the sense of thrift, which was, he feared, not very strongly implanted in the British breast, and that it would offer a certain premium to the spendthrift and others. He was sorry that the Prime Minister had not taken the opportunity of making some sort of provision for the increased strain that would be placed on the finances of the country. Again, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had three years of abounding surpluses, what was the amount of reduction of Debt that he had brought about? He believed that no more than £2,000,000 had been redeemed from the Debt of the country, for the Committee should remember that the other reductions and redemptions had taken place under the normal operation of the Sinking Fund, and further by the automatic and compulsory application of the realised surpluses each year. He did not know whether his right hon. friend agreed with that view, but so far as he had been able to examine the accounts the real reduction brought about by the Government did not amount to more than £2,000,000. The Prime Minister, he was glad to say, had been able to make a substantial reduction in the tax upon sugar, but he had done nothing for tea. There was no tax of a more cruel nature than that on tea or which showed itself more hideously and repulsively. A tax of 93 per cent. of its value was placed on an article produced by our fellow subjects in India and Ceylon. To keep that tax on tea went to undoing the enterprise of people who were ekeing out a precarious existence, while our own people had to be sweated to enable their small incomes to go as far as possible. Although the Prime Minister had made a most reasonable alleviation in regard to the burden of the indirect taxpayer, he had done nothing for the payer of direct taxation; and it would be found that there would be a sensible departure from the proportion between direct and indirect taxation which every eminent and sagacious financier, from Sir George Cornewall Lewis down to Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt, considered should be maintained if the equilibrium and stability of our finances were to be preserved. He thought the Committee ought to be thankful that the present First Lord of the Admiralty was not the Chancellor of the Exchequer now, for he distinctly remembered a speech by that right hon. Gentleman last year in which he boldly preached the doctrine that every single penny necessary for the expenditure of the country should be borne by direct taxation. Was it possible for any financial authority to say that the whole or most of the expenditure of the country should be paid by one category of His Majesty's subjects, while the other category—numbering seven-eights of the population of England—went scot free? He would like to call attention to one phenomenon which had been going on and which, according to a Return given to him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, continued in unabated strength. That was the rate and volume at which British capital was being driven abroad. Even allowing for the theories of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the point, they were, in the view of disinterested and impartial people who scrutinised these accounts, face to face with a substantial margin of capital which owing to its non-employment here was being driven out of this country by the centrifugal tendencies of our commercial system. Explain the matter as they might, they had to recognise the hard, gaunt fact that there was not remunerative employment for capital in this country, and that, to use the expressive phrase of the President of the Local Government Board, they were unable to "decasualise" labour on that account. In the two years to which he referred, 1905–6 and 1906–7, the amount received from profits earned abroad amounted to no less than £15,000,000, over and above the amount normally shown in the accounts of previous years. If they took only half of that sum they had left £7,500,000, which, capitalised at twenty-five years purchase, gave a total of £180,000,000, which must in some form or another have left this country in order to irrigate and fertilise the centres and sources of foreign enterprises to the disadvantage of our own workmen and the reduction of employment at home. But a Daniel had recently come to judgment in the person of a venerable sage, not in point of age, but in the point of commercial experience. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Northwich had recently besought his Party to bestir themselves and do something for trade, and he used the colloquial term something that would "dish" their political opponents. But the Prime Minister was far too great a stalwart to pay any attention to such an invitation. He said that he remained the guardian of the citadel of free trade, and adhered to the time-worn and strenuously rejected doctrines of that fiscal system. North-west Manchester was the cradle and the nursery of Cobdenism. It was true that the shrine was still there, but the fire was dead. That constituency had spoken in no uncertain tones, and they had had electoral manifestations in several other typical constituencies in the country. He happened to be the candid friend of the Party opposite, and he would tell them that if they wished to place the finances of the country in a proper and sound financial position, if they desired to obtain better and more stable conditions of employment for our workmen at home, they would do better to take the advice of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Northwich, to heart. That was the only way in which right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite could prevent their depleted resources in the bank of public opinion being exhausted and themselves landed in political and financial ruin.

*MR. STUART (Sunderland) said he would not be led away from the few remarks he desired to make on the Budget itself by what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, except to say that the fear of foreign investments on the part of tariff reformers seemed to arise from the fact that they thought that the success of other countries was inimical to our success, whereas there was nothing we should more hope for than the welfare of those with whom we were dealing. There had been a tendency for tariff reform to push its head out of the water at every turn like the head of King Charles the First in Mr. Dick's experiences in Dicken's book. It had to do double duty. Frequently it was in the form of a duty to keep out foreign goods, and that night it was put forward as a means of securing income. First, they had the one leg stood upon by tariff reformers, and then the other, but it did not seem to him that it was possible for them to use both arguments at one time. They were used alternatively, however, and did duty one at one time and one at another. But he did not desire to be led aside from the Budget by tariff reform intrusion. One of the things he was glad to see was the reduction of the tax upon sugar, and he wanted particularly to emphasise his satisfaction that that reduction had taken place concomitantly with old-age pensions, because otherwise there would have been many persons who would have felt that the sugar tax was being kept on to provide those pensions, an arrangement for providing them from which he would absolutely dissent. But he would like in passing to say one word of commendation on the businesslike way in which the Prime Minister had dealt with the sugar tax by taking off the farthing in such a way that the whole remission would reach the consumer. It was a very wise and sensible position to have taken up, and showed the care with which this very important matter had been dealt with. But the main point of the Budget, of course, was the provision for the first time in this country for old-age pensions. It had been pointed out that we could learn from foreign countries, and we could learn a little but not very much; we could learn something from our Colonies, perhaps more, and there had been at least in one of the speeches an indication that our Colonies had done very much better than we had in this matter. But there were not very many thanks due to them. They were relieved absolutely and entirely from the great pressure of taxation which was cast upon this country; that was to say, we had not only to defend ourselves but to pay for their defence, and that was a very important contribution from which they were free. Not only that, but we were burdened by the cost of the defence of the Empire in the past and they were not so burdened, and as to the collection of money they showed not the slightest hesitation in putting on any amount of taxes on our goods. He did not say that they made us pay those taxes, but they had ruthlessly taxed our goods while we were paying for their defence. He did not think, therefore, that they were deserving of any very great credit, but he felt that this country and those who were taking up the burden of providing old-age pensions did deserve a very considerable amount of credit for the step, because it was a large sum of money and would be a very much larger sum. It was his lot at the conclusion of last session to make a complaint of the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as he then was and of the Government with respect to their financial action. He complained that they had relieved the rich rather than the poor, and that they had not done anything for old-age pensions; he said that it was hard upon people like himself who were very much interested in an old-age pension scheme, and upon social reformers; that they could only wait, and that he would not take any action to censure the Government until the present session had passed. But now he thought the Prime Minister had responded very reasonably indeed to the requirements of old-age pensions and had started them upon a fairly reasonable basis. He would really challenge anyone in the House to say how he could start old-age pensions partially, and start them differently from the way in which the Prime Minister had done it. It was absolutely essential, in his opinion, and he spoke with considerable knowledge on the subject—it was absolutely essential in connection with a satisfactory system of old-age pensions in this country that they should have a non-contributory system. Had the Prime Minister endeavoured to extend the operation of his scheme by introducing a contributory system he would have done evil and not good. He would rather see the right hon. Gentleman restrict his operation without a contributory system than widen it with a contributory system. He was also of opinion that the question of character should not come into the question of old-age pensions more than in extreme cases, and he was glad to see that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had adopted a reasonable line in connection with that. There were other parts of the scheme upon which the House was so largely agreed that he need not enter upon them, but absolute separation from the Poor Law was one of the essentials of a system of old-age pensions and the Prime Minister had secured that. Surely there were no other points left to work upon except the exclusion of people whose income was sufficient, the limitation of the amount of pension, and the age at which the pensions were to be taken. As to all these limitations he regretted them. He knew from experience that the age must be made sixty-five. They might begin at | seventy, but in the end it must be sixty-five, and they might go lower down than that in some cases. Sixty-five was the age at which the workman began to fail, and they did not want to wait until he was completely done but to give him a little bit of the autumn of life to enjoy. He regretted the limitation of age to seventy, and he particularly regretted the limitation of 5s. a week, as his experience was that that was not sufficient. But having begun at 5s. a week, they might go further. He thought, however, the right hon. Gentleman had begun upon the right lines, but the most objectionable feature was that in the case of certain persons it was to be held that they had saved enough. He thought the pension ought to be universal whatever the savings of a person might be. He did not believe that old-age pensions would do any injury to thrift. He had watched many cases, and so far from pensions having any influence in the way of hindering thrift, they had rather the contrary effect and induced people to make a provision for their old age. What did the richer classes do? They all attempted to provide for themselves and their families in their old age, but that did not prevent them from practising thrift.

One of the greatest stimuluses to thrift was the desire to add something to that which had been already put by. While he regretted the limitations in the scheme and believed that they would and must give place to a better and more reasonable state of things, he did not find fault with his right hon. friend. On the contrary, he thought the Prime Minister had gone as far as wisdom and prudence would allow him to go in initiating the system. More particularly did he say that, because he thought his right hon. friend had initiated it on the right lines. Under these circumstances he would be glad to withdraw the censure, if such a word could be applied to the words in which he characterised the action of the Government last session. He did not regard the present proposals as anything but an instalment, as a first step in the right direction, a momentous and brilliant step. Hon. Gentlemen opposite said that the right hon. Gentleman did not provide any funds for future development. That might be so, but he indicated the sources from which they might come. The three years during which the right hon. Gentleman had been responsible for the Exchequer would be always brilliant and memorable because of the reduction of the Debt by which the poor as well as the rich benefited. It was an immense advantage to borrow money cheaply. Some years ago £100 was obtained instead of £80, and housing schemes were able to be proceeded with far more cheaply than at present. His right hon. friend had reduced the Debt to the amount at which it stood twenty years ago by far larger instalments than were considered necessary by such great financiers as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Goschen, and out of the sum allocated for the reduction of Debt might come a portion of money sufficient to deal with this great system. There were other sources also: for instance, higher taxation of the larger incomes. Hon. Members opposite said it was hard to place on the manufacturers and commercial people of the country such a burden as the provision of old-age pensions, but he submitted that it was the duty of the manufacturers, tradesmen, and commercial classes to provide for the comfort in their age of those who had served them all their working life, and if it had to be done through the State instead of through personal action, a large amount must be provided by those classes. Many could be provided for, no doubt, by personal action, but there were large numbers of people, not casual labourers, but people who passed from one employer to another, who could not be provided for adequately by private action—independently of which, in the private action of an employer there was always a certain danger of his appearing to hold an unfair advantage over the workman. That could be avoided absolutely by care as to the system employed, but he was desirous of seeing old-age pensions on a broad basis, and of removing the working classes from the shadow of the workhouse that now hung over them; and, while this scheme was not complete and was only a beginning, he thanked the Prime Minister for having introduced it and congratulated him upon its introduction contemporaneously with the reduction of the tax upon sugar.

*Mr. TIMOTHY DAVIES (Fulham) congratulated the Prime Minister on the Budget he had introduced, although from the observations of the hon. Member for Hythe one would have imagined that no provision had been made during the last three years for the reduction of debt or the limitation of taxation. The hon. Member had attempted to prove that the reduction of debt to the extent of £2,000,000 only was due to the right hon. Gentleman's action. He could only say that during the time the Prime Minister had been in office a good many taxes had been limited which right hon. Gentlemen opposite might have limited before they went out of office. The House were told that the sugar-tax was a war tax, but the war was over four years before the late Government left office, and the tax remained. During the last three years the tea and coal taxes had been repealed, and the income-tax reduced from 1s. to 9d., on earned incomes under £2,000, and in the same period the debt of the country had been reduced by nearly £50,000,000, whilst during the three years from 1903 to 1906, the last years of the late Government, the reduction was less than £27,000,000. The Prime Minister therefore had done far better than his predecessor. The right hon. Gentleman deserved and would receive the thanks of all who represented great industrial constituencies. The reduction of the sugar-tax was most important. Sugar was not only a food but also a raw material of many industries, and the class of people employed in the sugar-consuming industries were not at the best of times people who could afford to give anything away. In his constituency there were many employed in those industries, and when sugar was cheap it was possible for the employers to keep them on both winter and summer, but when sugar was at a high price many hundreds of them were thrown out of work, the employers finding it impossible to employ them even at half-time. The reduction of 2s. 4d. per cwt. would help those industries greatly, and a large benefit would accrue to the people employed in them and to the poor generally. The establishment of old-age pensions would also greatly benefit those whom he represented, and the same, no doubt, might be said of all large industrial constituencies. He was glad, therefore, that the Prime Minister had laid the foundation. They knew perfectly well that the present proposal was not a finality, but a commencement, and that year by year the age would be reduced and possibly the amount per week increased, as was suggested by the hon. Member who had just sat down, as the money was found for the purpose. By laying the foundation to-day for old-age pensions the right hon. Gentleman had provided for the happiness of 500,000 people next year, people who had done their duty in the past, and into whose lives a little sunshine would now be brought. He would have liked to have seen the pension for old married people living together increased. It ought to be more than 3s. 9d. each; if 5s. was given to a single person, 10s. should be given to an old couple living together, but if 10s. could not be given they should at least have 8s. or 9s., which would enable them to live happily for the few years that remained to them. The right hon. Gentleman had indicated the sources from which some of the money would come next year, but he himself thought a further reduction might be made in the cost of the army, that £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 might be obtained from that source, and so enable the qualifying age to be reduced to sixty-five. He looked forward to the time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose duty it would be to introduce the Budget next year, would be able at any rate to find some means—he had up to the present time been successful in finding his way out of difficulties fairly well—of placing the aged poor in a better position than that in which they were put even by the present Budget.

*MR. NICHOLLS (Northamptonshire, N.) said that on behalf of a large number of agricultural labourers in the country he would like to congratulate the Prime Minister on the step he had taken, a step not as long as some of them could have wished, but still a step in the right direction. The question of old-age pensions had now got off the platform and out of the papers, where it had remained for years, and where it had been so long that many poor labourers felt that it would never be anywhere else. It had been almost impossible to convince the labourers in the rural districts that a pension scheme of any kind would ever come. He was sure that the speech of the Prime Minister would produce a note of hope in many homes of the poor and in many of our rural villages. They had heard a good deal from hon. Members who were not favourable to old-age pensions, about thrift, and they seemed inclined to think that this scheme would not help thrift. They would never be able to make some of the agricultural labourers more thrifty than they were. It was impossible to do it. He was down in Norfolk last week, where the farmers, without fiscal reform, had experienced a better year than they had had for eight years, both as to crops and prices; yet he found in some quarters of Norfolk that it was impossible to get the wages of labourers raised above 12s. a week. He visited last Friday three large farmers who were holding out, saying that they would not give more than 12s. They pleaded poverty, and said they could not do any more, and when the case was put so clearly to them that they could not stand against the force of facts, their last resource was to say: "Well, if we are forced to give them 13s., then we shall discharge three men to make it up"; and the notices were given last Friday night and the men who had received notices expected to finish on Saturday of this week. How were they going to make men thrifty who had to pay rent, and feed and clothe their children, on 12s. a week, except for the few weeks in hay time and harvest time when they got a little extra? When they became older they had nothing, because when there was an abundance of labour and it was felt that the old men could be done without, then they had to go. The people who lived in these rural villages dreaded the workhouse; they hated the very name of it; they would almost starve before they would even move to let anyone know the state they were in. It was to these thrifty, hard-working, careful people, who knew that if they went to the relieving officer they would be forced into the workhouse, that the 7s. 6d. or the 5s. would be a great benefit, and though everybody knew that was not enough, yet it was as much as could possibly be done in this Budget. That was pretty well clear to some of them. He was anxious to go the whole distance, but he could not himself see how they were going to get any further at present, but he hoped with others to get further before very long. But one question had been puzzling him since the Prime Minister's speech. What was the position of the person who, unable to work any longer, was receiving half-a-crown a week from the parish? In several instances the relief was extended to 3s. a week, but the guardians in some cases found out that the recipient had perhaps two sons who were labourers. Their sons had also families to keep on 12s., yet the guardians called upon each to pay 1s. out of the 12s. towards the 3s. allowed the old parent. He was not quite clear whether such persons who had been helped by the guardians were to be considered paupers. Were these persons to be debarred from receiving the pension because they received 3s. a week from the guardians, 2s. of which was contributed by members of the family? It must be remembered that 3s. did not keep a cottage going, and often a married daughter had to squeeze a sixpence out of her small resources in order to help her aged parents who had helped her in her early days. Was the receipt of half-a-crown or 3s. a week to be a bar to the pension? He would like to get some answer to that. He wished to say a word about the reduction of the sugar duty. That also would be of great benefit in the poorer villages. Not only would the aged poor be helped, but the cottage home would be relieved in regard to one of the prime necessities. Sugar formed some part of almost everything consumed in a cottage home; it was one of the real necessities, especially where there was a large family. He knew what it meant often to have bread and sugar instead of bread and meat. He believed a good many children in the villages knew more about sugar than about meat. They had looked after the aged poor and helped to keep them from the relieving officer and the workhouse, and now the Government had also reduced the burden on this necessity—sugar. Although he would have liked to have gone further, he was bound to say that he congratulated the Prime Minister. He was delighted to be in a Parliament that had been able to remove this pension ideal from book, platform, and paper, to the region of practicability, where it took the form of a scheme to be set working. Some complaint had been made that there were liabilities for the future, and that no provision had been made against them, but there were a great many sources of taxation already to hand and which might be tapped as soon as needed. He wanted to say a word or two with reference to the comment on the speech of the right hon. Member for Northwich. An hon. Member on the other side of the House seemed to think that the hint about the Government helping trade was helping them forward with their fiscal idea. He wondered whether they noticed that the explanation given two days afterwards by the same hon. Member showed quite clearly that what was in his mind was that the one and real way of helping the trade of this country was to nationalise the railways. He wanted to know if they advocated the same principle. He also wanted to say a word or two with reference to continental countries. Reference had been made to the fact that continental countries in granting pensions considered services well rendered to the State. He thought the Government also were considering them. People who had stuck to the villages and had brought up their children, sending in to the towns the best servants, had, he considered, well rendered service to the State and were a class of people whom they ought to consider and to be ready to help. He was delighted that this step had been taken. He had hoped it would have been a longer step, but he was proud to know that this year they had made this step.

*Mr. McARTHUR (Liverpool, Kirkdale) said his object in rising was to say a word of thanks to the Government for their announcement that the marine insurance duty was to be reduced. He was not an underwriter, so he had no direct interest in the matter, but he had been associated with marine insurance business all his life, and therefore he knew, from practical experience, how very badly this tax had pressed upon underwriters. It had tended to drive business abroad where there was either no duty or a duty much lower than in this country. They were thankful for the reduction, though the Government were not giving them what they asked for or what they had hoped for. In every case of insurance except marine insurance any amount might be insured and the duty was only 1d. They might insure £1,000,000 on a fire policy and 1d. covered it. In the case of marine insurance the duty had been 3d. per cent. on voyage policies and 3d. per cent, on time policies under six months, and 6d. per cent. over six months. It had been urged that the duty on fire and marine insurances should be made uniform, but instead of that the Prime Minister had announced that the 3d. per cent. duty on voyage policies would be reduced to 1d. per cent. There was a great deal of difference between 1d. per cent. and 1d. Nevertheless, they must be thankful for this partial reduction. He wished to ask whether any reduction was to be made in the duty on time policies. He suggested that it should be made uniform with voyage policies or, if not, instead of having 3d. for under six months and 6d. over six months it should be made uniform at 3d. He could not forbear to say one word on the great boon of old-age pensions. He was heartily glad the Government had been able to take this step. He did not think it was a party matter. The reception which had been given to the Government proposal on both sides of the House showed that they were equally glad with hon. Gentlemen opposite that this great question had been removed from the area of theory into the area of practice. He represented a great industrial constituency, composed almost entirely of working men, and he was convinced that the Budget would bring a gleam of hope to many a dull home and would irradiate many a cheerless heart with a prospect of better times to come. He had come from a contested election not many months ago, and his principal opponent was not Liberalism but Socialism, and hon. Members below the gangway who expressed themselves so moderately in that House and so often led them almost, if not quite, to adopt their opinion, went down to that constituency not singly but in battalions and preached undiluted Socialism. He felt that if they were to fight Socialism, which was undoubtedly making considerable advance among the working population, they must fight it with social reform, and one of the great weapons of social reform was the introduction of a scheme of old-age pensions. He was glad the proposal had been made, in his judgment on sound lines, and that they had a small beginning, because they could never take a step back, and he believed they would go on. The proposal had been framed on such sound lines that as the competency of the country increased to deal with the matter, so they would be able to make the provision more complete and more generous He was also very glad indeed that the sugar-duty had been reduced. That should be a great benefit to consumers and manufacturers. Many people would regret that there was no reduction in the income-tax which, except as regarded the favoured class, was still to be on a war footing. But he hoped direct taxation would be relieved next year.

SIR F. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich) thought attention ought to be paid to the Prime Minister's observation that income-tax was talked of as if it were 1s., whereas it was nothing of the sort. The great majority of people paid only 9½d. He joined in the great joy with which the old-age pension scheme would be welcomed in the agricultural districts. As regarded those who had Poor Law relief he would be glad to know for a certainty whether they were going to receive the pension instead. He did not feel any apprehension in the matter, because he thought that everybody who now received 2s. 6d. in poor relief would be allowed to come within the scheme. Any other conclusion would be absurd. The only criticism he had to make on the Budget was that he would like to see the whole of the sugar duty taken off, not only because it was a necessary of life, but because it was the raw material of a very large trade. The confectionery trade had suffered enormously ever since the Sugar Convention and since the duty was put on. In the last two or three years there had been more people thrown out of employment and more failures in the confectionery trade than perhaps in any other trade in England, and, sugar being a raw material of that trade, the duty interfered very much in our competition with foreign countries. Even at the expense of not reducing the Debt of the country so rapidly, although he was very much in favour of reducing Debt, looking at it as a business proposition he would prefer to have had the remaining duty taken off sugar. It would be not only a right down good business transaction, but the means of finding employment for a great many people, which was one of the things they most wished for. He would be very pleased indeed if they could get the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider the question at a later stage. The hon. Baronet had made a good deal of play in regard to the recent speech of his right hon. friend the Member for Northwich. Hon. Members opposite and the Press seemed to think that because his right hon. friend said something about doing more for trade that he was going in for protection. Anyone who knew him knew that it was nothing of the sort. What he really meant was that the trade of the country could be really looked after more by those in charge, and when they considered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had passed the Patents Act and was responsible for the London Docks Bill they would see that the matter was left in very safe hands. He thought his right hon. friend had the matter of railways and canals in his mind. Any idea of tariff reform was absolutely absent from it. It showed a great dearth of any kind of imagination for hon. Members immediately to jump at the conclusion that because he said something about increasing trade he meant tariff reform. The hon. Member for Hythe seemed also to deplore the fact that money was going out to foreign countries. The reason was the great extension of railway enterprise in new countries, and better interest could be got on capital. What was the real criterion of the prosperity of a country or a firm? It was its credit. The Prime Minister had shown that our credit was infinitely higher than that of any other country in the world, and that was instanced some little while ago when the London County Council offered a loan at 3½ per cent., and it was subscribed some hundreds of times over; while Germany offered a national loan for 4 per cent. at a discount, and it was only half applied for. When he heard Members opposite trying to make capital out of the Government's not introducing tariff reform he thought the fact that our credit was in a superior condition to that of any other country in the world was an absolute answer.

*MR. EVERETT (Suffolk, Woodbridge) heartily congratulated the Prime Minister on being in a position to have the handling of a very considerable surplus. It was pleasant to think that during the past three years each year had shown a substantial surplus, and the general condition of the industries and the agriculture of the country had been more prosperous than for a long time past. He fully hoped and believed that as long as this Government continued in power so long would surpluses continue to roll into the national exchequer. He congratulated the Prime Minister almost more for the use which he had made of the considerable surplus of which he had had the disposal. This was a people's Budget. It was the most popular Budget that had been introduced in his life time. It would gladden the hearts of the people in every street of every town and in every lane of every village. To hear that the long talked-of old-age pensions were in the position of being realised would rejoice their hearts. He was also glad to hear that they were to have half of the sugar duty taken off, because that was one of the most iniquitous taxes ever imposed on the country. He might say that the Liberal Party meant to have the whole of that tax off if this Parliament went on to its full period. At any rate, they were thankful to have half of it swept off during the present year. Every time the poor man or woman looked at the sugar basin they would think with gratitude of what the Government had done to undo some of the evil which the late Government did to them. To make a real beginning with old-age pensions was a thing he had longed to see, and he thanked God that he had been spared to see an actual financial proposal made by a responsible Government. He was glad that the pensions were to be upon a non-contributory basis, and on such lines that they could be easily extended to a universal old-age pension scheme. The Government had made a beginning, but it was only a beginning, and they were so grateful that a definite beginning had been made and on sound lines that they were not at all disposed to quarrel with minor details. It was a bold thing to bring forward such a proposal, and they would now be able to go to their constituents and meet them with the greatest delight to inform them that this comfort for their declining days was promised and would be a reality if they were only spared until next year. He hoped they would be able to do away with the provision which stated that when the husband and wife were both spared to the age of seventy, the pension would be a smaller one. The proposal now made to give pensions to the aged poor was the greatest boon that any Government had ever bestowed upon the people of this country since the repeal of the Corn Laws, and its benefits would be felt throughout every village and town in the country. Not only would the recipients be pleased, but all their relatives and friends would rejoice with them. With all his heart he thanked the Government for bringing forward these proposals. He was thankful that he had lived to see that day, and to see a Liberal Government bestowing on the people of the United Kingdom such blessings as were undoubtedly contained in the present Budget.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle) said that, as one who had listened attentively to the Prime Minister unfolding his financial plans for another year, he almost felt sorry that the right hon. Gentleman was putting forth his last Budget statement. During the three years he had occupied the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer he had managed to demonstrate to the country something of the financial possibilities which they possessed as a people. Having regard to the many great schemes of social reform which the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues had laid before the country at one time and another, it was well that they should begin to see that the country had those financial resources which it was possible to tap for the purposes of advancing the schemes to which the Government were pledged. It must be to all sections of the House a matter of great congratulation that the Government had succeeded in the past three years in making such a substantial inroad into the National Debt. They all realised that until that had been done, it constituted a powerful argument against either the present or any other Government launching into schemes of social reform involving great financial cost. He congratulated the Government upon the use to which they had put the major portion of this year's surplus—he referred to the £3,000,000 they had devoted to the remission of the sugar tax and the amount to be utilised for old-age pensions. He had voted for an Amendment condemning the sugar tax each year since it was imposed, and he had always felt very strongly on the point. Those who took a deep interest in the life of the working-classes knew that there was no taxable article which entered more into the life of the poorest of the people than this commodity which the Prime Minister had seen fit to relieve of taxation. He assured the Committee that he would have rejoiced greatly if the Prime Minister had seen his way clear not only to take off part of the sugar tax, but to abolish it entirely. The Prime Minister had very properly reminded them that not only was it a tax on the food of the people, but a tax on raw material used in many industries, which had been seriously affected since the tax was imposed for war purposes. He was afraid that the remainder of his remarks would not be of quite so harmonious a character. He was delighted that at last the Government had seen its way clear to make a beginning with regard to the great and important social problem of making some provision for the aged poor. There were one or two features in connection with the scheme unfolded by the Prime Minister with which he was in the most cordial agreement. He was delighted that the Government had been sufficiently bold to initiate the scheme on a non-contributory basis. It would have been one of the most offensive suggestions that could be made in regard to any scheme of old-age pensions that they should put a tax upon the economic necessities of the great mass of the people who were to be the recipients of such pensions. He was delighted to think that the Government had kept the scheme entirely free from that most objectionable proposal. He was also glad that the Government had determined that whatever scheme was ultimately put into operation it should have no connection whatever with the Poor Law. He was sure that such a proposal would have been very objectionable to the great mass of the people. He was also pleased that the charge for old-age pensions was to be national rather than local, for that was making a beginning in the right direction. Having said that, he would now proceed to make one or two criticisms in connection with other parts of the scheme. His first criticism was that the scheme was not quite what they had been led to expect. The question of old-age pensions had been before the country for something like thirty years, and most of the leaders of the Liberal Party at one time or another in the country and in the House had made speeches which justified him in saying that the scheme now proposed was not what they had been led to expect. He would make one quotation to show that he was justified in expressing the disappointment of his colleagues and himself that the scheme did not go further. He had before him a quotation from a speech delivered to a deputation which waited upon the late Prime Minister and his colleague the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was now Prime Minister, on 20th November, 1906. He remembered that it was a very large deputation, the majority of whom were supporters of the present Government. The deputation also included a number of Labour Members and trade unionist representatives. What was the reply of the Prime Minister, after the case had been fully stated by the Member for Morpeth and the Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow? The late Prime Minister replied that—

> "He agreed that the only satisfactory method of dealing with the question was by a universal plan by which a pension should be paid to everyone who applied for it, with, of course, certain well understood exceptions."

Those exceptions were criminals and lunatics. In the same speech the Prime Minister also said that he was against contributory schemes because they involved inquisitorial machinery, and he further stated that far from a pension sapping independence or undermining thrift, it would have the opposite effect, and he again asserted that any scheme must be universal in its application. The Committee would notice that in the short extract he had read it was definitely laid down, both at the beginning and at the end of the extract, that the scheme of old-age pensions whenever it was adopted must be universal in its application. Having regard to that declaration, he was justified in saying that the scheme did not come up to that standard, and therefore it was not what they had been led to expect. There were two serious objections to the scheme. In the first place, the qualifying age was too high. Those who had studied friendly society and trade union statistics knew that few men who had been engaged in hard toil throughout the whole of their lives would be any better off for a scheme of old-age pensions at the age of seventy. It seemed to him a great pity that such a high limit had been fixed, for this reason. He thought that most of the representatives of the working classes in the House would admit that it had been clearly demonstrated during the last few years that working men were being discarded at an earlier age than ever before. They did not talk about a man being too old now at sixty-five to seventy. Hundreds and even thousands of men who had reached the age of fifty or fifty-five were, as they knew too well, being refused employment if they showed any tendency to stoop or had grey hairs. Therefore, it must be seen that there was very little chance of a man who was thrown out of work at the age of fifty-five, or even sixty, getting a pension, because he would have nothing with which to keep body and soul together for another ten years; and therefore he would get no benefit at all. It seemed to him that there was little justification for placing the age limit at seventy. It was true that the age was placed at sixty-five when the agitation began thirty years ago, but industrial life was then entirely different from what it was to-day. He believed that if the agitation had been but beginning, having regard to the changed circumstances in industrial life, no such high limit as sixty-five would have been suggested, but probably the age-limit would have been five or ten years earlier. Moreover, it seemed to him that the whole argument of the Prime Minister went to show that this country possessed magnificent financial resources to which future Chancellors of the Exchequer might resort. Statistics went to prove that during the last thirty or forty years the finances of the country had been growing by leaps and bounds. In the great agitation in connection with free trade, in which the Labour Party had joined with the Liberal Party, one great argument used in defence of free trade was that we were getting on exceedingly well, that exports and imports and national income went to show what magnificent resources this country had. If that was so, could there be any reason why sixty-five years should not have been substituted for seventy years? Reference was frequently made by the Prime Minister to what was being done in other countries. He himself might be wrong, but, having looked fully into the question, he did not find a single scheme either in Belgium or in any part of the Colonies where the age-limit was fixed so high as in the scheme unfolded to the Committee that afternoon. [An Hon. Member: What about Germany?] He was not going to refer to the German scheme at all; it went on entirely different lines from the schemes in operation in Belgium and in the Colonies, and he did not think anyone would dare to get up in the House—at any rate he would not be able to hope for a great deal of success in the country—and propose the German scheme for the wage-earners here. He wanted to offer a second criticism in regard to the income-limit which was to prove a disqualification for the pension. That was to his mind—and he thought he had every Member of the Labour Party with him—the greatest defect in the whole scheme. What was going to be the effect of this income limit on the very best of the working classes? They were, it would be admitted, to be found among those who had been best disciplined in connection with the trade unions and friendly societies. He would give one or two illustrations. First of all, there was the magnificent organisation which his hon. friend the Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow so ably represented. The Amalgamated Engineers, whose organisation embraced 110,000 members, entitled members paying subscriptions for forty years to a pension of 10s. a week. The printers' organisation, with 32,000 members, paid 10s. a week after forty years. The boiler-makers and the steam-engine makers had similar rules. These were only a few cases, and others could be named. [An Hon. Member: The boiler-makers get 11s.] That was so. What was going to be the result of the proposal made in connection with the scheme unfolded by the Prime Minister? The members of those organisations during a long course of years paid subscriptions up to the point of sacrifice. The President of the Local Government Board would agree with him on this point. The workers, even in the trades to which he had been referring, earned 34s., and in some cases 32s., a week, and they paid probably into both their trade union and a friendly society, they endeavoured to live respectable lives, and in the circumstances, the elimination from their wages week by week of their contributions to these organisations involved a sacrifice. Yet under this plan, notwithstanding their willingness to make some preparation for the day of feebleness and old age, they would receive no old-age pension, because they had, as the reward of their own sacrifice for forty years, got 10s. a week from their trade union. He asked his right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board whether he thought it desirable that such a premium should be placed on thriftlessness, for that was what it meant. The thriftless, who had never joined a friendly society or trade union, could at the end of seventy years, if they had then any life left, come upon the pension fund of the State, and the other men would be denied that privilege.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. John Burns, Battersea): No, no. I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member, but he has assumed that 6,000 members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, whose superannuation ranges from 7s. to 10s. per week, would be disentitled to a 5s. pension under this scheme. He is entirely mistaken. The whole of the 6,000 men will be entitled to what this pension scheme confers. It is over 10s. and not up to 10s. that is the mark.

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON thanked his right hon. friend for that interruption; but was he not aware that there were in the rules of the engineers arrangements whereby the men could rise to a maximum superannuation allowance of 10s. a week.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: Under this scheme every man entitled to that maximum of 10s. superannuation would be able to receive the 5s.

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON was delighted to hear that. It seemed to him to be going further than what he gathered from the speech of the Prime Minister. His remarks had been made on the speech of the Prime Minister, from rough notes taken while the right hon. Gentleman was speaking. Taking for granted that the fact was as his right hon. friend said, what about the boiler-makers with their maximum superannuation of 11s.? Merely because they paid for a shilling more they would be disqualified. He thought he was right in that case. Supposing that a man took 10s. a week from the Engineers' Society; he ventured to say that that man might have made such arrangements as put him in the position of getting 2s. or 3s. per week from some other source—say from his friendly society. In that case he would get nothing from the State. He wanted to show that the more disciplined and the more thrifty a man had been the worse he would come off, because he got nothing in the shape of 5s. a week from the State. That seemed to him to be putting a premium on thriftlessness, and refusing to recognise the sacrifices made by the great majority of the organised workers of the country. He hoped the Government were not wedded to these two points, especially the latter. He was bold enough to say that if he had to choose between a concession on this point, and the reduction of the age-limit to sixty-five, he would perfer the former, which would secure some alteration being made in the income rate. He hoped that between now and the introduction of the actual Bill providing for old-age pensions, the Government would look into these aspects of the case and bring them into harmony with Colonial practice.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth) said that this might be called a fair weather Budget, presented in a year of most unexampled prosperity—a year, as the Prime Minister had said, when the imports and exports were the largest ever enjoyed by this or any other country. But, as the Prime Minister himself had pointed out, there were signs that those years of abounding prosperity were coming to an end; that the returns for the first three months of this year had convinced him of that. April showed a very heavy drop indeed—£9,000,000 in imports and £4,000,000 in exports. He knew that Easter had intervened, but, notwithstanding that, the drop was so great that they should speak cautiously in regard to next year and the years to come. So that in congratulating the Prime Minister on the Budget he had brought in, they could not congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the prospect of an equally abounding Budget next year, because next year they would have to face the great expenditure on the Navy which had been foreshadowed, and which must cause much anxiety if combined with a considerable drop in the exports and imports. In referring to the income-tax, the Prime Minister had made one slight omission. He described how he had reduced the tax on earned incomes under £2,000 to 9d. in the £, but the right hon. Gentleman did not refer to the fact that he had gained £750,000 by no longer allowing the return of tax on falling businesses. That was a very substantial *quid pro quo*. In regard to the pension scheme, in which most of them heartily concurred—[OPPOSITION cries of "No."] Well, the majority; he knew that on all accounts it might not conduce to the prosperity of the country. He did not think that any allowance had been made in this year's accounts for the expense which would be entailed by the preparations necessary to be made for the payment of the pensions at the beginning of next year. He admitted that in New Zealand, as the Prime Minister had said, the pensions were administered very cheaply. He granted that nearly all the work connected with the pensions was done voluntarily, but he did not believe that it would be done voluntarily here. In New Zealand the magistrates made all the inquiries—and he had some knowledge of the scheme in that Colony—into the payment of the pension, and he could assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer that there would be many great difficulties in regard to the proof of claims. It was a fact that many people in England went by two names; they saw that by the police reports. Very frequently a man was known in one part of the country by one name, and by a different name in another part of the country. It was easy for him to get neighbours to testify that he was So-and-so here, and So-and-so there. In fact in each district they might find neighbours to swear affidavits as to their *bona fides*. There would be, therefore, great difficulty and expense in proving their claims on the part of many poor people who would not be able to bear the expense themselves. The claims would have to be prepared by lawyers, who would have to obtain evidence of identity and proof of age by the production of birth certificates. All that would have to be done by the State, and would entail very considerable expense on the country. Not a day, therefore, should be lost in commencing preparations He also pointed out that it would be very hard that, while two sisters living together would each receive the full pension or 10s., a husband and wife in the next cottage would have their pension cut down to 7s. 6d.

*MR. CHIOZZA-MONEY (Paddington, N.) said that a friendly critic of the Prime Minister's proposals felt himself under a very considerable difficulty because the Budget before them was not complete. The chief point in the Budget, and that on which the attention of the country would be rivetted, was the scheme of old-age pensions; but it was a remarkable thing that while they had such a scheme set forth they had not likewise set forth the means of paying for it. It was said that the scheme would cost £6,000,000 a year, but they were only providing in this Budget a sum of £1,200,000. That was to say, there was a sum of nearly £5,000,000 which was not budgetted for, but provision for which would have to be made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the succeeding Budget. Therefore, they had not a complete Budget before them. That consideration should have more weight when it was remembered that the Estimates of revenue for the current year on which this proposal was based, seemed to be higher than the circumstances warranted. He did not know whether his right hon. friend had seen that day's trade returns. In the first three months of this year, the imports of the raw materials of industry had decreased by £20,000,000. That meant a falling off at the rate of £60,000,000 per annum, compared with last year. This diminution, again, meant a loss in wages to the workmen of this country of fully £100,000,000. Therefore, he feared that the estimated revenue from Customs of £32,600,000, and from Excise of £35,500,000 had been exaggerated. He passed to this further consideration, and put it to the Committee, who it was, on the approach of bad times, chiefly suffered? They knew who it was chiefly. It was not the drawer of dividends or of rent. The man who chiefly suffered was the man who earned weekly wages, and they knew at the present time that in this, or in succeeding weeks, batches of men would be dismissed from their employment, and that a number of men would suffer shortly by being asked to work short time, as for example, in the Lancashire cotton industry. Therefore they had the more reason to direct their attention to the distribution of the wealth of the country, as an outcome of its trade, and the more reason to adjust their taxation so that it fell upon the right shoulders. He had listened with interest to the Prime Minister's lengthy exordium, in which he put before them the financial strength of the country, after it had been tried very sorely indeed. The right hon. Gentleman told them that in twenty years they had done this remarkable thing. They had almost cleared off the payments for a war which cost fully £225,000,000 of money. The right hon. Gentleman had demonstrated conclusively that the financial strength of this country was very extraordinary. But what followed? It seemed to him that while the exordium demonstrated the wealth of the country, the proposals which followed it had little regard to that wealth and prosperity. The sugar-tax had been referred to, but after the Prime Minister had been reminding them of the millions in which the wealth of the country was expressed, they found him discussing whether it was wise to take a farthing or a part of a farthing off the sugar-tax. That seemed to him to be in singular contrast with the exordium which had relation to the extreme wealth of the people of the United Kingdom. He would like to call attention to the increase of the income-tax in the last ten years. In 1897 the aggregate income of the income-taxpayer was £705,000,000, and in 1907 it had increased to £935,000,000 or by 33⅓ per cent., as nearly as possible. That was an increase of £230,000,000 of money on the incomes of the payers of the tax, or £23,000,000 a year; so that one year's increase would more than suffice to give old-age pensions of 5s. per week to every old man and woman in the country. Those were the facts to which they must have regard in reference to these proposals, and although the Prime Minister demonstrated the national wealth he thought his proposals did not. He was inclined to agree with the Labour Party as to the limitations which had been attached to the pension scheme. If those limitations were imposed they deliberately shut out many men for whom they ought to have as much regard as for those who were included. It was perfectly true that many thousands of men who drew trade union pensions were also men who obtained money in other directions. These were superannuated members who ran a little shop, and had a small income of over 10s. say running up to 11s., 13s., or 15s. a week. He did not think these forms of thrift should be discouraged by the payment of a pension only to such men as had not been thrifty. He did not believe in a system of penalising thrift, and he hoped the Government would reconsider that particular point, as well as the fixing of the age at seventy, which, after all, was a very advanced age indeed, the number of people who lived to it in this country being exceedingly small. The hope which the scheme held out to the working classes was really a very small hope, and the Government certainly had the means at their disposal to be more generous. Referring to the means of raising the money to carry out the social reforms to which the Government were pledged, the hon. Member went on to deal with the assessment for the income-tax, and said that the Government had, in view of the number of incomes of £5,000 and upwards, the means to their hand if they cared to apply them of being more just and generous in this particular matter. There was no doubt whatever in his mind that those whose incomes exceeded £5,000 a year had an aggregate taxable income of over £200,000,000 a year. There was also this consideration, that whether we were spending much money or little, whether our national expenditure was £50,000,000 or £200,000,000, it still ought to be raised equitably with due regard to the people who paid the money, and he thought there was cause for regret that the Government in the Budget had still left alone the question of graduation of the income-tax. It was true that they had the rough graduated steps formed by the abatement system upon which had been grafted differentiation up to £2,000 a year between earned and unearned incomes. In what position did that leave the income-tax? It left it in so complicated a position that it was necessary for the Prime Minister to remind the Committee that the great majority of the people of this country did not pay a "shilling" or even a "ninepenny" income-tax. A very grave injustice was done under this system. A man with £2,000 a year paid £75 tax on earned income, whereas a man with £2,200 paid £110, or £35 more, although his income was only £200 more, through the drastic methods of the present system. He appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to sweep away the present system of abatement and differentiation and to substitute a graduated scale which would do justice to the middle classes, and at the same time yield a larger sum, if necessary, to the Exchequer. The Liberal Party had a great responsibility. If they did not democratise the finances of the country and show that under a free trade system they could finance social reform—and he did not think anyone on either side could say that he was satisfied with such a system of old-age pensions as was set forth in the Budget—they would open the door to those who represented that another fiscal system was necessary in order to raise the necessary funds. The hon. Member for Northwich had pleaded with the Government to adopt a liberal trade policy, if it wished to retain the confidence of the trading classes. He desired to add the plea, that if they wished to retain the confidence of the working classes, they should throw off the policy of *laissez faire*, create a positive policy, and take measures to democratise our finance and place the financial burdens of the country on the right shoulders. Let the Chancellor of the Exchequer do for the income-tax what the late Sir William Harcourt did for the death duties in the celebrated Budget of 1894.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) thought he could not do better than take up the challenge of the Prime Minister, who said in the course of his speech that if he were criticising his own speech from the Opposition side he would say that he made little provision for the present, it was all for the future. His sympathy was with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who next year, if he still occupied the same position, would have a very difficult task to perform. The Prime Minister had confessed that he could not tell what this old-age pensions scheme would cost, but he thought £6,000,000; that there was no foundation upon which an accurate estimate of the cost could be based. If that was so, the Committee was taking a leap in the dark. As he could not say what it would cost, the only provision the right hon. Gentleman took in this Budget was £1,250,000. It would be admitted by everybody, including the right hon. Gentleman, that next year there would have to be a large increase provided for the Navy, in addition to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to provide a further £5,000,000 for old-age pensions. No indication had been given by the Prime Minister of how that was to be provided, except that there was the new Sinking Fund which might possibly be reduced. When the late Government was in power, and the question of reducing the new Sinking Fund was broached hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite assailed that proposition with criticisms. But when that reduction was made it was made for two very important reasons: the first being to increase the Navy which was not sufficiently strong, and the second the South African War. Those were two extremely important reasons for which it was necessary that a certain sacrifice should be made.

He did not think the instance given by the right hon. Gentleman could be taken as a parallel. What was that instance? The Prime Minister took 1889, twenty years ago, and said the dead weight of the National Debt then was £960,000,000. At the present moment it was also £960,000,000, and because the debt now was reduced to what it was then it was legitimate to reduce the new Sinking Fund in a year's time. If the right hon. Gentleman had taken 1899, ten years ago, he would have found the dead weight of the debt was £620,000,000 and not £690,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman told the country at the time of the elections that the first thing they had to do was to place the finance of the country in the position it was before the war. Therefore, if the right hon. Gentleman wished to be consistent, he should have taken 1899, and not 1889, in which case the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not afford to reduce the fixed charge on the debt until the debt was reduced to £620,000,000, and not £690,000,000, as it would be in a year's time. The right hon. Gentleman had also left out a very important factor. They had no Irish Loan at that time. The Irish Loan was eventually to be £120,000,000; it was now £30,000,000, and the right hon. Gentleman had left out of consideration both the £30,000,000 and the £120,000,000.

Mr. ASQUITH: That is not part of the National Debt.

Sir F. BANBURY said they were liable for both principle and interest, and it was charged on the Consolidated Fund, and there was no difference between the two things. Therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer must not regard the dead-weight debt as £690,000,000, but must add to it the amount of the Irish Loan. In that case the argument of the Prime Minister fell to the ground as to the reduction of the fixed charge for the reduction of debt, in order to provide funds for old-age pensions. A great deal had been said about the abounding prosperity and great wealth of the country. Was it not a fact that Consols could be bought to pay £2 10s., the highest rate of interest they had yielded for many years? In 1896 the return they gave was £2 6s. Was this the time to talk of abounding prosperity? Consols were lower now than they had been for twenty years. All the gilt-edged securities were in such a state that it was almost impossible to realise money upon them. Only that day he had received a letter from a well-known stockbroker saying that the gilt-edge security market was in a parlous condition. The finances of the country were in a by no means satisfactory condition, and they would be in a no more satisfactory condition if the Government added to the burden of the nation without giving compensating advantages to the ratepayers. The old-age pension scheme had been received by those in favour of it with the proviso that it was very good as far as it went, but it did not go far enough. It had not been placed before the country half-an-hour before hon. Members rose from all sides of the House, and said seventy was too old, 5s. not enough; that the 10s. must be abolished and restrictions must be removed—that was the way in which the scheme had been received. The right hon. Gentleman had said it was possible that somebody might say that the days of ancient Rome had come back; that the daily dole had come. The amusements had not yet come. In Rome they came together, we had not got them but they would come. The right hon. Gentleman had also said that no doubt some old-fashioned people would say that in this reform we were travelling down an inclined plane, but, said the right hon. Gentleman, no reform was ever carried without such prognostications being made. He read the other day a statement rather apposite, he thought, to this matter—a statement made by a very high legal light, Lord Halsbury, the late Lord Chancellor, who said—

> "For instance, they might say, and the sentiment was more than 2,000 years old, that democracy sometimes led to a position of things in which public men both spoke and acted as if they were acting not for the good of the State but to please the popular mind at the moment."

He had no wish to emphasise that, but to the old-fashioned mind, which according to some hon. Gentlemen ought now to be in a museum, it appeared that that criticism might be applied to all the Members of the House who advocated an old-age pension scheme at the present moment. Was it correct that a person earning 10s. a week was to be included in this scheme, or was he to be disqualified by reason of his earnings?

Mr. ASQUITH: The income must not be over 10s. a week.

Sir F. BANBURY said he understood, therefore, that an income of 10s. a week would be included and the person with an income of 10s. 6d. a week would be excluded. But how about the paupers? How was that going to work? Would a man whose friends took him out of the workhouse to-day be qualified for a pension in a month's time? He understood that criminals were not to have pensions when they were sentenced, but were they to have them when their sentence had expired and they came out of prison? These were important points, and the people who would have to pay wanted to know something about them. Perhaps the Prime Minister or the Chancellor of the Exchequer would answer these questions when he came to reply. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the cost of the Post Office was going to be £450,000 a year more, and that that would result in a settlement of the Post Office grievances. He did not know where the right hon. Gentleman got that impression, because he received letters every day from postmen saying they were not only dissatisfied but that they were going to raise the question of further increases and had memorialised the London Members to receive a deputation. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would reply to the various points he had raised.

*Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said there was surely no more profitable form of national expenditure than giving a little money to some old people. The hon. Baronet had said that the country would not prosper so long as they spent money and the ratepayers got no benefit from it. He did not know any better kind of benefit that the ratepayers ever could get than to provide pensions for the poor old people. When the hon. Baronet was speaking, he could not help contrasting this expenditure with the wasteful expenditure on war contracts in South Africa when money went in millions like water. He thought that was a bad form of expenditure, and he could not find a better form of expenditure than on old-age pensions. He gave Members who voted for the proposal every credit for voting for it not to curry favour with the electors, but because they believed it was a sound principle to give old-age pensions. The hon. Member for North Paddington had uttered that evening one of the most astounding fallacies that he had heard in his life. He was a plain business man, and in his own industry of woollen cloth manufacture they had been suffering from the high price of raw material, and he knew the cotton trade was the same. The hon. Member for North Paddington, in warning the Prime Minister, asked if he had noticed that in the first four months of the year the importation of raw material had fallen by £20,000,000. He multiplied that by three and assumed that the importation of raw material would go down by £60,000,000 this year, and he said from that that they would have a less expenditure in labour of £100,000,000. As if a reduction in the money value of raw materials imported necessarily meant less volume and therefore less employment! He had never heard such an impractical view put forward in his life. He ventured to say that the reduction in the price of cotton and wool which had taken place would tend to increase the amount of labour employed. He was delighted with the Budget though it did not do all—not half—of what he would like to see. He would like to see old-age pensions for everybody at sixty and the sugar tax swept away all at once; but they were not children and could not expect impossibilities. He believed the Labour Party knew very well—as they all knew—that in this Budget two very important things were established. Just by cutting off a farthing of the sugar tax that tax was doomed. The Prime Minister had indicated plainly that the remainder of the tax must go before long. And in the next place they had got the thin end of the wedge of old-age pensions. He was glad that the Government was committed and the country was committed. He was certain the country was committed because he was perfectly sure that the party which had been inspired by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham to take up the cry of old-age pensions that were now being begun by his side would never go back upon it. The country as a whole was pledged to it, and it was a happy day for him that he was a Member of the House when this idea was first made a practical question. No doubt the lessening of the sugar tax and its ultimate abolition would be somewhat inconvenient to those who had it in their heart to exchange it for corn and meat taxes later on. The sugar tax was as hateful to him as old-age pensions were desirable, because it was in effect a poll tax. He believed the consumption of sugar would be increased by the reduction of the tax by over one-half. He was sure its increased consumption would be still greater when the tax was entirely swept away. By the tax they did not merely take money out of people's pockets as in the case of a tax on luxuries, such as motor-cars, where the people could afford to pay, but they compelled the people to consume less of useful commodities. This kind of expenditure promoted the people's well-being. Sugar was a raw material, and as the representative of a constituency which had several industries in which sugar was a raw material, he begged most heartily to thank the Government for reducing the tax. It would promote the trade of the country and the welfare of the poor. He had studied the question as an employer with the practical purpose of trying to give to working people old-age pensions, and had reluctantly had to come to the conclusion that it was practically impossible for employers in most industries to do it. He was glad, therefore, the Government had taken it up. It was possible for railway companies, banks, and permanent institutions to give pensions, but the average employer of labour in manufacturing and mercantile industries had no permanence and in many cases could not afford to do so. He thanked the Government on every ground. He wished once more to commend to the Chancellor of the Exchequer an expedient for bringing before the people of the country the nature of our national income and expenditure. If they printed a summary of the Budget for the current year upon the income-tax demand papers, the payers of the income-tax who were not an uninfluential section of the community, would be likely to take more interest in future in the expenditure of the country. When they grumbled they would be able to see what they were paying for; and, if they were such patriots that they wanted a large Army and Navy, perhaps their spirits would be quieted. If they were economists, it would stimulate their interest in public expenditure, and, he thought, promote economy in the rightful direction.

*Mr. HELME (Lancashire, Lancaster) said the Budget would be received by the country with feelings of deep and genuine satisfaction, because in it they had further evidence of the great skill and courage with which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, was prepared to develop the policy of the party which he led, upon sound finance. If there was one thing above another that would assist the commercial development of the country, it was the reduction of Debt and the wise application of the money raised in taxes, and so it was that they, the Members of the Liberal Party, hailed with satisfaction a Budget in which two features were the establishment of a system of old-age pensions and the reduction of taxation upon the food of the people. With regard to the spirit in which the establishment of old-age pensions would be received they had the satisfaction of feeling that there was a general acknowledgment that it was but the beginning of a system, and he thought the fears and criticisms of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle might be considerably discounted, because of the fact that, although 10s. was the limit of to-day, it was possible and intended to arrange that in future, when they knew the cost and they had an increased income they should be able to proceed in directions which would put a premium upon thrift, and the regulations under which this system would be administered would not in any degree put a premium on thriftlessness. He thought the workers throughout the country who supported the Liberal Party at the general election would feel that they had now good evidence that in the responsibility of office the Government had given effect to the principles they then professed, and that in continuing their confidence in the Liberal Party they had the best guarantee that their desires would be fully carried out. So it was that he begged, as one of the rank and file of the Party, to express the satisfaction which he believed his constituents would feel in the two principles that had been established on a free trade basis, and in looking forward to the development of the industries connected with the sugar trade, he was sure they would have an opportunity for increased employment, and at the same time the weekly house bill of the cottager would be relieved in a way that would bring contentment and satisfaction to the people.

Mr. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye) expressed satisfaction that the right hon. Gentleman had seen his way to make a start with old-age pensions. He, for one, had always wanted them, and was glad that a start had been made. He would not go into the details of the pension scheme, but he wanted earnestly to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to one point which he had omitted in his Budget, and which was admitted on all sides to call for redress. He thought some relief should have been given to local taxation in respect of national services. The burden of national services on local taxation had become heavier and heavier each year, and was now almost intolerable, and great injustices and many anomalies arose from the fact that the bases of local taxation and Imperial taxation were so extremely different. The Prime Minister, replying to a deputation a few weeks ago, said he thought the people who raised the question of local taxation, and tried to get something done for the ratepayer, lost sight of the fact that the ratepayer and the taxpayer were very often the same person. He had not lost sight of that fact. He was well aware that in relieving the local rates, to some extent, of the burden which they now bore for national services the whole relief would not be felt by them, but injustice would be removed, and the burden of national services would be spread over a much wider area than at present. The Royal Commission which considered the whole question of local taxation had reported that the following five services were of a national character—police, lunatics and asylums, education, roads and bridges and poor relief, but that 82 per cent. of the cost of those services was borne by the rates. It would be possible to go into elaborate detail, showing the injustice of the system even in urban areas, but for the moment he was only concerned with rural areas. It was the tenant farmer who suffered most severely under the present system, in spite of the fact that under the Agricultural Rates Act he was only assessed at half the rateable value. The relief given by that Act was quite insufficient. To begin with, the agricultural rates grant no longer filled the gap it was intended to fill when the Act was passed. It was less than half what it should be if it carried out the original intention of that Act. But that was not all. In spite of the relief of the Agricultural Rates Act it would be found that the rates which the farmer had to pay, regarded in relation to the profits which he derived from his business, were enormously in excess of the rates paid by the owner or occupier of any other form of property. He was rated not only on property but on the raw material of his business, his stock in trade, and these remarks did not apply to any other class at all, though, of course, to a minor degree comparisons of a similar kind might be made between the shopkeeper and the banker and other classes of that kind. But it was the farmer who suffered most, and he still hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to carry out to some extent the recommendation of the Royal Commission, and give some relief to local taxation. If one looked for a moment at these services one realised how extremely [unjust the burden was. Eighty-six per cent. of the cost of the main roads and bridges fell on the local rates, although the greater part of the wear and tear of the roads did not arise at all from the locality. In these days of rapid locomotion, motor cars, and so on, the wear of the road in a particular spot had very little bearing upon the use by the people living in the neighbourhood. It had often been said that all these matters must await a Valuation Bill. But a Valuation Bill was not in the least necessary. An allowance could be made on the surface area of the road to be maintained and in respect of the police and lunatics per head. In the case of education there could be an increased grant per head, and the same with poor relief, and he could not really see how any one of these matters was dependent at all on valuation. The Royal Commission found that £40,000,000 out of the total of £56,000,000 which these services cost fell upon the rates. In the state of prosperity which the right hon. Gentleman was able to show he thought some means might be found of changing that proportion. If the right hon. Gentleman could do anything of that kind it would give great satisfaction to a far larger number of people than perhaps he realised. Possibly he was not aware what a strong feeling there was in all the rural districts of the country on the matter. He urged him to give it his kindly consideration and to do something if he could.

**Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN**: There are two questions I should like to put to the right hon. Gentleman which I ought to have put when I spoke earlier in the evening, but they escaped my memory. The first is as to legislative procedure in regard to old-age pensions. I rather assume that there will have to be a separate measure for the administrative provisions and that they will not be included in the Finance Bill. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will tell us whether that is so. The other is a question I should have liked to put to the Prime Minister when he was speaking but for the inconvenience of any interruption. He drew our attention to the fact that the issues last year from the Exchequer were £2,000,000 less than the Estimates and Supplementary Estimates combined, and in passing, he spoke of that money having been saved. What I wanted to know was what proportion of it was due to the expenditure having actually been less than was required, and what proportion was due, if I may use a technical expression which the right hon. Gentleman will understand, to over issues over previous years?

**Mr. ASQUITH**: I cannot tell at the moment. If the right hon. Gentleman will put it in the form of a Question, or, still better, reserve it, I will look into it.

**The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Burghs)**: I rise to ask the House if they can see their way now to give us the Resolution. There are five or six, and we are now taking the first, on tea. When it is realised that, after all, full discussion will be possible on the Income-tax Resolution, I think the House might see their way to accede to the request. With regard to the first question of the right hon. Gentleman, old-age pensions will not be dealt with in the Budget but in a separate Bill, and there will be opportunities for discussing all the points of detail which have been raised. On the whole, it is perfectly obvious that this is not an opportunity for entering into all those details. The Bill will be introduced and tabled in course of time. No doubt there are a great many details which we ourselves will have to consider. My right hon. friend just outlined the scheme, but the Bill will be introduced at an early opportunity, and the House will have a full chance of discussing all the details, especially the important points put by the hon. Baronet. We fully realise how important they are. The questions which have been raised have been very suggestive and will be useful to the Government when they come to draft the Bill. I trust the House will now see its way to allow us to get the Resolutions. There will be a full opportunity of discussing them when the Finance Bill is introduced.

Mr. MORTON (Sutherland) did not want to stop the Government getting their Resolutions at once, but he wanted a distinct understanding that he should have the same opportunity that he would have if he choose to go on. He had been waiting to bring forward matters in which his constituents were concerned, and in which he had a right to be heard as much as anyone else. As he understood that he would have a full opportunity he would give way to the Government.

Question put, and agreed to.

### SUGAR.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Customs duties imposed and the drawbacks allowed under section two of The Finance Act, 1901 (being duties and drawbacks in respect of sugar, molasses, glucose, and saccharin), and the excise duties imposed and the drawbacks allowed on glucose and saccharin under section five of the same Act, and the allowance in respect of molasses used for food for stock under sub-section two of section one of The Revenue Act, 1903, be reduced in each case by fifty-six per cent., or as near thereto as the Treasury may determine, the reduction to take effect on and after the eighteenth day of May, nineteen hundred and eight. Provided that, as respects the duty charged on manufactured or prepared goods under section seven of The Finance Act, 1901, and the drawback allowed on any such goods in respect of which it is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs that the duty was paid on the sugar, molasses, glucose, or saccharin used in the manufacture or preparation at the rates now charged, the reduction shall not take effect until the first day of July, nineteen hundred and eight." —(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I asked the Prime Minister at an earlier stage whether it was necessary to take this Resolution to-night. Of course, if he assures me it really is necessary I cannot press him, but it is a very complicated Resolution, and it raises sundry questions of principle as well as minor questions of detail which perhaps might be dealt with later. I press him in no unfriendly spirit, and he will not complain of the spirit in which he has been met to-night in any quarter of the House. Unless it is absolutely necessary to take it to-night I would press him to postpone this Resolution to a later day.

Mr. ASQUITH: I would gladly accede to the request, but it is necessary for the purpose of the drawback. Full opportunity will be afforded for the discussions of general principles on the debate on the Income-tax Resolution.

Mr. CHARLES McARTHUR said he had been asked to put a very pressing question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to sugar. It had been brought to his knowledge that a large quantity of sugar had arrived in the country in the last few days or weeks, and they had not been able to obtain bond accommodation. Accordingly the duty had had to be paid for the sugar, and it was now in the warehouses awaiting sale, and it would be impossible if the Resolution was passed to sell the sugar without allowing the amount of the reduction in duty which loss they would consequently have to bear themselves unless some provision was made for it in the Finance Act. He asked whether provision would be made to indemnify the owners.

Mr. ASQUITH: These are incidents which always occur when there is a sudden change in the duty. I can assure the hon. Member that I will consider it in consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and that we will do our best.

Question put, and agreed to.

### IRISH TOBACCO.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That there shall be charged on and after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and nine, on tobacco grown in Ireland, the following excise duties, namely—

| | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|
| Upon tobacco, manufactured, namely— | | |
| Cavendish or negro head manufactured in bond the lb. | 3 | 10 |
| Upon tobacco, unmanufactured, namely— | | |
| Tobacco containing 10 lbs. or more of moisture in every 100 lbs. weight thereof - - - - the lb. | 2 | 10 |
| Tobacco containing less than 10 lbs. of moisture in every 100 lbs. weight thereof - - - - the lb. | 3 | 2 |

and there shall be charged, on and after the same date, on a licence to be taken out annually by every person growing, cultivating, or curing tobacco in Ireland, an excise duty of five shillings."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

MR. MORTON asked whether the duty was to apply to tobacco grown in Scotland.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I was going to ask the same question, because the Government has agreed to the passage of a Bill which enables Scotland to grow tobacco as well as Ireland. Why England has been omitted I do not quite know. I suppose it wants energy on the part of some agricultural Member in England. But what are these duties? Are they calculated on the exact equivalent of the customs duties?

MR. ASQUITH: The reason why Scotland is not included is because the Scottish Bill is not yet passed into law. When it is passed a similar provision will be made.

MR. MORTON: So we have to wait twelve months.

MR. ASQUITH: Till the Bill passes. Tobacco cannot be grown in Ireland until an excise is set up.

MR. MORTON: If the Bill is passed in July will the Government then set up an excise for Scotland as well as for Ireland?

MR. ASQUITH: No, I think we must wait till next session.

MR. MORTON asked the Prime Minister, as representing a Scottish constituency, whether it was fair to Scotland that tobacco could not be grown there while it could in Ireland.

MR. ASQUITH: The Irish Members were a little more active in getting their Bill through a year earlier and Scotland must wait.

Question put, and agreed to.

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### AMENDMENT OF LAW.

4. Resolved, "That it is expedient to amend the law relating to the National Debt, Customs, and Inland Revenue.—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

Adjourned at twelve minutes after Eleven o'clock.

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Friday, 8th May,* 1908.

The House met at Twelve noon of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed.

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—"To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Bethnal Green, Bradfield (Rural), Cambridge, Spennymoor, Surbiton, and Worthing, and the Accrington and Church Outfall Sewerage District (two)," presented by Mr. Masterman; supported by Mr. Burns; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 218.]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—"To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to East Ham, Gateshead, Neath, Salford, and Shipley, and the Birmingham Tame and Rea Main Sewerage District, and the Middlesex Districts Joint Small-pox Hospital District," presented by Mr. Masterman; supported by Mr. Burns; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 219.]

## *PETITIONS.*

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour; From Edmonton (three); Hove; Lower Edmonton; Ponder's End; and Tottenham (two); to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petition from Gaverton and other places, against; to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour; From Blantyre; Cadley Hill; Crynant; Dillwyn; Donisthorpe; Gellihir; Gresley; Halls; Largoward; Resolven; Roch; Seven Sisters; Staunton; Tonhir; Ty-Gwyn-Bach; and Wyndham; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Wick and Pulteneytown for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Newton (South Glamorganshire); and Scotter; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Dublin; Eastbourne; Gateshead on-Tyne; Hull (East); Milton; Newhaven; St. Helens; Sheffield (Brightside) (four); and Swindon and Wiltshire; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration: From Hove; Newport (Mon.); and Walker; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Acocks Green; Ambler Thorn (two); Ardirshaig; Argyll; Ashbourne; Batley (five); Bedminster; Bermondsey; Birchcliffe; Birmingham (two); Blaenpenal; Bradford; Bramhall; Brecon and other places; Brighouse; Brighton (two); Broadbottom (six); Burnley; Bwlchygroes; Chanonry; Cilcenni; Clifton;

Copley; Crewton (two); Crynant; Cwmgwrach Glyn; Drumoak; Eastbourne; Eccles; Elland; Felstead; Gilfueh Goch; Glasgow (two); Gravesend Hailsham; Hay Mills; Helsby; Hove; Hoxton; Hull (three); Ilfracombe; Inverness; Jedburgh; Killian; Kingston-on-Thames; Kirkcudbright; Law; Leigh; Leith; Lilliesleaf; Llandyssul; Loanhead; Lyolear; Macclesfield; Maesteg (five); Margam; Mold (seven); Montrose; Neath (two); Nelson; Newport (two); New Quay; Northampton; Oakengates; Penzance; Pontrhydyfen; Ratho; Renton; Rutherglen; Sanday; Scotter; Sheffield (nineteen); Southport; Sowerby Bridge (two); Sparkhill; Strathmigle; Swansea; Todmorden; Wallsend; Workington; and Worksop; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Glasgow against; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Alexandria Alloa; Ballachulish; Blantyre; Clackmannan; Condorrat; Glasgow (two); Jedburgh; Lanark; and Lochans; to lie upon the Table.

### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Petition from Birmingham and other places in the Midland Counties, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

Two Petitions from Dewsbury, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### NATAL.

Copy presented, of further Correspondence relating to Native Affairs in Natal [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented of Annual Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland for the year 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### NATIONAL PHYSICAL LABORATORY.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 29th April; *Mr. Hobhouse*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed, [No. 138.]

## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

### Guaranteed Irish Land Stock.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state what amount of Two and three-quarters per cent. Guaranteed Irish Land Stock has been issued under the Irish Land Act of 1903 to date; what has been the total amount of the issues made to the public within this period, on what dates such issues were made, and what were the average prices received on each issue thus made; what were the flotation charges on the respective issues made by means of public subscription; what has been the total amount of this stock issued to the National Debt Commissioners; on what dates and for what amounts were such issues made, and what were the respective prices paid by them; what has been the total amount shown in detail for discount losses chargeable to date on the Irish Development Grant; and what is the amount of money the Estates Commissioners have on their hands at the present date for advances to tenants who have purchased through direct sales from landlords.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The following statement will give the information desired by the hon. Member—

Guaranteed Two and three-quarters per cent. Stock issued under The Irish Land Act, 1903.

| Date of issue. | Stock issued. | | | Average price of issue. | Flotation charges. | Annuity chargeable on the Ireland Development Grant in respect of each issue. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By public tender. | To the National Debt Commissioners. | Total. | | | | | |
| | £ | £ | £ | | £ | £ | s. | d. |
| 1904: 19th March - - - | 5,000,000 | — | 5,000,000 | £87 | 12,879 | 19,820 | 1 | 5 |
| 1905: 3rd January - - - | 6,000,000 | — | 6,000,000 | £89 8s. 8d. | 11,831 | 18,885 | 15 | 4 |
| 1906: 2nd January - - - | — | 1,103,448 | 1,103,448 | £90$\frac{5}{8}$ | — | 3,046 | 17 | 6 |
| 26th February - - | — | 1,097,996 | 1,097,996 | £91 1s. 6d. xd. | — | 2,900 | 12 | 6 |
| 6th April - - - | — | 1,000,000 | 1,000,000 | 92 0s. 7d. xd. | — | 2,590 | 10 | 5 |
| 12th June - - - | 7,000,000 | — | 7,000,000 | £89 | 17,907 | 23,046 | 5 | 5 |
| 1907: 2nd July - - - | — | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 | £84$\frac{3}{4}$ | — | 8,425 | 12 | 6 |
| 7th October - - - | — | 3,000,000 | 3,000,000 | £84 17s. 11d. xd. | — | 13,499 | 7 | 0 |
| 1908: 7th April - - - | — | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 | £89 16s. 7d. xd. | — | 5,949 | 18 | 9 |
| | 18,000,000 | 10,201,444 | 28,201,444 | — | 42,617 | 98,165 | 0 | 10 |

The money for advances is provided by the National Debt Commissioners as required by the Estates Commissioners. The amount at present available, including the working balance of £98,000, is £174,000.

**Land Purchase—Sinking Fund Account.**

Mr. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury what has been the total amount received and credited to the Sinking Fund Account under the Land Purchase Acts previous to the Act of 1903; what has been the amount for the credit of this account from the year 1891 to 1907, both years inclusive, and what have been the respective amounts received in each of the years covering this period; to what purpose has this fund been applied; if invested in Two and three-quarters per cent. Guaranteed Irish Land Stock, what has been the amount invested and the average price paid for it in each of the years mentioned; what has been the total amount of the Sinking Fund Account to date under the Irish Land Act of 1903; what have been the respective amounts credited to it in each of the years from 1904 to 1907, both years inclusive; and to what purpose has it been applied.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The following statements will give the information desired—

I.—Sinking Fund Account under the Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896.

| Year ending 31st March. | Amount received for credit of Sinking Fund. | | Application of Sinking Fund. | | | Amount of accumulated Sinking Fund at close of each Year. | Stock cancelled by redemptions in Year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Land Stock. | Cash. | Land Stock purchased. | Average price. | Cash paid. | | |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1893 | — | 50 | 50 | Par | 50 | — | 40 |
| 1894 | — | 2,560 | 2,568 | 99·69 | 2,560 | 2,380 | 214 |
| 1895 | — | 10,883 | 5,516 | 100·87 | 5,564 | 12,762 | 486 |
| 1896 | — | 22,198 | 25,467 | 108·04 | 27,516 | 31,525 | 1,492 |
| 1897 | — | 29,143 | 25,930 | 112·39 | 29,142 | 56,002 | 1,672 |
| 1898 | 10 | 36,104 | 32,022 | 112·75 | 36,105 | 86,882 | 1,357 |
| 1899 | — | 49,849 | 45,007 | 110·76 | 49,849 | 128,181 | 3,982 |
| 1900 | 125 | 69,658 | 66,754 | 104·22 | 69,568 | 192,772 | 2,807 |
| 1901 | — | 93,109 | 94,111 | 98·8 | 92,983 | 286,156 | 1,474 |
| 1902 | 32,006 | 126,079 | 134,642 | 93·42 | 125,786 | 412,863 | 41,034 |
| 1903 | 22,954 | 158,375 | 168,353 | 94·32 | 158,794 | 562,088 | 42,700 |
| 1904 | 72,669 | 177,721 | 177,162 | 99·91 | 177,007 | 650,315 | 162,835 |
| 1905 | 84,033 | 185,904 | 194,138 | 96·18 | 186,707 | 724,253 | 203,993 |
| 1906 | 169,398 | 185,936 | 203,215 | 91·5 | 185,936 | 836,344 | 261,253 |
| 1907 | 93,324 | 187,465 | 210,959 | 88·5 | 186,656 | 973,100 | 169,256 |
| | 474,519 | 1,335,034 | 1,385,894 | — | 1,334,223 | — | 894,595 |

II.—Sinking Fund Account under the Irish Land Act, 1903.

| Year ending 31st March. | Amount received for credit of Sinking Fund. | Application of Sinking Fund. | | | | Amount of accumulated Sinking Fund at close of each Year | Stock cancelled by redemptions in Year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Loans to Capital Account for further Advances (Section 36 (2). | Guaranteed Two and three-quarters per cent. Stock bought. | | | | |
| | | | Stock. | Average price. | Cash paid. | | |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1904<br>1905 | 10,039 | 4,000 | 5,952 | 89·47 | 5,325 | 9,452 | 1,214 |
| 1906 | 37,702 | 38,000 | — | — | — | 44,817 | 2,337 |
| 1907 | 73,056 | 61,600 | 12,500 | 88·72 | 11,090 | 112,689 | 6,594 |
| | 120,797 | 103,600 | 18,452 | — | 16,415 | — | 10,145 |

### Promotion in the Ordnance Survey Department Ireland.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he can state the number of superintendents in charge of field sections of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, and who usually makes the recommendations for appointment to these positions in the first instance; and whether seniority of service and merit are counted as qualifications for promotion.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) The number of superintendents in charge of field sections of the detail divisions of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland was forty-eight on 31st March last. They are selected and appointed by the division officer who gives preference to those best qualified, seniority of service being taken into account where qualifications are fairly equal.

### Value of Imported Plate.

MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he can say what was the value of plate and plated goods imported into the United Kingdom during the year 1907.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) The value of plate imported into the United Kingdom during the year 1907 was as follows—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Gold plate - - - | 1,090 |
| Silver plate - - - | 22,296 |
| Total - - | 23,386 |

No separate record of the imports of plated goods is available, these articles being included on importation under the general heading "Metal unenumerated wrought"

### School Site in East Hardwick, West Riding.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he proposes to introduce a Provisional Order Bill for the acquisition of a site for a school in East Hardwick, West Riding; and, if so, when the Bill will be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The Bill to which the noble Lord refers was introduced in the House of Lords on the 5th instant.

### Accommodation and Attendances in Council and Voluntary Schools.

MR. ARMITAGE (Leeds, Central): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he will state the number of places provided in council schools on 31st July, 1907, the number of children on the register at the same date, and the number in average attendance; and if he will give the like information with regard to non-provided schools.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*)

| | Council Schools. | Voluntary Schools. |
|---|---|---|
| Recognised accommodation on 31st July, 1907- | 3,650,503 | 3,393,704 |
| Average number of children on the register for the statistical year ending 31st July, 1907 - | 3,241,234 | 2,737,733 |
| Average attendance during the statistical year ending 31st July, 1907 - - - | 2,875,111 | 2,412,071 |

### Education Loans.

MR. ARMITAGE: To ask the President of the Board of Education if he will state the total amount of loans for the provision of public elementary schools sanctioned to board schools and to local education authorities from 1870 to 31st March, 1907; what was the amount of outstanding loans on 31st March, 1906; and what was the amount paid by local education authorities in interest and sinking fund in respect of such loans during the year ending 31st March, 1906.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The total amount of loans for the provision of public elementary schools sanctioned to school boards since 1870 was £48,764,481 10s. 2d., and to local education authorities up to the 31st March, 1907, £6,695,031. The loans outstanding on the 31st March, 1906, amounted to £36,966,667. The payments in respect of interest and sinking fund during the year ending the 31st March, 1906, amounted to £2,352,697.

### Appointment of Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland.

MR. FIELD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can explain why the position of Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland, recently vacated, was filled by a first-class clerk from the Treasury Office in England; and whether he is aware that dissatisfaction exists in Ireland on account of the systematic importation of English officials to fill higher positions in Ireland, and thus preventing promotion for seniority and merit.

MR. FIELD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state that there was no Irish official considered capable to fill the position of Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland; and whether he can state if it is intended by the permanent officials to continue the transference of their subordinates from England to Ireland when more lucrative posts are open in that country.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) In reply to the two Questions of the hon. Member, I have to say that the gentleman appointed to the office of Treasury Remembrancer and Deputy Paymaster. General for Ireland was selected because he was considered to be best qualified for the situation.

### Irish Intermediate Education—Algebra.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether the sections set in the programme of the Intermediate Board for algebra are to be read as representing the amount of that subject usually treated in the elementary text books in use in secondary schools, as distinguished from the advanced courses in these sections usually set to University students; whether the examiners have been in the habit of exceeding the programme; and what steps do the Intermediate Board take to ensure that the examination special papers in algebra are of an elementary character, and reasonably representative of the programme.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I have referred this Question to the Intermediate Education Board, and am informed as follows: The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. It is, however, not altogether correct to describe the courses for any subjects in the senior grade as elementary. The examiners in algebra have not in any instance in recent years exceeded the limits of the programme. The questions on the special papers are intended by the Board to be of a more searching character than those on the other honour papers.

### Irish Clubs.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if he can give the number of clubs, registered and unregistered, in which intoxicating liquor is supplied, in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Londonderry, and the rest of Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The number of registered clubs in which intoxicating liquor is supplied is—

| | |
|---|---|
| In Dublin Metropolitan Police District | 57 |
| In Belfast | 26 |
| In Cork | 13 |
| In Limerick | 7 |
| In Waterford | 4 |
| In Londonderry | 2 |
| In rest of Ireland | 143 |

It is not known that intoxicating liquor is supplied in any unregistered club, except possibly in one case which is at present under investigation.

## HOP INDUSTRY.

Ordered, "That a Message be sent to the Lords, to request that their Lordships will be pleased to give leave to the Lord Eversley to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee on the Hop Industry."—(*Sir William Collins.*)

## CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HAVILAND BURKE (King's County, Tullamore) said that in moving the Second Reading his first duty was to disavow any intention of making any political capital against the two historic British Parties in the House. Ireland in the past had suffered from coercion Bills at the hands of Liberal as well as Tory Governments, and as much cruelty and injustice had been done by Liberal Executives as by Tory Executives in the happy days of the past. Therefore, while he frankly admitted that education in Irish affairs might have made much more progress upon one side than upon the other, and while he gave full credit to the present Administration for having refused to put the Crimes Act of 1887 into force, he could not, in political justice, argue that the Irish people suffered much more tyranny under the Crimes Act of 1887 passed by the Tories than they suffered under the Liberal Crimes Act of 1882. There was this serious difference between the two cases. The Crimes Act of 1882, like the Coercion Acts before it, was a temporary Act, but what they were now asking to repeal was a permanent Act which, by a single scratch of the pen at the caprice of a particular man, might set aside the right of trial by jury or even the right of trial by a Judge without a jury, and that could be done in any part of Ireland or in the whole of it. The Act of Parliament which it was the object of this Bill to repeal was remarkable, not only for its extraordinary invasion of public rights, but for the peculiar circumstances under which it was introduced. It would be within the recollection of all hon. Members that in 1885 there suddenly arose an alliance between the Irish Nationalists and the English Tory Party in this House, and it was not an alliance that was dishonourable to either Party. In the year 1885 Mr. Gladstone announced that at a date in the near future it was the intention of the Government to re-enact some of the provisions of the Crimes Act of 1882, and the alliance to which he had referred resulted in the fall of the Liberal Government in June of that year, and a Tory Government was formed which existed until the general election. What was the policy of that Tory Government? It was the policy not only of dropping coercion in Ireland, but of condemning and repudiating it, and when the late Lord Salisbury was attacked by some enthusiasts on the side of law and order who complained of that policy he made the following historic reply in a speech at a meeting of the Union of Conservative Associations on 7th October at Newport—

> "I have seen it stated that the Crimes Act diminished outrages and that it diminished boycotting. It is not true. The Act did not diminish outrages, and I have had a return for September during which the Act was not in existence and the outrages were considerably fewer than in August when the Act was still in existence."

At the general election which ensued, and again at the general election of 1886, the cry of the Tory Party was the same, and its motto was: "Equal laws and no coercion." The Tory Party then said: "We cannot, we will not, give Home Rule, because we think it will impair the security of the Empire, and we do not think it would conduce to the welfare of Ireland herself. But everything short of that we will give you. We will give to Irishmen every right that an Englishman enjoys. Equal laws and no coercion." That was the motto, and that was the policy which flared upon the electors from a million hoardings, and was published in a million leaflets, and on that policy vast numbers of electors who would otherwise have voted for Home Rule in 1886 if it had been presented to them as the only alternative for coercion voted against it because they were told that something quite as good, coupled with absolute equal liberty, could be given to every Irish subject of His Majesty. Having won that election, and having defeated Home Rule in the year 1887, the Tory Party turned one of the most marvellous somersaults ever recorded in the history of mankind. "Equal laws and no coercion" vanished into the background, and instead there was introduced what was called the Crimes Act, or what the Nationalists call the Coercion Act, of 1887. He would not now go very far into the provisions of that Act. He was only a new recruit in that campaign compared with some of the old veterans in the fight which took place in the historic years which ensued. Perhaps he might be permitted to dwell upon what he thought was the worst thing that Act did in regard to the law of conspiracy. There was not a lawyer on either side of the House who would not admit that the law of conspiracy was one of the most elastic, and often one of the most dangerous, laws that could be imagined. The law of conspiracy for its administration required great impartiality, great legal knowledge, and a generous and broad sense of what was right and what was wrong. How was the law of conspiracy interpreted under the Crimes Act of 1889? He could not illustrate the point better than by putting it to those hon. Members who particularly represented the cause of labour. The plain meaning of the law of conspiracy was that if it were put into force in any big shipbuilding or coal-mining centre of England a certain district in a labour dispute being proclaimed, the organisation of an ordinary strike would be an absolute impossibility. What would it mean? It would mean that the Labour leaders or Labour representatives in the House who went down to the district proclaimed under the Act to denounce as blacklegs men who took the employment from which their fellow-workers had been driven out, would be liable without doing a single illegal thing to be charged under that Act with conspiracy to induce or to compel some person or persons unknown to do something that they did not wish to do. That was without exaggeration a plain statement of the broad scope and intention of the Crimes Act of 1887. Together with one of his hon. friends and colleagues he was prosecuted not long ago under that Act, and what was the case against them? It was not alleged that violence had been used or that individuals had been denounced. It was not held that their meeting took place in close or dangerous proximity to the residence of any unpopular person, or that there was the least disorder. There was not a blow struck or a stone thrown. What was the summons? The charge was that his colleague and himself had intimidated some person or persons unknown. What form did the intimidation take? It was brought out particularly against them that they had denounced land-grabbing. He had made a statement on that question on the platform, and he afterwards heard that it was those words that secured the conviction of the whole lot of them. The words he used on the platform, which he had used many times before, and since, were that a man who went and took his neighbour's farm from which that neighbour had been evicted, and who entered into possession of the lands that his neighbour had tilled, drained, fenced, improved, and sunk his money in—the man who did such a thing as that in Ireland was a public enemy and a thief. He had repeated the exact words. They might seem strong, but he was not ashamed of them, and he would repeat them again as occasion might require. They had no laws in England to punish a Labour leader, whether a Member of the House or not, who went down to a crowded meeting, where a bitter strike was in progress, and denounced as blacklegs and a disgrace to the working classes the men who took the work hitherto done by the strikers. He would not have it thought for a moment that he condemned Labour leaders who took such action as that in order to protect working men, and who condemned those who tried to break the back of the working men's organisation. On the contrary, he sympathised with them. What he wanted to point out was that the land-grabber in Ireland was on a much lower plane than the blackleg in England. The land-grabber could not claim that he was out of work, with no food for his children, and that he did not see why he should not take a certain wage for which other men did not care to work. The Irish land-grabber did no such thing as that, for he was generally a man with money put by and a prosperous person. A scandalous case occurred in his own constituency, where a man had a farm in an adjacent county, besides a large timber trade, and he had been the curse and bane of the district for years past, because he took an evicted farm. That was why he drew the comparison he had drawn when he said that if the laws were equal in England and Ireland the organisation of a strike, the denunciation of blacklegs, and picketing, would be absolutely impossible in any part of Great Britain. He might quote, as another instance of the application of the law of conspiracy, the famous case in which his hon. friend the Member for Kilkenny City took great interest, and to which reference was often made. He referred to what was known as the case of the three blacksmiths in County Clare. Those three men refused to shoe the horse of a land-grabber, and they were prosecuted. Each of them was prosecuted for entering into a conspiracy with the other two to prevent him from doing what he was legally entitled to do, namely, shoe a grabber's mare, and they got long sentences of hard labour in each case. Then there was the interference with the rights of the Press. There were many cases where editors were sent to hard labour, and their newspaper property ruined, simply for the crime of reporting proclaimed meetings. The cases were so numerous that it would be impossible for him with any consideration to those who wished to speak in the debate to enter into them, and he would leave that part of the case to abler hands. What he wanted to insist on was the character of the tribunal set up under the Crimes Act of 1887. He ventured to say that there was not a lawyer in the House of Commons, no matter to what political party he belonged, who would not admit that the true essence of justice really lay in the tribunal which was to administer it. Their best statutes might be useless in the hands of a narrow-minded administrator, and a statute that might do a good deal of harm might have that harm mitigated if administered by a humane, enlightened, and, above all, an independent man. What were the tribunals established by the Act of 1887? They consisted of resident magistrates with power of appeal, subject to a certain condition that the application should be made to a County Court Judge. As regarded the right of appeal, there was never a more flagrant breach of faith against the House than was committed by the Tory Government of 1887 when it passed that detestable Act into law. The Prime Minister of the day promised that there should be a right of appeal in every case under the Act of 1887, but what happened? In the wording of the Act the right of appeal applied only in cases where the sentence passed by the two resident magistrates exceeded one month. The Irish police were very ingenious in multiplying charges just as they were ingenious in multiplying outrages. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh."] He would remind his interrupters that there was a Return, which was public property, where three agrarian offences were manufactured out of the fact that two men had assaulted a third, and the third man had hit each of the other two. That was set down as three offences, and cases of that kind were to be counted, not by the dozen or by the score, but by the hundred. In the same way the appeal clause of the Crimes Act of 1887 was brought to nought. The resident magistrates refused in scores of cases to increase any of the sentences by a single day so as to give the right of appeal. The result was that men got three, and in some cases even more, sentences of a month's imprisonment to run concurrently, making the total imprisonment anything up to six months with or without hard labour. He wished to say a word as to the powers exercised by the resident magistrates under the Act. A Return was issued in August last year relative to the resident magistrates in Ireland. It showed that the total number was sixty-six, of whom no less than twenty-seven were ex-constabulary officers. These men did not know the law, and they were naturally incapable of administering justice when political or agrarian issues were at stake. They were drawn chiefly from the constabulary, the military, and the landowning class, and when they were called upon to adjudicate in a political or agrarian case, there could be nothing more like empanelling a jury of wolves to try a sheep than to appoint them to judge in such a case. It should be remembered that the resident magistrates did not hold office for life. They had not the independence which was enjoyed by a police magistrate in the least important police court in Great Britain. They were appointed by nomination, they could be promoted, dismissed, or removed at the will and pleasure of the Lord-Lieutenant. The most wonderful thing of all was that under an Irish law passed in 1840 certain Irish boroughs had the power of appeal to the Lord-Lieutenant to appoint a barrister of six years standing as the stipendiary magistrate for the borough, the salary coming out of the rates. That Act was practically obsolete, and the resident magistrate in Ireland was the only paid magistrate in the three kingdoms, and so far as he knew in the whole civilised world, in whose case no legal qualification or experience whatever was requisite for his appointment. Under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act it was provided that one of the two resident magistrates comprising the Court must be a person of the "sufficiency of whose legal knowledge the Lord Lieutenant has expressed himself satisfied." There were thirty-nine resident magistrates scheduled in the Return issued last year from amongst whom anyone could be appointed as one of the two magistrates to act in any case that arose under the Coercion Act. Of those thirty-nine specially scheduled resident magistrates of the sufficiency of whose legal knowledge the Lord-Lieutenant had expressed himself satisfied fifteen were ex-constabulary men, six were practising barristers, three were barristers not in practice, one was a Cambridge M.A., one was an Indian civil servant, and others were ex-Militia and ex-Army officers. He contended that the ordinary powers of the law and of the Executive in Ireland were amply sufficient without the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, which was a disgrace to the statute book in which it was inserted. The power of the Executive in Ireland was enormous, and no Englishman accustomed to his own atmosphere, so to speak, could realise what could be done, and was constantly being done, under the ordinary law without the aid of any exceptional law whatever. When no Coercion Act was in force he had seen three of his colleagues thrown off the platforms of meetings in their own constituencies. The meetings had been proclaimed at the caprice of the local resident magistrates. He had known a case where hundreds of armed men had been called into a little village where there was no agrarian trouble, but where a meeting had been proclaimed. During last Parliament he had to attend a meeting in the south of Ireland in a district which was not proclaimed under the Crimes Act, but where there were 400 extra police, every man armed with rifle and bayonet. These men were massed in the village to prevent the meeting being held. He remembered well that when he got up in the morning the county inspector, by way of overawing the people, was putting the men through bayonet exercise on the village green. The meeting was ultimately held in spite of all that was done To his mind the powers possessed by the Irish Executive were disgraceful, and they had been disgracefully exercised. It was an insult and an outrage that a Member of Parliament who chose to address his constituents should be committed to the tender care of a couple of resident magistrates who from professional interest and natural instinct must be against him. The denial of the right of appeal where sentences did not exceed one month's imprisonment struck at the very root of justice. Would any hon. Member get up and say that it was a just state of affairs that, while any notoriously bad character had the right of appeal under English law against the sentence inflicted upon him in any London police court, a public man in Ireland, whether a local man or a Member of Parliament should, without the right of appeal, suffer cumulative sentences for periods of from three to six months with or without hard labour? There was one observation which he desired to address particularly to the Chief Secretary. They all knew that the appointment of resident magistrates went very much one way, no matter what Government might happen to be in power, as regarded the class from which they were drawn. The right hon. Gentleman could do one thing which did not require an Act of Parliament at all; he could use his influence in the Executive to ensure that the resident magistrates scheduled as men who might be appointed to constitute half of the Court before which Coercion Act prisoners were to be tried should at least be men of some legal knowledge and experience, and not, as they were now, largely ex-constabulary men. He could not conceive of any appointment to the office of resident magistrate as being more iniquitous than the appointment of an ex-district inspector or an ex-county inspector of constabulary. These men had been thrown at one time or another into collision with the people. Some of them might be good men and anxious to be fair, but what would be thought in this country of appointing an inspector of police to be a stipendiary magistrate in London? There would be an outcry against such an appointment. He earnestly entreated the House to give the Bill a Second Reading, and to repeal an Act which he regarded as a gross and wicked breach of faith towards the electors, and as one of the worst stains ever put on justice in the annals of the country—an Act which constituted such a law, and such a tribunal, as existed nowhere in Great Britain, in the British Colonies, and had no parallel, he believed, in any civilised country in the world.

MR. C. MACVEIGH (Donegal, E.) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.), in moving the rejection of the Bill, said that when the House was asked to consent to the repeal of a measure which had stood upon the Statute-book for twenty years, it should first of all get a clear idea of the Act which it was asked to revoke, and it should, in the next place, demand the clearest evidence that its removal was desirable in the public interest. He wondered how many hon. Members had taken the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the actual provisions of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, which they were now asked to repeal. There were, he knew, many hon. Members, below the gangway, who would be able to pass an examination in the details of the Act, because from time to time they had been brought into conflict with it, and he supposed they would not deny that they had come off second best from the encounter. They learned their lesson; but they had found the law a hard schoolmaster, and they had never ceased to agitate for the removal of that Act from the Statute-book But why did hon. Members opposite share the views of the Nationalist Party that that measure should be repealed? Had they any more solid grounds for their sympathy with that proposal than an ill-founded belief in the injustice of the Act? The Chief Secretary—who might be assumed to have some knowledge of the provisions of the Crimes Act—described it last year, in this House, as "a code of tyrannical laws." Personally he was quite unable to understand how any unprejudiced person could arrive at such a conclusion. He thought the House would do well to examine, in an impartial spirit, the Act as it stood, and judge for themselves whether it deserved the harsh description applied to it by the Chief Secretary. The purpose of this measure, as set forth in the preamble, was—

> "To make better provision for the prevention and punishment of Crime in Ireland."

No one, he ventured to think, would say that the object was an unworthy one. They must all admit that in the interests of society and civilisation crime should be prevented, and the punishment of the criminal was simply a means of deterring from the commission of crime. But it would be observed that the preamble presupposed that at the time the Act was passed better means for the prevention and punishment of crime in Ireland were needed. In other words, the ordinary law had ceased to operate; and, therefore, special machinery was necessary to deal with the situation which had arisen. Now, he did not see how it was possible for anyone who had personal recollection of the state of Ireland in 1886 or 1887, or who had read the history of that period, to deny that a situation had arisen which could not be adequately dealt with by the ordinary law. To his mind the fact was entirely beyond dispute that at the period when the Act was passed the ordinary law was not enforced over a large part of Ireland, and that, in fact, the law of the land was entirely superseded by the law of the National League. The two chief causes which at that time rendered the Courts of Law in Ireland inoperative were: (1) The difficulty of getting evidence; and (2) The difficulty of getting verdicts according to the evidence. In other words, witnesses were terrorised, and juries were afraid to convict. The Act, therefore, borrowed from the ordinary law of Scotland—[AN HON. MEMBER on the IRISH Benches: Poor Scotland!]—a method by which magistrates could examine witnesses upon oath, even in cases where no person was charged before them with the committal of a crime.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) said he would not like the hon. Member to make a statement, even unintentionally, which was incorrect in fact. The late Lord Advocate for Scotland, Mr. J. B. Balfour, afterwards Lord Justice General of Scotland, in this House and from the Bench opposite stated that no such law prevailed in Scotland; and that to say so was to state what was absolutely untrue.

*MR. LONSDALE said that the hon. and learned Gentleman would have an opportunity of explaining his view of the law of Scotland. He could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman that he had been reading the facts very carefully, and had drawn his information from them. The hon. Member might have stated the case so far as he knew it, but in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, he maintained that this law was part of the ordinary law of Scotland. Under that section the magistrates had power to summon and compel to appear before him all persons whom he might have good reason to believe could give evidence as to the facts of a crime, and compel them to state on oath what they knew. Was there anything tyrannical in that provision? He submitted that the tyranny lay, not in that section of the Act, but in the condition of affairs which made it necessary. What was needed, then, was a strong weapon to enable the State to defeat the tyranny of the organised terrorism, which prevented men from obeying their natural instincts. Section 2 of the Act provided that two magistrates should have summary jurisdiction in dealing with certain classes of indictable offences which lay at the root of all disorder in Ireland, including criminal conspiracy, boycotting, rioting, assaults on officers of the law, taking forcible and unlawful possession of houses or lands, and inciting to those offences. The reason for that provision was the wholesale refusal of juries, under the system of organised intimidation which prevailed, to convict persons charged with those offences, even in the face of the clearest evidence of guilt. Persons brought before that Court of Summary Jurisdiction were ensured a fair trial and they had the right of appeal to quarter sessions. That provision was also borrowed from the ordinary law of Scotland, but it was made more favourable to the accused person, because in Scotland summary cases were tried by the sheriff or the sheriff-substitute sitting alone, without any right of appeal upon the merits of the case. He had never heard that the people of Scotland had complained of that law as tyrannical. It existed to-day and had done so for many years. Sections 3 and 4, authorised the Attorney-General, in cases in which persons were charged with crimes committed in a proclaimed district, to have a special jury empanelled; and also to have the trial of prisoners held in another county. He asked where was the tyranny in that provision? Special juries were not unknown to the ordinary law in this country. He might remind the House that, quite apart from the Crimes Act, the Attorney-General for Ireland so recently as January last had to resort to special juries for the trial of cattle-drivers, after he had discovered, by painful and degrading experience, that the ordinary juries could not be relied upon to do their duty. All that those sections did was to strengthen the arm of the law, to enable it to deal with an exceptional situation. The sixth section of the Act empowered the Lord-Lieutenant to declare any organisation in Ireland, formed for the commission of crime, aiding, encouraging, promoting, or inciting to crime, violence or intimidation, or interfering with the administration of the law, to be a dangerous association, whereupon all meetings of such an organisation were liable to be dealt with as unlawful assemblies. Well, that was the Act the House was asked to repeal. He would ask hon. Members to observe, in the next place, that the demand for repeal came, not from the people of Ireland as a whole, but simply from the Nationalist body. The Unionist and Loyalist section of the community did not join in the request. On the contrary, they were absolutely united in the opinion that the Act should be retained on the Statute-book. They had lived under the Act for twenty years. They had not groaned under the tyranny of it. They regarded it as a safeguard of their rights and liberties, and in their view the Executive ought to be retained in possession of the special powers conferred by the Act, for use in case of need. The hon. Member who moved the Second Reading of the Bill referred to the want of necessity to pass it, but he maintained that the efficacy of the powers had been proved on many occasions since 1887. When it was first put into operation by his right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition, it produced an immediate diminution in crime and outrage, and after two or three years of vigorous administration, it was found to be possible to suspend its operation, because it had succeeded in its purpose. It was a point to be remembered, that the Act was only operative when the Government of the day found it necessary to resort to it. At other times it lay dormant. It remained on the Statute-book as a weapon in reserve, but so long as it was not used, how was anybody injured by its being there? It was not a political weapon, and it had never been used to serve political ends. It was simply an instrument for the purpose of checking lawlessness and restoring order, and that was the sense in which it had always been applied. Why did the Nationalists want to get rid of it? He submitted that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway must advance arguments of a far more substantial kind than they had yet put forward, before Parliament would consent to the revocation of these powers. They dared not avow their real object in bringing forward the present Bill. At the same time they got some hint of their purpose, both in their actions and in their words, and he invited the consideration of the House to the indications which recent movements and announcements had furnished. He did not propose to ask the House to go once more through all the miserable history of disorder and contempt of law which marked the progress of the cattle-driving conspiracy. The facts connected with that movement, a movement which the Chief Secretary in a candid moment characterised as "dishonest," "reprehensible," and "illegal," were fresh in the recollection of the House. They were discussed at great length at an earlier period of the session, and they proved beyond all shadow of doubt that the Nationalist movement in Ireland was still wedded to criminal methods of promoting its disloyal objects. Nobody, he ventured to think, would now dispute the proposition that the ordinary law—as administered by the Chief Secretary and his legal advisers—entirely failed to suppress that illegal agitation, or protect those whose interests and property were attacked by it. Throughout a large part of Ireland the law was openly flouted. In many cases the persons injured were afraid to take proceedings. Owing to the system of intimidation which prevailed, witnesses could not be induced to give evidence to support prosecutions. Magistrates were in many cases openly on the side of the law-breakers and many others were deterred, by fear of the consequences, from doing their duty. Juries refused to convict, even in cases where the guilt of the persons accused was established in the clearest possible manner. The jury system broke down absolutely in the attempt to secure by the ordinary process of law the due punishment of offenders, and the suppression of this illegal conspiracy. Change of venue was tried. Special juries were also appealed to, but the Executive was beaten on all sides, and the paralysis of the law was complete. In November there was a series of abortive trials. In case after case, where the evidence was clear and the facts practically undisputed, the jury disagreed. The proceedings became a pitiable farce. The Judge—it was Mr. Justice Wright—at last asked the Solicitor-General whether there was any use in going on with the rest of the cases. The Solicitor-General replied: "Oh, my lord, we must persevere with them"; whereupon the Judge said: "Very well. It is the most degrading experience that I have had since I have been on the Bench." Judge after Judge called attention to the absolute failure of the ordinary law. At the Munster Assizes on December 3rd, the Lord Chief Justice said—

> "The law was publicly spurned, and he said with the deepest regret that in reference to this offence the Executive authorities responsible for the peace of the country were openly derided by those who break the law—openly flouted and treated as nothing. That was most deplorable and most demoralising to the people."

They were told at the beginning of the year that all this lawlessness was to cease. A ukase was to go forth from the political headquarters that the unlawful agitation was to be damped down, and disorder was to cease. The cattle-drivers were actually told by their leaders to put their hazel rods up the chimney for the time being, but to hold them in reserve. These order were given in pursuance of the policy which was known as "giving the Chief Secretary a chance"! The right hon. Gentleman had promised a University Bill, and a Land Bill, and it was recognised at headquarters that the spectacle of Ireland seething with disorder was not calculated to favour the passage of those legislative projects. But what sort of a chance had the Chief Secretary had? Had cattle-driving ceased? The answer to that question was furnished by some figures given to him by the Chief Secretary a few days ago. The right hon. Gentleman informed him that in January there were thirty-five cases reported; in February there were thirty-one cases; in March, fifty-seven; and in April, forty-seven. There they had 170 cases already this year, and the total number of cases for last year was 381. Had agrarian outrages generally shown any tendency to diminish? He would ask the House to bear with him for a few moments while he read to them a few extracts from the address of the Lord Chief Justice to the grand jury at Ennis on 3rd March, this year—

> "He regretted to say that the returns which had been presented to him by the constabulary authorities presented a rather melancholy aspect. He found that since the winter assizes there were thirty-one agrarian offences, and not a single individual had been made responsible for any of them. There were three aggravated cases of attempted murder. There had been a very considerable increase under the head of intimidation—the sending of threatening letters and notices, and the firing into houses. In 1906 taken as a whole there were sixty-nine outrages recorded; in 1907 there were 129 outrages recorded, an increase of sixty. He found that police protection in this country stood as follows: There were four men under constant police protection, and fifty-six under protection by patrol. Constant protection meant that the police resided in the house of the man to protect him from outrage. Patrol protection meant protection by men who patrol about the houses where the people reside. He found that there were seventeen of these men, who were said to be under patrol protection, absolutely guarded by the police. When they leave their houses police go with them on bicycles."

His Lordship added—

> "They knew very well, as he did, that there were certain counties in Ireland, that were in a very disturbed condition. There was nothing in Ireland so contagious and infectious as lawlessness."

Then they had Mr. Justice Wright, at the Sligo Assizes on 8th March, making the following declaration—

> " There are also in this country several areas, at all events, that are more or less disturbed, in which a condition of lawlessness prevails, in which the law is not obeyed. I do not say that the law is entirely powerless, but I have too much reason to believe that the only law respected---I would not say respected, but the only law feared and obeyed is the law not of the land, but of the United Irish League."

It would be possible to give to the House many cases to illustrate the hardships which were being daily inflicted upon unfortunate people who had incurred the hostility of the United Irish League. He would not, however, allude to more than one or two. Hon. Members, no doubt, had seen in the papers recently the story told by Mr. Walter Joyce. Mr. Joyce was not a Protestant. He was a Roman Catholic, *but* he was a landowner. He refused to sell his property on terms which were dictated by the United Irish League. Immediately all his servants and labourers received notice from the League that they were to leave his employment. He was left without a single man to do anything on a farm of about 1,200 acres, which he farmed himself. An attempt was made to frighten away his single maid-servant, but she, to her credit be it said, had the courage to stand by her master. The League thereupon attacked the girl through her mother, who was rigorously boycotted, and is now supplied with necessaries by Mr. Joyce. After three months without a hand or labourer of any kind Mr. Joyce obtained a labourer from another part of the country. The boycotters savagely attacked this labourer and he, and all connected with Mr. Joyce, were now under permanent police protection. That was no isolated case; there were dozens of such cases in Ireland to-day. There was the case of the M'Cordicks of Stroke, to which he ventured to invite the attention of the Chief Secretary. It was a very hard case, and it was made worse by a lamentable failure on the part of the magistrates to do their duty. If the House would permit him he would read the newspaper report of this case from the *Roscommon Herald*, a Nationalist paper—

> " 11th April. At Ballinamore (County Leitrim) Petty Sessions on Wednesday, before Messrs. Reilly R. M. (presiding) Kean, Mulcahy, M'Loughlin and Upperton, Felix Prior and John Logan were charged with having at Ballinamore, on 7th February last, persistently followed Sarah and Florence M'Cordick, of Stroke, from place to place, to prevent them procuring groceries and provisions from certain shopkeepers. From the evidence of Mrs. M'Cordick and her daughter it appeared that she came into Ballinamore for groceries, and after passing Prior's house Prior followed her. He was afterwards joined by Logan. Both followed her to a shop, and told the shopman that she and her daughter were a grabber's wife and daughter. They were refused goods in the shop, and she entered five other shops, into each of which defendants followed, with the result that she was refused in all, and had to return home without the articles that she required. She and her daughter informed the police, who followed the defendants and cautioned them and took their names. It also appeared that M'Cordick and his family had for years past been under a rigid boycott and a branch of the League instructed the Vigilance Committee to keep a close watch on the grabbers, so that they might not be supplied with provisions either in Ballinamore or get them by rail."

A majority of the magistrates voted for dismissing the summonses. It would, he thought, be superfluous to add any comment upon the facts of this case. They spoke for themselves. What did these facts prove? They showed to his mind, that, they had in Ireland to-day—held only partially in check, in order to " give the Chief Secretary a chance "—a spirit of lawlessness, which was capable of working untold mischief if the hands of the Executive were further weakened by the repeal of the Crimes Act. The paralysis of authority which they had witnessed during the last few months, was, he did not hesitate to say, due to the announcement of the Government that they would under no circumstances make use of the Crimes Act. The Chief Secretary said in this House at the commencement of his period of office—

> " As long as the present administration remains in power this Act—(that is the Crimes Act)—is to all intents and purposes dead and buried."

The Attorney-General, on the same occasion, said—

> " They believed that if they showed the juries throughout the country that they were to be trusted, and that they were really made responsible to preserve law and order they would respond to that appeal and do their duty."

Everybody knew the results of that policy of trusting the juries. But the events of last year had no effect upon the determination of the Chief Secretary, and the echoes of his famous "I won't," were, no doubt, still rolling about the recesses of the building. The House knew that the right hon. Gentleman's tenure of his present office hung by a thread, according to his own statement. It depended upon his success or failure to pass the Universities Bill which he had brought in. But whether he went or whether he remained, he would himself acknowledge that there was small chance of his being the last of the Chief Secretaries. He might be succeeded by a statesman—even before the close of the present Administration—who might have occasion, and the courage, to say "I will," with just as much emphasis as the right hon. Gentleman had said "I won't." That possibility pointed to the desirability of the Government declining to have anything to do with this proposal to repeal the Crimes Act. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite might affect to think the possibility a very remote one. They had, however, but a very poor and incomplete knowledge of the Irish people if they did not recognise the truth of the Lord Chief Justice's words—

> "There was nothing in Ireland so contagious and infectious as lawlessness."

If the Government still regarded with complacency the prospects of the future in Ireland, they must surely be oblivious to recent announcements of policy by the Nationalists Leaders. Did the Chief Secretary read the speech delivered by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford in Dublin during the Easter recess? The Member for Waterford recalled the fact that—

> "Last autumn he asked the country for a vigorous agitation."

And he added—

> "If the agitation was not as vigorous as it ought to have been he could claim it was not his fault."

He thought the criminal statistics for the year 1907 ought to show that the agitation was a fairly vigorous one. But still it did not come up to the ideas of the Leader of the Nationalist Party, as to what such an agitation ought to be; and therefore they found him saying to his followers these significant words—

> "To-day it was his duty to ask for a still more vigorous movement during the coming months."

He asked the Government—Were they going to prepare for the vigorous movement, threatened by the Member for Waterford, by removing from the armoury of the Executive the weapon of the Crimes Act? If they doubted the meaning of the threatening words of the Member for Waterford, let them refer to the hon. Member for Cork. As hon. Members might be aware, the Member for Cork believed that the existing difficulties in connection with land purchase in Ireland might be solved by a new Land Conference; but he had been unable to convince the majority of hon. Members below the gangway that the course he recommended was the right one. Apparently they held to the alternative policy. And what was that alternative policy? It was stated by the Member for Cork in the speech he made to the Party in Dublin last week, and he took these words from a report which the hon. Member himself caused to be sent to the Unionist Press. The hon. Member warned his fellow-Nationalist Members what would happen if they rejected his Conference proposals—

> "You will," he said, "have nothing to fall back upon except the policy of general Hell in a few poor districts, which will be entirely too feeble to frighten England, but which will be quite enough to hunt Mr. Birrell from the country, to force the Liberals to coercion and jury-packing, and the brilliant result will be that next year, perhaps, you will have brought back the Tories."

That was the warning of the Member for Cork; but it was unheeded. His counsel had been rejected, and his policy put on one side. The Nationalist Party apparently had committed themselves to a policy of disorder, as soon as they had got their Universities Bill safely through Parliament. That being the prospect, any Government that would support the repeal of the Crimes Act at this juncture would be false to its elementary duty. But whatever course might be taken by the Government—and the majority of the House—he ventured to predict that the Criminal Law and Procedure Act would not be repealed this session, or during the life-time of the present Government. It would be retained, simply because it could not be revoked with safety. The conditions which made this Act necessary still prevailed; and Parliament would not dare to deprive the Executive of powers which experience had shown might be effectively applied, without injury to any law-abiding person, to the suppression of disorder, and the protection of life and property in Ireland. He begged to move.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said he thought the House must admire the courage of hon. Members below the gangway in coming to the House in 1908 to ask for the repeal of the Crimes Act. What was the condition of Ireland at the present time? Figures which they had lately been able to extract from the law officers and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, with reference to cattle-driving, which was at the present time the most prevalent form of crime there, showed that instead of Ireland becoming more peaceful, it was week by week and month by month becoming in a more disturbed condition, and therefore he saw a certain amount of humour in hon. Members below the gangway having what he must call the effrontery to come to the British House of Commons and to ask them to remove what had been found for many years past to be the only weapon which the Executive had for dealing with a state of crime and lawlessness which was out of the normal. He did not know whether the ordinary Englishman had a very clear conception of what that dreadful so-called Coercion Act really was. It was simply that it had been found in innumerable cases, in certain districts only—they never put forward the plea that the Crimes Act was necessary for the whole of Ireland at a time, for it was only necessary to deal with a state of affairs which arose from time to time in particular districts—that the ordinary law was not sufficient to deal with the outburst of outrages and crimes which from time to time arose; and Government after Government in this county had found themselves compelled, much against their will, to strengthen their own hands for the purpose of preventing those particular districts from getting into a state of anarchy. There was nothing extraordinary in that. He had read the speeches of hon. Members below the gangway saying that the Crimes Act was a stain and an insult and an outrage, but it was no more that than any preventive law upon the Statute-book at the present moment. They might as well say it was an outrage that there should be a law against stealing. There were hundreds of thousands of offences created by statute, and it was no more a stain or an outrage to a country to have it on record that punishment must be inflicted if a person committed a crime than to have it on record that certain extra powers might be used by the Executive in Ireland to deal with what he had said was not a normal, but an extra-normal, state of affairs. He desired to read an extract or two to show the state of affairs in Ireland at the present time. His hon. friend who proposed the Amendment had referred to the figures which he had obtained from the Chief Secretary, with reference to cattle-driving, and within the last two or three days cattle-driving had been if anything more prevalent than at any time during this year, and that at a time when one of the great Bills which they were told by the Chief Secretary tended to Ireland's becoming peaceful in that respect, and when another great measure, the Land Bill, was shortly to be introduced. He took this quotation from *The Times* of the 7th inst.—

> "The Irish Executive views with serious concern the renewed prevalence of cattle-driving and other forms of lawlessness. These have broken out in districts hitherto unaffected, and for the past fortnight the columns of the daily Press have testified to a steady growth of agrarian disorders. On Monday twenty-five men were charged at Tuam with cattle-driving on the estate of Mr. Robert Blake on 1st May. A policeman swore that 150 men armed with sticks and beating drums drove off the cattle. The defendants were ordered to enter bail to be of good behaviour. At Ballinasloe yesterday twenty-five men were also charged with cattle-driving on the lands of Carroreagh, and were bound to the peace. In each case bail was given."

In reference to that, the punishment inflicted was of absolutely no use. The idea of binding a man over to be of good behaviour when he had driven cattle off a particular piece of land of which he hoped within a few months to get a slice must appear to anybody with any common-sense at all to be utterly inadequate. There were lots of people left to drive cattle off neighbouring farms. Binding over those people was absolutely no use, because, as was proved amply by the fact that those cases were increasing day by day, there were still more than enough people to take part in those operations. That was one of the very cases dealt with by the Crimes Act which it was proposed to do away with. If the Act were enforced those people who drove other people's cattle away, sometimes to a distance of eighteen miles, could be dealt with summarily. The right hon. Gentleman and his law officers had never denied, although they had produced extenuating circumstances to any number, that those men were acting illegally; they had never attempted to tell the House that cattle-driving could be good for the country, and yet, in spite of that, he was certain the right hon. Gentleman must know that it was a fact that if the Crimes Act had been put in force cattle-driving could have been nipped in the bud. If the Act had been firmly and fairly administered the word "cattle-driving" would have been forgotten in Ireland. Here was another extract from *The Times*—

> "Seven men, one of them a secretary of a branch of the United Irish League and two women were arrested at three o'clock this morning and taken to Athlone, where they were charged before Mr. Byrne, R.M., with unlawful assembly and with having intimidated Michael Burke from putting stock to graze on Mount William Farm on 1st May. Burke was examined, and stated that when he reached the farm with the stock he was met by a large crowd who set dogs at the cattle and hunted them in different directions. Head-constable Feeney said that the crowd was greatly excited. He saw women setting dogs at the cattle, but he could not identify them. Mr. Byrne said that it was plain that the defendants had assembled for an illegal purpose. He ordered them to find security to keep the peace."

What use was that? On the next day, in the same district, cattle-driving was going on in greater numbers than ever as follows—

> "Another big cattle-drive was carried out in the Delvin district of County Westmeath on Sunday night, when a number of men drove 200 cattle off the lands of Southill, Mitchelstown, and Robinstown. This is the fourth occasion within twelve months when cattle have been driven off these lands. The animals were taken back to the farm on Monday by policemen."

*Mr. Charles Craig.*

Here was another case—

> "It is reported here to-day that 300 persons assembled yesterday at Gralla Farm, near Loughrea, for the purpose of driving away the cattle. Forty policemen who were hurried to the scene tried to persuade the people to disperse; they refused, and the policemen charged them several times with batons. The crowd attacked the constables with sticks and stones and compelled them to retreat. Many persons were injured on both sides. It is stated that the people remained on the farm to prevent the stock from being driven back again, and that food was sent to them to-day from Ballinasloe."

Those cases were all taken from the Irish notes in *The Times* of one day, and hon. Members had only to look at *The Times* from day to day, and they would find that similar cases were reported almost every day. Certainly if not in the English *Times* they would be found in the Dublin paper. He had used the word "effrontery" a short time ago, and he thought hon. Members would agree that it amounted to that for any party or any individual in that House to ask the Executive to divest itself of the only weapon it had got for dealing with cases of that kind. There was one more case he would like to read to the House—

> "On Friday last the May lettings of grass lands began in the Athlone district. Interest chiefly centred in one farm of 70 acres, which the local branch of the United Irish League had ordered to be kept unlet so that it might be purchased by the Estates Commissioners for distribution."

That was another case of the league's usurping functions to which it had no right, and to which he maintained no self-respecting Government ought to submit for a second. The Report continued—

> "Members of the local Vigilance Committee were in the district during the day, and when two men attempted to put cattle on the farm the animals were worried by dogs and hunted away. The police took the names of a number of men who were present."

His hon. friend the mover of the Amendment referred to some words of the Attorney-General last year when they were discussing that very same subject, and there was another expression of his of which he would like to remind him. He said on 13th March last year that the aim of every Government in Ireland should be to convince the mass of the people that the law was their friend and not their enemy, and he had no hesitation in saying that so long as the Crimes Act was made use of in the prosecution of crimes in Ireland, it would be impossible to get the majority of people to believe that or agree with it. He (Mr. Craig) would like to ask if the right hon. gentleman was still convinced that the aim of his Government was to impress the people with the fact that the law was their friend, whether he had impressed that upon them since March, 1907. There must be hundreds and hundreds of persons who had suffered from cattle-drives. There were dozens, if not hundreds, of persons who had suffered injury to health and loss of property through boycotting, and dozens of other persons whose houses had been fired into, and who had been subjected to treatment which would not for one second be permitted in this country, and would hardly be permitted in the most savage country in Africa, and yet they were told by the right hon. and learned Gentleman that for the sake of teaching the Irish people that the law was their friend and not their enemy, they were deliberately going to deny themselves the use of that perfectly fair and legitimate weapon which they held for preserving peace in Ireland. He went on to say in the same speech that it was his firm belief, and that of his colleagues, that by pursuing that course they would put an end to intimidation and boycotting. It was in vain to hope that they would bring about any reasonable state of peace by ordinary methods. It would be out of order under present circumstances to advocate putting the Crimes Act in force, but he might go so far as to say that the proposal made by the hon. Member below the gangway to take the Act off the Statute-book would lead to a state of things which would go from bad to worse, and instead of Ireland being disturbed in a few particular districts as at present, the state of unrest and outrage would rapidly spread all over the country. Hon. Members on the other side of the House and probably hon. Members on that side did not intimately know Ireland, and he ventured to say that they had no conception of the state of affairs which existed there or of the difficulties which Unionist representatives from Ireland had in bringing home to the ordinary English Member the condition of affairs in that country. He had always said that if the ordinary Englishman realised the state of things in Ireland he would rise in indignation and in the course of a week or two put an end to it once and for ever. He had not the slightest doubt about that whatever. The Chief Secretary had informed the House a little over a year ago that Ireland was in a more peaceable condition than she had been in for 600 years, and in face of that statement he was justified in reading the following placard of a demonstration at Thomastown, Kilkenny, of the local branch of the United Irish League. (The hon. Member read the placard.)

At the end of the poster were the words—

> "No violence, justice will prevail."

He supposed that was a piece of humour. He drew the attention of the House particularly to those words. If hon. Members knew more of Ireland they would understand more fully what the placard meant. He was happy to say that in that particular instance the Chief Secretary intervened by sending such a large force of police into the district that the promoters were unable to hold their meeting and therefore no particular harm was done.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.): Was the meeting proclaimed under the Crimes Act?

MR. CHARLES CRAIG said he could not answer that question, but he would point out to the hon. and learned Member that it was not necessary to have it proclaimed. The hon. and learned Gentleman would know that the Crimes Act was the ordinary law of the land. But the fact remained that the meeting announced on the poster to which he had referred was an example of the apt methods of the United Irish League, and if hon. Members knew more about Ireland they would understand the true effect of a meeting to be held under such a notice—"no violence"—a meeting probably attended by some 400 or 500 persons, who had been informed by the poster that a certain person was to be denounced for having done some things or refrained from doing some things which he had a perfect right to do or refrain from doing. [An HON. MEMBER: Grabbing.] In this case he had a letter in which it was complained against a man that he either held a farm which he should not hold or, as hon. Members below the gangway would describe it, had "grabbed." But those two operations, however described, were perfectly legal, and no assembly of persons had any right to object by holding a meeting announced in a manner which was intimidatory. Putting at the foot of the notice that no violence was to be used could only be regarded as a joke by the person who framed it. He based his objection to the removal of the Act from the Statute-book on the fact that so long as it was on the Statute-book, and was not put in force, there was no reason why a single person should even be aware that it was in existence. The Act was in abeyance at the present time, and unfortunately it might as well be off the Statue-book altogether, so far as its effect on the daily life of Ireland was concerned. He had no idea what the intention of the Government was with reference to this Bill, whether they would do as they had so often done, say they were sympathetic with its objects, but owing to pressure of time, and so on, it must be obvious to hon. Members below the gangway, that the measure could go no further, and, therefore, they would allow the Second Reading and consent to a Motion that it be committed to Committee of the Whole House. That might be the attitude taken by the Government. He sincerely hoped it would not be. He trusted events would show that they had a little strength of mind, and that they would say that in their opinion—an opinion with which he entirely disagreed—the moment had not arrived nor any necessity arisen to put the Act in force, but that the time might come when they would be reluctantly compelled to use it, and that under those circumstances they did not see their way to repeal the Act.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. Lonsdale.*)

*Mr. Charles Craig.*

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*MR. JOHN O'CONNOR said that when he interrupted the hon. Member who had just sat down, it was for the purpose of asking whether the district where the meeting was summoned was proclaimed under the Crimes Act, because the hon. Gentleman had stated that the meeting was prevented by the authorities. If the district was not proclaimed under the Crimes Act it was evident that the primary law was sufficient to prevent meetings that might be thought by the Government to be undesirable. Therefore, his object was to point out that the very argument that the hon. Member had used in his endeavour to sustain his view of this case was one that told very much in favour of the repeal of the Act. He must confess that he was greatly disappointed with the two speeches from above the gangway. He had come that day expecting that he would be treated to the usual chapter of horrors which was always read out to them when such a Motion as the present was before the House. He must confess that he thought Lord Ashtown had written his various volumes in vain. What had become of all the subscriptions collected throughout the length and breadth of this country, if they could produce nothing more terrible than the mild-mannered acts of boycotting read so copiously from the newspaper extracts by hon. Members above the gangway? They had not heard a word from Lord Ashtown. Was it to be assumed that they had thrown Lord Ashtown over? If that was the case it was right that the people of England should know that Lord Ashtown was not relied on in that House, that his facts were disregarded, and they ought to be called upon to withhold their subscriptions from these monthly publications. The hon. Member for Mid Armagh had quoted very freely from speeches by the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and Mr. Justice Wright. Those were the very men who put the Act into operation. Those were the very men who changed the venue, who packed the juries, and who wished the Act to be put in operation at the present day. He must express his admiration, and he thought that of all those who sat near him, for the Law Officers of the Crown at the present time in standing up to the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and declining at his instigation to follow his discredited example. He had expressed his disappointment at the speeches of hon. Members above the gangway, but they still had left the hon. Members for North Armagh and East Down, and the versatile and hon. Member for Cambridge University, who might be relied upon to dig up the dead bones of buried controversies in order to harrow the feelings of the House. He had said that the statements of hon. Members above the gangway were very mild-mannered. They were the merest milk and water compared with the speeches that were delivered in support of the First and Second Readings of the Act. On 28th March the Bill was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London, and in introducing it he said—

> "I do not rely upon crime in Ireland. I introduce this Bill because the League with which we are going to deal leans on dynamite and daggers."

There was a flavour about that speech. It was something like a speech. Exactly a month later, or 28th April, the Bill was read a second time; and on that morning, in *The Times* newspaper lauded by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, was published the Pigott forgery. The hon. Member for the Tullamore Division had spoken of the circumstances under which the Bill was introduced, but he had omitted those two circumstances, the dynamite and dagger speech and the publication of the forged letters. It was under these disgraceful auspices that that Bill was introduced, and he had heard it stated now by hon. Members above the Gangway that it was not passed for political purposes and was not put in operation against political antagonists. This circumstance had been well arranged, and Pigott, whose forgery was published by *The Times* so timely for the Second Reading of the Bill, committed suicide a few years afterwards, and *The Times*, the accomplice of the forger, was not in a very happy position at the present time, and did not seem to have a single friend in the world. About that time what was the condition of the country? It was little wonder that the right hon. Gentleman who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland should say he did not rely upon the condition of the country, because if there was in all Europe, in the whole world, a crimeless country in the year 1887 it was Ireland. He based that statement on the results of the assizes that were being held in Ireland at the very time that the Act was being passed. It was a causeless Act passed for a crimeless country. There were only fifteen bills in five counties presented to the Grand Jury. In Queen's County there were only two. In Wicklow Baron Dowse said—

> "I am here to discharge the gaol, and there is nobody in it. I find only two offenders are out on bail."

In Carlow, Kilkenny, and Waterford he congratulated the Grand Jury on the crimelessness of the country. Then he came to another Judge. He had just received his reward. He had piloted the Bill through the House, and he had been the leader in all the misrepresentations that carried the Bill through, and by the bitter irony of fate he was presented with a pair of white gloves at his very first Assizes. Immediately afterwards he congratulated four Grand Juries in nine different counties on the crimelessness of their jurisdiction. In Antrim, where twenty Bills were presented to the Grand Jury, they had more in 1887 than were presented to the Grand Juries in the whole circuit presided over by Baron Dowse in the south of Ireland. In Fermanagh, Longford, Sligo, West Meath, and Wexford there were two Bills each. In Cavan, Kilkenny, South Meath, South Tipperary, three each; Donegal and Louth, four each; and Kildare, five. In the nine other counties the Judges addressing the Grand Juries stated that "crime was of an ordinary character," or "without any feature of difficulty," was "insignificant" or "not serious." Cork City was absolutely free from crime, and at the Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Waterford Assizes white gloves were presented to the Judge. That was the condition of the country in the summer of 1887, when the Bill was being piloted through the House on the strength of the dynamite and dagger speech, and through the influence of the forged documents. The Act, he submitted, was got from Parliament by fraud, and that was one of the reasons why he asked that Parliament should atone for its fault in the past and repeal the Act. So much for the manner in which it was got, and so much for the condition of the country. It did not long remain in that happy condition. The instrument, having been manufactured, had to be used, and the Government in conjunction with the landlords of Ireland, so well represented by hon. Gentlemen above the gangway, very soon joined forces and immediately proceeded to make a little hell of Ireland. The Government had forged its Coercion Act and the landlords began their capricious evictions. They fell like snowflakes on the country. The Government was not behindhand. It brought its police, its battering rams, its petroleum fuses, its ambulance waggons, and its galvanic appliances. All these were the concomitants of the evictions that immediately began. The history of the administration of the Act was a disgraceful history. It was enforced by the right hon. Gentleman in the spirit of the dynamite and dagger speech. The men who were arrested and put into prison had their clothes torn off their bodies, and in some cases convict dress had been forced upon them when they did not wish to use it. Some men declined to use this badge of crime and guilt, and lost their lives in consequence. They remained without clothes in the cold cells for days and nights, and as a result contracted illness which ended in their death. Hon. friends of his lost their lives in that manner. Respectable men, guilty of no crime, had their hair cropped close, and had their beards taken off, against their will. They were compelled to perform duties in prison of a menial and low character, which were generally given to convicts to do. They were compelled to herd with the common criminals of the land. The Act was enforced and every possible brutality insisted upon. Men were arrested at all hours of the day and night, and especially at night. He remembered a most pathetic incident mentioned by one of his friends last year, who described how he himself was arrested in the dead of night, and taken from the bed beside his wife, dragged away from his children, and taken off, when a simple summons would have brought him to the nearest Court to be tried if it were necessary. But every brutal means was adopted by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, whom he wished were present, as he would like to tell him so to his face. Every severe means of putting the Act into operation was adopted by the right hon. Gentleman.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) called attention to the fact that forty Members were not present.

House counted; and forty Members being found present—

*MR. JOHN O'CONNOR, continuing, said that at the commencement of his observations, he alluded to the Nemesis which overtook the conspirators who brought about the Act. Pigott shot himself, and he was glad to know that *The Times* newspaper, amongst its other misfortunes for which he had no sympathy whatever, had just been mulcted in damages to the extent of £7,500. Perhaps the hon. Gentlemen above the gangway would be glad to know that. Reverting to the manner in which the Act was put into operation, the hon. Member said meetings were suppressed, magistrates were sent down to try people, the police had orders "don't hesitate to shoot" and all sorts of severities were used in order to put down the agitation. He believed there were about 3,500 people put into prison under that Act in the years 1888 and 1889. Twenty-five of those were Members of Parliament and one of them was an English Member. The people who were imprisoned consisted of agitators, editors, tenants, and shopkeepers; indeed all sorts and conditions of men were put into prison under the conditions he had already referred to, until the people of England rose *en masse*. He was one of those, he was happy to say, who took part in going about this country, enlightening, as he hoped they did enlighten, the people of England, in regard to the operation of the Act in Ireland, He well remembered that on 23rd March, 1889, he stood on that very spot and moved a Bill for the purpose of modifying the punishments under the Act of 1887. At that time he was under sentence of four months imprisonment for a speech made to his constituents. He had always thought that his speech on that occasion was a political speech. It did not refer very much to agrarian matters, and when it did only for the purpose of politics. But, notwithstanding that, he had been tried by two of these removable magistrates and he received a sentence of four months imprisonment, and at the time he introduced his Bill he was there pending the hearing of his appeal to a County Court Judge. The Bill had for its object the modification of punishment in the matter of clothing, so that the wearing of convict dress should not be insisted upon, and provided that the prisoners should not have their hair and beards cropped, nor do menial service nor take exercise with criminals. Those were the four points of his Bill, and he well remembered the present Member for the City of London using these words—

> "I am not at all prepared to say that the judicious efforts of the gentleman who got up a national protest may not have produced an effect upon the public mind in some parts of the country."

And further, he said—

> "I quite admit that there may be and very likely is something entirely justifiable in the feeling which has been aroused and of which the Bill is the logical and not unreasonable expression."

The Bill was opposed by the right hon. Gentleman, but he met the four points of it by an alteration of the rules, and by not insisting upon those practices which were, and had been pointed out in the course of the discussion to have been, absolutely against the rules of the prison authorities of the time, and so in the face of the public opinion which was aroused and expressed throughout England those unnecessary severities were not further insisted upon. He submitted, therefore, that that Act, from its very inception, had been discredited, and ought no longer to be kept upon the Statute-book. It was also ineffective. The speeches to which they had listened from above the gangway were intended to show that the Act was absolutely necessary, that it had been effective in putting down crime, and that the agitation it was aimed at had always been suppressed. He had told the House the exact number of those who were imprisoned and who they were, but what followed? He knew very well that the right hon. Member for the City of London claimed that he conquered the organisation, but they in like manner claimed that he did not. They claimed that they did the very same things for which they had been punished time and again without being punished, and that the Act ceased to be put into operation. He would tell the House what followed. The Act had been in use for four years, men had continued to be put into prison all that time, and in 1891 the Land Act of that year was passed, which earmarked and placed at the disposal of certain Commissioners no less a sum than about £33,000,000 in order to carry out a land purchase scheme. Later there was a recrudescence of those severities, and again some years afterwards hon. Members of this House began to be seized. In 1902 the hon. and learned Member for East Clare was suffering imprisonment, as also was the hon. Member for Leitrim, and some nine of his friends altogether were in the same position. Other persons were also being taken up and put into prison, and severity was again being used. And what followed? The Land Act of 1903. So that instead of having any effect in putting down agitation the only effect of the operation of the Crimes Act was to produce a Land Purchase Bill in order to put an end to landlordism altogether. The result of the operation of the Crimes Act had never been the submission of the people but always the submission of the Government. He would not dwell upon the point that had been made by a Gentleman above the gangway about its being used against political opponents, but it must be allowed that the meetings that had been suppressed under the Act had nearly always been proposed to be held in districts where such meetings were required. Meetings had not been allowed to take place for a very long time near the estate of the Earl of Clanricarde, and yet he submitted that there was no district in Ireland where a meeting was more wanted.

The voice, therefore, of legitimate complaint was hushed by the Act. His hon. friend the Member for the Tullamore Division had dealt with the special clauses of the Act, and he did not want to weary the House about the suppression of meetings, change of venue, change of juries, and so on, but a great deal had been said in discussing the Act about what was called the crime of boycotting. The word had been used by the hon. Member for South Antrim that day. Boycotting was no crime, as had been declared by the Court of Appeal in Ireland and also by the late Attorney - General for Ireland. He would read the right hon. Gentleman's words. It was in a case that was tried in Dublin of a young girl who was boycotted by the Orange community, because she was a Catholic, and because she had been appointed sewing-mistress of the Carntall School, County Tyrone. The right hon. Member for Dublin University said—

> "There were two classes of boycotting and one of these was boycotting in the popular sense, which he said, was not illegal."

The defendant, Mr. Coote, a magistrate, arranged for the withdrawal of a large number of children, including his own from the school; and he admitted that he had no other object except to compel the dismissal of the Catholic sewing-mistress. The late Attorney-General for Ireland said that—

> "As long as the act done was legal a co-existing intention to injure would not make it illegal."

The Lord Chancellor, in the course of the argument, maintained that concerted action resulting from coincidence of opinion, even though the intent was to injure a third party, was not actionable. Lord Justice Holmes, to whom he had already referred, and who said a good deal about boycotting when the Act was passed, illustrated his own view of law. He said—

> "Now, suppose the parents of the children of the school met and said they would not send their children again to the school of a certain teacher, would not they be withdrawn, and he or she must leave the school: could an action be sustained? If it could he did not know where the thing would stop."

*Mr. John O'Connor.*

Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, in giving his judgment, said—

> "It would be an interminable task and a presumptuous one for him to analyse the judgments of the highest authority on this matter; but he was satisfied that there was no authority or principle to support a proposition that an act might be done lawfully by each of two people without incurring any legal liability for loss consequent thereon, and yet the same act, done in the same way, with the same intent, and the same consequences, would be actionable if it was done in pursuance of an agreement made between them before they did it."

That was Lord Justice Fitzgibbon's statement of the law of this case, but if these things had been done by some of the members of the United Irish League it might be expected that the Judges would take an entirely different view. But Mr. Coote was a justice of the peace, came from a favoured part of the country, belonged to the Orange Society, and of course—

> "What in the captain is but a choleric word, is in the soldier rank blasphemy."

MR. MOORE (Armagh, N.) inquired whether it would not be fair to tell this House that there was no criminal information and that this was not a criminal offence.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR said they had heard a great deal about boycotting and these assumed outrages. He would read to the House the opinion entertained by a learned Judge on the Bench in Ireland—he alluded to Mr. Justice Johnson, who said in Dublin not three months ago, referring, in the course of his review of a case, to bogus outrages—

> "One had only to take up the newspapers and read the proceedings of Parliament to see that many of these reports of alleged outrages were bogus altogether and were got up to befoul the country by people who ought to know better."

They had heard a great deal about the condition of these unfortunate boycotted people. He had read an account of one given by a man on the spot, who went there for the purpose of investigating the case. He wrote—

> "Out of the town of Loughrea I met a cheerful, smiling, bustling, red-bearded man delivering bread from a donkey-cart. He was the most marked sign of commercial activity

I had seen in the place. He had a friendly word or a nod for everyone he met, and was so cheerful and popular and prosperous that I supposed he must be at least the president of the local league. But I found he was a boycotted Protestant shopkeeper, and incidentally an official of the Clanricarde estate office, the most obnoxious person in the place of the League, boycotted, under police protection; but there he was, as happy as a grig, doing bustling trade and apparently on cheerful terms with everybody. The fact that he was boycotted, it appeared, gave him the practical monopoly of the custom of all the boycotted families as well as the police and officials in Loughrea and for miles around."

That account was taken from an article written by the well-known correspondent, Charles E. Hands, and contributed to The *Daily Mail*. That was his opinion of the unfortunate people whose grievances had been called up with such force that day. He submitted that the Crimes Act from its very inception was a discredited measure, and that it ought to be removed from the Statute-book. It was obtained by fraud. It had been ineffective in its operation. It had been harshly enforced by the predecessors of the present Government, and there was no reason why a discredited and ineffective Act should be maintained on the Statute-book. It should be removed at the earliest possible moment.

MR. BYLES (Salford, N.) said he was only an English Member, and perhaps it might be thought that the Crimes Act did not trouble the people of this country, but he thought it was a discredit to England as well as to Ireland that the Act should remain on the Statute-book. He could never forget the anger which he and vast numbers of Englishmen felt when it was proposed twenty-one years ago that an exceptional Act for dealing with crime in Ireland should no longer be temporary, as had been the practice hitherto, but that it should be placed permanently on the Statute-book. Ever since then he had been desirous that some opportunity should be taken to repeal it. The large majority of the representatives of Ireland had never ceased to ask that the Crimes Act should be removed from the Statute-book. It was astonishing to him that Irishmen, who must know better, and who, one would think, must love their people, should come to the House to blacken their country as previous speakers had done in the debate. The mover of the Amendment used a mysterious sentence, which he did not understand, when he said that the Nationalist Members dare not avow their real object in asking for the repeal of this Act. He would like to have an explanation of what was supposed to be the real object of the Irish Members. Did the hon. Member think that they were anxious to break out in a new Fenian insurrection? Did he think that the cabins of the country were stored with rifles and pikes to overthrow the dominion of the British Government? Then they were told that the Irish Nationalists were still wedded to crime, and that the Chief Secretary had entirely failed to suppress crime. The crime was that of cattle-driving. Well, he did not want to uphold cattle-driving, he wished it would cease, he thought it was reprehensible and mischievous, but it was perfectly natural after all. It was not a serious crime to open the gates of a field and let the cattle out. It was not a hanging matter.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Has anyone ever suggested that it was a hanging matter?

MR. BYLES said it had been stated that the hazel rod was now up the chimney, and that so long as it remained there it was not likely to do any harm. That was to say that the cattle-driver was quiescent for the moment, but surely the credit for his quiescence should go to the Chief Secretary who had to bear the blame where cattle-driving had occurred. But if the Crimes Act were to be enforced, would the hazel rod remain up the chimney? He thought they would see something more harmful than the hazel rod—some more potent weapons quickly in use. The hon. Member opposite had told the House that juries had failed to convict, and that the whole system of administration was a pitiable farce. He himself took a different view of the duties of juries from that which seemed to be held by some hon. Members. He understood that the liberty which was won for them many centuries ago was the liberty to have a charge proved or disproved before twelve of their Peers. He understood that to mean that they were not to be punished for, and that laws were not to prevail against them in respect of, conduct which the general sentiment of the country approved. The policy of the present Government, as he understood it, was to bring about a state of things under which the people of Ireland would agree with the laws imposed upon them and would obey them. The Viceroy was the representative of the King in Ireland. When the Unionist Government was lately in power, Lord Dudley said—

> "No Government could hope to be permanently successful in any country unless it was supported by public opinion. In Ireland that support was too often withdrawn. If he could not maintain the Union by sympathetic and conciliatory methods, if he could not succeed in bringing home to the people its advantages, if he was unable gradually to develop respect for the law and to establish a feeling of general contentment, then he said frankly that he would rather consider the possibility of an amendment in the system of government than fall back on the permanent attitude of force which some Unionists seemed to desire."

That was said by a Tory Viceroy who went to Ireland no doubt animated by exactly the same sentiments as were held by some of the Irish Unionist Party to-day. Plenty of his predecessors and other great officials had come to the same conclusion when brought face to face with the facts. The Crimes Act was a slur upon the people of Ireland, it was an irritation to them, it was a constant cause of provocation to them. Crime was by no means serious in Ireland as compared with other countries. Crime in Ireland was only provoked by the maintenance on the Statute-book of this menacing and irritating Act. He would appeal to patriotic, intelligent, and honourable men, even to those with whom he disagreed, and ask whether there was one of them who did not know that the Crimes Act they were now asked to repeal, and the eighty Crimes Acts which had preceded it since the Union, were bitter memories to the great majority of the Irish people. How many of the hon. Members below the gangway who had been sent to Parliament from Ireland by enormous majorities had escaped prison, and how many of them on coming out of prison had failed to be honoured by their people for the part they had taken in repelling tyranny, as they regarded it, and as it was regarded by the people of the country? These were the representatives and the leaders of the people in Ireland, and it was to them we ought to look for the pacification of their country.

*MR. BUTCHER (Cambridge University) said they had heard that afternoon some faint echoes of the denunciations of 1887 against his right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition. History had already sufficiently answered those attacks, and he would not waste time in going over an old story. The other main arguments used in favour of this Bill consisted of denunciations of resident magistrates and of the way they had administered the Crimes Act. All that had been said against the resident magistrates was but a repetition of what hon. Members invariably said when they attacked the Judges. The merits of the Act had not been seriously discussed by hon. Members below the gangway, but he had heard a great many personal reminiscences and unverified assertions. The Act made no new offences. Everything that was an offence under that Act had been an offence hitherto in the law of England, Ireland, and Scotland. As it made no new crimes, so also it imposed no new punishments. The penalties in the Act were rather more lenient than the penalties under the ordinary law. What it did was to direct a new procedure in the case of certain crimes like intimidation, violence, riot, and unlawful assembly. The Act was not directed against crime in general, but against terrorist and conspiracy. The main operative provisions of the Act were already in the law of Scotland, and when he heard hon. Members denouncing the Act as an infringement of personal liberty he would remind them they had only to cross the Border into Scotland to find the same provisions at work.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: You charge us with making unverified assertions, but can you verify that?

*MR. BUTCHER said he would do so. The operative clauses of which he spoke were those relating to summary jurisdiction in Scotland. Take first the preliminary investigation under the Crimes Act, before anybody was committed for trial. Similarly under the law of Scotland witnesses were examined in private by the Procurator-Fiscal who took down in writing their precognitions or depositions. If they declined to give information they were examined on oath before the Sheriff, and if they still declined they were committed to prison for contempt. As to the summary jurisdiction, in Scotland the crimes were tried by one sheriff or sheriff-substitute; in Ireland by two magistrates. Further, in Scotland there was no appeal except on points of law; in Ireland there was an appeal on questions of fact, where the sentence exceeded one month, and in all cases on a point of law. He need not go further into the minutiæ of the Act, for the main points were the summary procedure, the nature of the penalty, and the nature of the appeal. Now, what was the evil which this Act attempted to remedy? It was, in a single word, the paralysis of the law, which was shown in two ways—first by the difficulty in getting witnesses; and second, by the difficulty, or impossibility of getting verdicts. Everybody who was familiar with these things knew that when juries would not convict, witnesses were very reluctant to come forward, especially in Ireland where they were easily disheartened and frequently intimidated; even the men who were themselves the sufferers often dared not come forward as witnesses. The object of the Act was to set free the course of justice. The arguments in favour of the Crimes Act were now very much stronger than they were when the Bill was brought before the House in 1887. At that time the failure of the Act was confidently predicted, and the House was told that its provisions were such as would have no effect. They had just heard that the provisions of the Act had been wholly ineffectual, and he could hardly believe his ears when he heard the statement. He would take a single instance, he meant boycotting. In his opinion, of all the crimes known to the law boycotting was the most difficult to deal with. It was the most intangible and at the same time the most cruel and inhuman invention. He could not help alluding to the description of boycotting given by the hon. Member below the gangway who pictured a boycotted man in Loughrea as a prosperous individual, living on the best possible terms with everybody, whose lot apparently was of the happiest. Anybody who lived in Ireland knew what amount of truth there was in that description. But the House could judge for itself. Here was a verbatim report of a speech delivered by an hon. Member below the gangway—

> "In this case it was not so much the actual acts against these people, or against their business that had produced such terrible effects, but it was the necessary relentless, insistent, boycotting of themselves and their friends and supporters."

Necessarily relentless, insistent boycotting! They sometimes heard language from Irish Members in Ireland which they did not hear in England, and the speech he had just quoted, boasting of the inhuman sufferings which a man and his family had endured in North Longford, appeared in the *Roscommon Herald* on 1st Febuary, 1908. To go back to his argument. He was speaking of the success of the Act even in dealing with the difficulties arising in cases of boycotting. In 1887 the number of boycotted persons in Ireland was 4,835. In 1892 after the Act had been in operation for five years, there were fifteen persons boycotted. It was notable that in the single year 1887–8 the number of boycotted persons was reduced by 3,663. Through a series of years the Irish administration was carried on, sometimes under the Crimes Act, and sometimes not, until they reached the culminating year 1906, when Ireland was more free from crime "than she had been for 600 years." The law was made supreme in spite of the predictions that the Crimes Act would do nothing to restore the supremacy of the law. That was the positive evidence; let him now contrast with that success what he thought everybody would call the failure of the law in the year 1907, when the Chief Secretary would neither put into operation the Crimes Act, nor consistently enforce the ordinary law, which was frequently suspended in the interest of certain privileged malefactors. From July to December certain crimes were committed, regarding which there was practically no defence. Cf 287 persons indicted only eight were convicted, and at the winter assizes in Dublin Mr. Justice Wright made the observation that it was—

> "The most degrading experience that he had ever had since he had been on the Bench."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Mr. Justice Wright was one of the principal prosecutors himself.

*MR. BUTCHER said he was quite aware of that. If they were asked what was the cause of the success of the Crimes Act, his answer was, first, that the Act was a permanent and not a temporary one. Everybody knew that one of the curses of English rule in Ireland had been the fitful administration of the law, the alternations of petting and coercing; and this Act had one great merit that it remained permanently on the Statute-book and while lenient was yet efficacious. Its permanence was the first and main reason for its success. The second reason was that while the Act was not limited in point of time, it might be limited in point of space. If crime in Ireland was not universal but only partial, the Act could be put into operation in a single county. It was a remarkable thing in Ireland that in one county or even in part of a county, as in the case of County Clare, they might have the law undisputed and supreme, while just across the border in an adjoining county, or in part of the same county, the law was trampled in the dust.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said he wished to protest against what the hon. Member had said about County Clare. There was far less crime, and the law was as well respected in County Clare as in any county in England.

*MR. BUTCHER: Perhaps we mean different things by crime.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said the hon. Member must not be offended when he said that the inhabitants of County Clare were most law-abiding. What he meant by crime was murder such as there was in England.

*Mr. Butcher.*

*MR. BUTCHER said he was speaking of part of the eastern portion of County Clare, where everybody knew the law was not respected.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: It is respected.

*MR. BUTCHER said he would now come to the third great reason why the Crimes Act had been successful. It was that it had been found that it did not interfere with the personal freedom of any citizen, and that it did not interfere with the liberty of the Press. It was an Act which restored liberty, and did not restrict it. Those who desired to expunge the Act from the Statute-book must have some alternative to offer, and he would like to know what the alternative policy was?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: The common law.

*MR. BUTCHER said that before going into that alternative he wished to put it to the House—and he did not think anybody would question it—that there were periods when parts of Ireland were swept by lawless emotion. At such times law disappeared, it went under, and its place was taken, not by the will of the community, or even the passion of the individual, but by the organised tyranny of a clique, generally a powerful clique, which was backed by an appeal to the cupidity of individuals. The gravity of that state of things, with which everybody was familiar, was to be found not so much in the frequency of crime as in the rarity of convictions; not so much in open crime as in the system of unseen terrorism which made crime superfluous. Crime, intimidation and boycotting, and the paralysis of the law were the grave and menacing factors of Irish disorder, which to-day, on a smaller scale, and in a more restricted area, repeated the history of the eighties. Now, he asked, what was the alternative? He put the question to the hon. Gentleman below the gangway from the Nationalist point of view. He supposed that most of them would admit that things were not quite satisfactory. Some of them no doubt thought that they were more than satisfactory as they had been busily engaged in organising the lawlessness which most people deplored. However, he could not conceive that the majority of the hon. Gentlemen below the gangway did not regret the fact that parts of Ireland were exceedingly uncomfortable for honest men to live in. [AN HON. MEMBER on the IRISH Benches: You are not made uncomfortable.] No, he was not; but he could not help speaking of what they all saw and they all knew. If he were himself a Home Ruler he would feel that to accustom people to anarchy was the worst possible training for self-government. He believed that the Leader of the Nationalist Party, who exhibited many statesmanlike qualities, must feel in his heart that it was not well for a people to throw off all the restraints of the law.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND was understood to say so is telling lies.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) asked whether the hon. Member was in order in saying his hon. friend knew what he was stating to be lies.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said he had no hesitation in telling the House what he had said. The hon. Member stated that training in anarchy was a bad preparation for self-government. He said what was worse for the country was that people should tell lies about it, and that was perfectly true.

*MR. SPEAKER: I think it would be better if we had one speech at a time.

MR. MOORE: The hon. Member said that my hon. friend was stating what he knew to be lies.

*MR. BUTCHER did not think he had said anything provocative to anybody. He did not think there would be a man in the country who would deny the fact that training in anarchy was a bad preparation for self-government. What then was the alternative to the Crimes Act? He put it to the Liberals. He gathered that the alternative was to do nothing because the Government thought everything was satisfactory as it was and believed that the things which the Opposition deplored were mere fictions of the imagination. They must look at the future as well as at the present. It was impossible for them not to be aware that some of those things he had spoken of in Irish history might again occur even if they were not already happening before their eyes. If this Act were expunged from the Statute-book, what did the Government propose to do? Was it to give over Ireland to lawlessness, or had they the confidence expressed some months ago by the Chief Secretary that the law would be respected in those parts of Ireland in which it was not respected at present? Last June the right hon. Gentleman said that the Government still had confidence in the ordinary law, properly and impartially administered, and he thought he might fairly ask whether that confidence was still unshaken. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would state how he proposed to deal with those outbreaks of lawlessness with which he had hitherto coped in vain. One thing was certain, and that was that the Government which was not able to cope with Irish disorder sealed its own doom. He knew how strongly the Chief Secretary disapproved of the Crimes Act and what his alternative to it had hitherto been. He had resorted to an antiquated Act of Parliament.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): Not antiquated.

*MR. BUTCHER said he would call it an old Act of Parliament, under which a single magistrate could bind to good behaviour the persons charged, and if they did not give the required promise could send them to gaol. No evidence could be heard in their defence. Apparently it was quite consonant with Liberal principles that one magistrate should send a man to gaol for twelve months or longer without appeal. On the other hand, it was nothing short of gross tyranny for two magistrates sitting together to send a man to gaol, after hearing all the evidence adduced, for a period not exceeding six months, with the right of appeal. That contrast offered a fair test of the sincerity of Liberal convictions when they were dealing with the Crimes Act; they approved of the one Act and looked upon the other as simple tyranny. The measure which it was proposed to repeal restrained nobody from doing any act which a civilised man might desire to do. It had removed obstacles in the way of justice and saved innumerable innocent men from a state of cruel thraldom and terrorism which ruined both public and private life and strangled industry. Personal freedom was at the very basis of the welfare of the State and of national greatness, and as an Irishman he looked on everything that impaired that freedom and took away from honest men the means of obtaining an honest livelihood as the greatest natural disservice that could be done to Ireland. To repeal this Act would be simply to throw Ireland back upon the old evils of fitful and uncertain legislation and capricious administration.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Party to which I have the honour to belong has never, on this question of a permanent Coercion Act, taken any but one view—namely, that such an Act is intolerable and should be repealed at the earliest possible moment. That has been illustrated by numberless speeches made by Gentlemen who now occupy prominent positions in this Government, and they have never, whilst in opposition, failed to support the Gentlemen below the gangway in a Motion corresponding to this Bill. Accordingly, without any doubt or hesitation we shall vote for the Second Reading. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down began by saying that he proposed to devote the greater part of his remarks to a description of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, and to show how inoffensive it is and how it can never fall heavily on any law-abiding citizen. But he soon went off in another direction. Beginning where he began, he said that this Act, to which he rightly stated that I took considerable exception, created no new offence. That is a proposition which I for one most emphatically deny. Look at Section 6 of the Act. If the Lord-Lieutenant is satisfied that any association interferes with the administration of the law or is calculated to disturb the maintenance of law and order, he may, by proclamation, declare to be dangerous any such association or associations; and when he has done that all the penalties of Section 7 apply to such an association. It is provided that—

> "From and after the date of such order and during the continuance thereof any meeting or assembly of such association, or the members of it, as such members, in the specified district, shall be an unlawful assembly, and the association itself shall be an unlawful association, and every person calling together a meeting of such association in the specified district or of any members thereof as such members, or knowingly taking part in any such meeting, or publishing with a view to promoting the objects of such an association notice of the calling together of such meeting or the proceedings of such meeting, shall be guilty of an offence, and may be prosecuted in a Court of summary jurisdiction under this Act."

Is not that the creation of a new offence?

Mr. BUTCHER: It has to come before Parliament.

Mr. BIRRELL: No.

Mr. LONSDALE: The association must be one formed for the commission of crime.

Mr. BIRRELL pointed out that the words "formed for the commission of crime" were followed by various alternatives beginning with "or." There was much virtue in "or."

Mr. BUTCHER: In subsection 4 it is laid down that any proclamation issued under the Act must be laid before Parliament.

Mr. BIRRELL: It is not dependent upon Parliament whether the consequences of the proclamation as to the illegality of the assembly shall follow. The Lord-Lieutenant having proclaimed the assembly, certain consequences follow. That proclamation has to be laid on the Table of the House and may be made the subject of debate or criticism, but the consequences of which I speak follow from the issue of the proclamation and do not depend upon the consent or approval of this House. I say, therefore, the Act does create distinctly a new offence.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Lord Justice Holmes said so, too.

Mr. BIRRELL: I hope I shall be allowed to proceed with my speech. It is difficult to do so amid these interruptions. A distinguished Lord Advocate in this House has said it is quite clear that there is in this law no analogy to the old law existing in Scotland. But even if the two things were much the same, I put it to the House whether it is a reasonable view of criminal law to take that because one country has for a good many centuries been satisfied with its sheriff and sheriff-substitute, distinguished lawyers, many of whom have subsequently been raised to the Bench of the Supreme Court—and with a certain method of their own—therefore you can suddenly thrust a new and alien idea of criminal procedure upon another country in a crisis of political trouble. I say it is impossible to do anything of the kind. So far as the first section is concerned it has been very little use, and may be disregarded. The important sections are those creating this summary jurisdiction. When the hon. Member was dealing with summary jurisdiction in Scotland he did not draw any attention to the difference in the tribunal. There is all the difference in the world between entrusting duties of this kind to regular legal functionaries who occupy a position in their profession and who themselves often become Judges in their turn in the Supreme Courts in Scotland, and handing them over to resident magistrates. I am not going to say a word against resident magistrates. Why should I? But nobody will say that they are persons remarkable for their legal knowledge, training, and experience. Their qualifications and character are to be judged of by the Lord-Lieutenant, and I say it is not fair altogether to disregard the character of the tribunal. This Criminal Law and Procedure Act is open to the very gravest constitutional objection. It is a favourite argument—you hear it in every country where the Constitution can be set aside by the executive—that no law-abiding citizen need be afraid. Only obey the law, do what you are told, regard the rights of property, and be a self-respecting citizen, and you will never get into any trouble at all. I suppose the great majority of Englishmen pass through their lives without ever coming into contact with the criminal law in any way whatsoever, except, perhaps, as grand jurymen or something of that sort. But exactly the same thing occurs in Russia. In Russia you have the most perfect system of constitutional government. You have trial by jury provided for in almost every case, and if you read their laws you wonder why there should be any trouble or difficulty whatsoever. But then you find side by side with the constitutional methods the power of the executive to deprive people of them whenever they think fit. That is my great objection to this Act of Parliament. The hon. Gentleman said he liked it because it was permanent. But it is not permanent in the true form. It is an Act of Parliament which is put in operation at the will of the executive. Unless the executive chooses to proclaim counties and deprive people of the rights of citizens, the ordinary law and constitution applies. Therefore, you are exactly in the condition of those unconstitutional countries where you have side by side a constitutional and an unconstitutional system which is dependent entirely on the will of the executive. I would much sooner, speaking as an executive officer, you had made the Act apply without any intervention of the Lord-Lieutenant, without any proclamation of counties. It is an admirable measure according to my hon. friend. No law-abiding citizen need fear it. Why not all be subject to it at once? Let us all come under this admirable system. What is the good of trial by jury—twelve stupid men in the box, humbugged and hoodwinked by counsel, taking a view either for or against the Judge according to the tact which he displays? Get rid of the system altogether. There are a great many people who are dissatisfied with trial by jury in both civil and criminal cases, and, therefore, it would be much better if the Leader of the Opposition had taken his courage in both hands, and said "This is a simple and desirable measure, and henceforth and for evermore it shall be the law of Ireland, whether they like it or not, and without any reference to a fitful Lord-Lieutenant and a changing Chief Secretary." The Act of Parliament is open to every conceivable objection. It is an unconstitutional Act of Parliament; it takes away the rights of the Irish people fitfully and not permanently at the bidding of one political party or another. Look at the Act itself. What happens under it? It came into force on 19th July, 1887. A Liberal Administration was in power from August, 1892, to June, 1895, and the Unionists were in office for the remainder of the period 1887–1904. I say nothing about the circumstances under which the Act was passed. All I can say is, that I wish every Member who has not acquainted himself with those debates would read and study them, and if he did that he would be at no loss to understand the strong feeling that the great majority of the Irish people entertain to the Act. The hon. Member who moved the Second Reading of the Bill, in a speech of great moderation, referred to the alliance that at one time existed between the Tory Party and the Nationalists. Everybody, or every Liberal, who took part in the election of 1885 remembers that very well, because we had the whole of the Irish votes against us. It was my first general election, and I had the full Irish vote in that part of Liverpool for which I stood directed against me. It was the last time, and I hope it will remain so, on which I had not the Irish vote. On that occasion, a Tory friend of mine, now a distinguished Judge on the Irish Bench—such is the fate of mortals—was given the benefit of the Irish vote. Between 1885 and 1887 something happened, and this Act was introduced. These are the figures which I had prepared for me. The number of persons proceeded against under the Act in 1887 was 628, in 1888 it was 1,475, then it went down to 839, then to 531, and then to 243, and then the Land Purchase Act was introduced. Possibly that had something to do with the decline, and in 1892, 155 was the total number of persons proceeded against under the Act. In 1903, my right hon. friend—I cannot yet bring myself to call him Lord Morley of Blackburn—came into office, and in 1893 and 1894 no steps were taken under the Act at all. It lay dormant. In 1895, Mr. Gerald Balfour was responsible as Chief Secretary. I believe he was not at that time in the Cabinet, but he was Chief Secretary in 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, and 1900, and the Act remained dormant. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover in 1901 proceeded against 29 persons, in 1902 against 157 persons, and in 1903 against 3 persons. Then the famous Land Purchase Act came into existence. Since then, although there have been changes in the Government, although counties have been proclaimed, no proceedings whatever have been taken, and, therefore, since 1903, it has lain completely dormant, as an instrument, available, no doubt, but one of which no use has been made. It is a little difficult in this debate to distinguish the two points. The real point is, should this Act be allowed to remain on the Statute-book or be repealed? The debate has also turned into a repetition of the frequent discussions we have already had as to whether I am to blame for not having, during my term of office, availed myself of the machinery of this Act. If I had I should have done something which has not been done practically since the Leader of the Opposition left Ireland in 1892, because, although there were sporadic movements under the *regime* of the right hon. Member for Dover, that was immediately put an end to by the great concordat of the Land Purchase Act, and since that time no Chief Secretary has proceeded against any person under the Act. Whether I ought to have done it, whether the present condition of Ireland is such as to render it necessary and proper for me to do it, is a question which I do not think is very relevant for the purposes of this debate, but which has been almost necessarily, perhaps, mixed up with it. However, I ask myself, what is the present position? The hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University spoke with emphasis, and not at all with too great emphasis, about the horrors of boycotting. Now boycotting is one of those things which may be atrociously cruel and horribly offensive, and a thing which shocks me more than anything else one can well imagine in human affairs short of absolute murder or outrage. It is perfectly true that an hon. Member read from the report of a very keen witted, quick-sighted gentleman, who writes in the *Daily Mail*, and who gave his account of the boycotted person, and although I should deprecate the notion that there was no such thing as cruel boycotting in Ireland, it is true that there is a great deal of exaggeration about a good number of the cases in which persons are alleged to be boycotted. I could myself give an account of conversations which I have had, and experiences I have had, with boycotted persons, but I do not wish to do that, because I agree that in certain cases boycotting is carried to very cruel lengths. At the present moment those cases are not more than they have been for the last ten or twelve years. The cruel and vindictive cases at present in Ireland are not more than twelve or thirteen, and at that figure they remained during the administration of the right hon. the Member for South Dublin. For years past there has been this number of serious boycotting cases. I deplore and reprobate them, but you do not want to turn the whole law upside down to deal with them, even if you could. It is said that in the time of the Leader of the Opposition there were 4,000 cases of boycotting. These have now happily disappeared, and I cannot at the most find more than twelve serious cases, and perhaps 125 or 130 minor cases. I deplore them. I ought not to be asked to get up on my legs and deplore things of that sort, because all right-feeling and right-minded men do deplore them; but you cannot do away with them by setting up the Crimes Act. Lord Salisbury was perfectly right when he made the statement on a celebrated occasion, that you cannot put down exclusive dealing by the provisions of an Act of this sort. What is the other state of affairs in Ireland? With regard to cattle-driving, I have said all that I have to say, over and over again. I deplore it as an illegal, reprehensible, and very stupid thing. Some hon. Gentlemen below the gangway may differ from me. Having had some experience of the matter, I think it a most dangerous and foolish thing, particularly at the present crisis of matters with regard to land purchase in Ireland. The continuance of wholesale illegal acts of this kind is not calculated to benefit the Irish people or to reduce the price of land per acre by a single pound, nor will the people obtain possession of the soil from which they have driven the cattle. Therefore, I say, speaking with the full sense of my responsibility, that it is not only reprehensible and illegal, but a stupid thing, calculated to tie the hands of this Parliament in dealing, as we shortly shall be called upon to do, with a question of the utmost difficulty. Surely, while we are negotiating this land purchase, are we going to upset Ireland and declare war with her, for an incident in the land purchase proceedings? The whole of this cattle-driving arises from the belief that they must become the transferees of the soil and that they are entitled to it. They may have exaggerated and possibly have misunderstood some of your fervent speeches and some of your impassioned perorations, and they may not altogether have distinguished between tenanted land and land lying within the parish occupied by the grazing of beasts, but which is as much necessary as the other land if peace is to be restored to Ireland on the footing of a peasant proprietary. I believe it would be an act of sheer insanity for any Government to proceed rashly and hastily to upset negotiations between this country and Ireland, which are absolutely essential if you are to carry out a gigantic scheme involving millions of money, only one-third of which is carried out and two-thirds of which remain, to some extent, trembling in the balance. Regarding, as I do, cattle-driving as an incident of land purchase, not on the same footing or in the same category as what has been called the dynamite and dagger kind of argument, I say we have exercised a wise discretion in refusing, even if we ever contemplated it, which we did not, to put into operation the inefficient and, as I think, unconstitutional and unsatisfactory provisions of an Act of Parliament which I for one should be very glad to see expunged from the Statute-book. The question has been put to us, What is your alternative? What are you going to do? I would suggest in the first place that the onus lies with hon. Gentlemen opposite to show that it is my duty to upset the ordinary law of the land and put into operation an Act that imposes on the Executive the whole responsibility of saying whether the ordinary law is to be superseded. I say the onus is rather on you to show that a state of things has arisen that compels us now, or may at some future time, to put the provisions of this Act into force. The alternative on which I rely is the law of the land. The Lord-Lieutenant and the Government do not desire to put into operation the proclamation of any particular county. We rely on the ordinary law of the land and upon the remedial measures and upon the prospect of the carrying out as quickly as possible, with the support, I hope, of the Treasury if need be, of a great scheme of land purchase, at present only partially, but bound to be completely, carried out. That is our alternative. You may laugh at it and ask what is the good of doing this or that. The same question might arise in England or Scotland if a violent difference of opinion on any particular point arose between the inhabitants of particular parts of the world and the rest of the community. It has not been our practice in England, though face to face with difficulties and disturbances, to pass Acts of Parliament superseding the ordinary law and putting it in the power of the Home Secretary by a stroke of the pen to say whether the people in a particular county are to have the privilege of trial by jury. We have to face these difficulties; I do not deny them, but we mean to keep along on these lines. We do not anticipate any appalling difficulties, and I deprecate altogether the notion that Ireland is a seething mass of illegality. I am not to be persuaded by quotations, whether acurate or not, from Judges, Lord Chief Justices, or anybody else, from taking a bird's-eye view of the whole of Ireland, which as a whole is a peaceful and law-abiding country. In some parts there is a spirit of lawlessness which I deeply deplore, but which is connected very clearly to my mind with the legislation of this House and with promises made in this House. It is a somewhat demoralising thing to do, and I am not enamoured of it by any means, but it has got to be gone through with now, and for us at this crisis to pretend that it is necessary to govern Ireland by coercion rather than by the ordinary law would be not only unnecessary, but an act of futility and almost of political insanity. Therefore, if we are to look forward to troublous times coming in Ireland, the worst thing I have heard attributed to us is that my rule would bring the Tories back in a year. Is that such a terrible prospect for hon. Gentlemen opposite to contemplate? Is other suffering likely to follow from that? As far as I am concerned, we are prepared to face the future with remedial legislation and with courage, with a courageous administration of the law. They say that we are doing nothing. I wish the hon. Member for Cambridge University would join the Irish Constabulary for a month; at the end of that time he would be able to tell us whether we were doing anything or not. He would find that the whole forces we have at our disposal—and we are ready to increase them if necessary—are placed, and have been placed, within the reach of persons whose property is affected.

MR. BUTCHER: I wish to explain to the right hon. Gentleman that he must be thinking of somebody else. I never suggested that the Government were doing nothing. I know what they are doing perfectly well.

MR. BIRRELL: Then my ears must have distinctly deceived me. I often say things that I do not mean to say, but I am persuaded that the hon. Gentleman made the accusation that we were doing nothing. I will not press the point but will agree with him that we are doing something, and that cattle have been restored in Roscommon and Galway. [OPPOSITION laughter.] Hon. gentlemen do not seem to mind that. Their one anxiety seems to be to get people into prison. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh" and "Withdraw."] They do not seem to care that cattle have, with hardly an exception, been restored to their owners under the law of the land, and that those who have sustained damage have been compensated. We do not anticipate any very terrible things in the future, but if the occasion should arise we shall feel it our duty to come to this House and state the facts and receive fresh authority before we try to interfere with the ordinary law. I have never taken part in a debate of this character before, but

I quite agree with my colleagues in the Government that this is an Act which, in its permanent character, ought never to have found a place on the Statute-book, and the sooner it is taken off the better.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.): Before I proceed to criticise the general remarks of the right hon. Gentleman let me express profound surprise that the Chief Secretary, who does not generally, since the moment when he thought fit to designate hon. Members on this side by an offensive term——

MR. BIRRELL: Since the right hon. Gentleman chooses to refer to that, I beg leave to say that I never designated hon. Gentlemen opposite by any name. I simply adopted the usual course and compared their action in a particular matter to that of certain things. In the same way I have heard hon. Members compared here to boa-constrictors and Scottish terriers, whose heads are indistinguishable from their tails. Nobody has ever said that by adopting such language they were calling hon. Members by any name.

MR. WALTER LONG: I do not wish to raise a controversy over this now, but desire to remind the Chief Secretary that when his attention was called to that language in this House he admitted its accuracy and expressed his regret for using it. I do not now understand his denial.

MR. BIRRELL: You have said that I designated hon. Gentlemen opposite by an offensive name. I did nothing of the kind; I never called them carrion crows.

MR. WALTER LONG: That is a distinction more likely to be effective in the Law Courts than in the House of Commons. But whatever may have been the action of the Chief Secretary on that occasion, he has now, in the memory of the House, stated that the object of hon. Gentlemen on this side is to put their fellow-countrymen into prison.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange): Hear, hear!

MR. WALTER LONG: From that cheer I understand I am right in assuming that the head of the Irish Bar does not desire, when the evidence is as clear as the light of noonday, that those charged with an offence should be sent to prison. That is the position of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. We have had some wonderful opinions from the head of the Irish Executive and as time goes on they are more remarkable still. The Chief Secretary has told us what his objections to this Act are. I am not in the least surprised at the decision which has been announced. Indeed for my part I may say that if it were not for the fact that changes occur both of Governments and Chief Secretaries and that I believe that this Statute is necessary in certain cases for the preservation of order in Ireland, I should be prepared to admit that its preservation on the Statute-book is in existing circumstances of no value whatever, because I hold that the Government have not made every effort to put down disorder in Ireland. The Government have not made full use of the powers they possess. A moment ago the Chief Secretary took up a remark made by my hon. friend the Member for the Cambridge University in which the Chief Secretary thought the hon. Member said the Government were doing nothing, and he said he wished that my hon. friend could be for a short time a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary in one of the disturbed districts. It is not against the Royal Irish Constabulary that our charge lies. It is not alleged that they have not, in circumstances of terrible difficulty, done their best. What is said is that these guardians of peace, law, and order in Ireland are not supported by the Government as they ought to be. When we were debating months ago the state of Ireland the Attorney-General laughed at the allusions to cattle-driving, as he always does, and said they were a day too late for the fair, and that cattle-driving was over. What about the Answers the Chief Secretary has been compelled to make to Questions lately. Is cattle-driving over? We have been told it is over now owing to courageous enforcement of the law.

MR. CHERRY: When did I say it was over? I said it was seriously diminished.

MR. WALTER LONG: I do not want to quarrel with the words of the hon. Gentleman. I thought he said "come to an end;" he now says the words he used were "seriously diminished." What of the figures produced recently? Have they been merely indicative of a partial recurrence of this crime? They have been much more than that. They have shown that the number of the cases monthly has been growing; they have indicated a rapid increase; and yet we are told that the ordinary law is sufficient for its purpose when we are dealing with this crime which the Chief Secretary, while denouncing it here, is apparently unable to cope with in the country, and which he seeks in a remarkable way rather to seem to justify by saying that it is the result of our agrarian legislation and that until we have carried through the Land Acts we must expect this kind of thing. Why do I say in connection with this that the police are not to blame, but the Executive? Everybody knows that these cattle raids mean the assembling of a large number of people determined to drive off cattle. The Chief Secretary said it means opening a gate and letting out a certain number of cattle, and that this ought to be put an end to, but is not a serious offence. That can best be judged by those who have to suffer from it. If the Government mean to put this down and are using the police to do so, how is it that we read, in case after case, that the police have been driven back by the mob and have been unable to prevent the mob from carrying out their intention? We have had to deal with mobs before now, with assemblies that had to be put down. We have had to disperse mobs, but when I was responsible for the government of Ireland, the policy was to see in advance that the force of police was sufficient to make it possible and probable that the mobs would be despersed without even the use of the baton. During the time that I was Chief Secretary I had on several occasions to secure the dispersal of meetings and a baton was never drawn. The Government say they do not want the Crimes Act, and yet they are forced to admit, day after day, that the condition of things in certain parts of Ireland is not only deplorable, but such as the forces of the law as at present existing are unable to cope with. The Chief Secretary criticised the Act on four grounds. He said that the Government voted against it when in opposition, and that they supported a Motion for its repeal. It is quite possible that it will not require much argument on their part to say they stand now in the same position that they stood in then. But I am rather astonished at what the Chief Secretary says. He says the sixth section creates a new crime. Many distinguished lawyers hold the contrary; they also nearly all admit that in nearly every respect this law is similar to the law of Scotland. Then it does not seem to be very strong ground for advocating the revocation of this Act that it is never used. That is rather a reason for amending it. Then there is the criticism of the resident magistrates not being fit as compared with the Sheriffs of Scotland. It is a remarkable fact that when the Liberal Government came into office they accepted the denunciations of the resident officials, but how did they propose to fill the vacancies that occurred? Did they seek to alter the conditions? No. The nominees of the Liberal Government were selected from exactly the same class as that from which the Unionist Government made the appointments. It has been the practice in Ireland to appoint a certain number of police officers who have risen to distinction. Everybody who knows the work of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ireland is aware that they have to be well versed in the law and in the practice of the law if they are going to do their duty without getting into trouble. Therefore I do not think the criticism of the resident magistrate is very serious. The other criticism is that the Act is dependent on the will of the Executive. If the criticism that the Act is dependent on the will of the Executive is the main objection to the Crimes Act, let it be no longer so dependent; but let it become the general law of the land. No law-abiding man in any part of the kingdom has reason to fear the operations of the Crimes Act. That case has never yet been answered. Do the law officers contend that? In the north of Ireland, not among the rich, wealthy, and well to do, but among the people there is this objection that is to be found among those for whom hon. Gentlemen below the gangway spoke. The Solicitor-General sits for a constituency in the county to which I allude. Does he suggest that there is a rooted objection there to this law as being against the rights and privileges of the people? We know that there is no feeling that the Act is an insult to that country. I admit the justice of the criticism of the Chief Secretary regarding the debate, which has become a double debate. The Bill is for the repeal of the Crimes Act, but it is inevitable that those who think this Act ought to be retained, that it might become necessary, in arguing the immediate question should have to discuss existing weak points in the Irish administration. That was the course taken in the debate of 1894. One of my hon. friends quoted a speech made by the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture. I venture to say there is not a word of that speech from beginning to end which those who sit on this side of the House could not take as a pronouncement of their case. Now the Chief Secretary says, and is entitled to say, that they do not want to use this statute; they object to it; they decline to use it; and when I asked for his alternative—I beg the attention of the House to this—while guarding himself by saying that the alternative should come from us and not from him, he gave his alternative in a powerful sentence. He said—

> "If I find such a condition of things in Ireland as requires the imposition of the existing Crimes Act, then I will come to the House and ask for permission to carry such a Bill."

How any man who is conversant with the real and grave difficulties which exist in Ireland can make such a proposition passes my comprehension. We were asked last year to say why we thought the Government ought to have used their powers under the Crimes Act in dealing with cattle-driving cases. The Attorney-General used language, Heaven knows, strong enough at that time and used it properly I think, when prosecuting on behalf of the Crown. What we pointed out then was that, because you chose to rely upon the ordinary law, you had to wait for a change of venue for months and months, that these cases were kept hanging over for months before they could be tried, and that you tried only the followers, and not the leaders. If you had used the Crimes Act, you could have got a change of venue, and the case could have been tried while fresh in the minds of the people. The mere fact that you brought the malefactors speedily to trial would have strengthened the Government, and added materially to the prospect of securing a conviction. The Chief Secretary cannot deny, and he has never attempted to deny in answer to Questions, that in some parts of Ireland, only a limited part, happily, in 1894, there were grave difficulties to be dealt with. He admitted that offences of the use of firearms had increased, and he deplored it. He admitted that agrarian offences had increased in certain parts, and he deplored it. But he was unable to say that in any case they had been able to detect the delinquents or secure a conviction. What is the alternative now? The right hon. Gentleman says there is no prospect of a sudden uprising or of any grave condition of things in Ireland. While he would vote for the repeal of the Act, should difficulties arise he would have Parliament summoned, and come here and ask for special legislation. Those who have followed the history of Ireland, who know what has gone on from time to time, must surely realise that this is an alternative which anybody acquainted with that country must condemn as utterly unworthy and utterly inadequate to secure the end in view. Why, when the Government had made up their minds that the condition of things required special laws, and they had come here to vote them through, it would take two, three, or four months to carry the very Bill which they had just removed from the Statute-book. What would be the condition of Ireland and of the suffering people in the meantime? What would be the injustice done? If your only grievance against this Act of Parliament is that it requires amendment, then amend it by all means; but if you admit, as you are forced to admit, that there may be circumstances which require special assistance, if you admit that the law has been insufficient for your purpose in many respects up to the present, why should you take off the Statute-book a measure which, though you no longer use it, may be required, and is there to be used by others, if necessary, for the protection of the innocent and the detection of the guilty? I do not believe there is anything in the Crimes Act which need make any innocent man fear. I believe that there are in this Statute powers whose mere existence, with the knowledge that they can be used, exercises a powerful and direct effect in Ireland for the preservation of law and order. The right hon. Gentleman knows, and all who have followed the history of Ireland know, that as much depends upon the spirit of those who administer the law as upon the mere act that they perform. There are many who will regard this proposal to get rid of the Act of 1887 as a sign of weakness in the Administration. The right hon. Gentleman has deliberately from the beginning declared that he intends to govern Ireland without the aid of special laws, and that he hopes to get peace, the restoration of tranquility in all parts of Ireland, not so much by the general administration of criminal law as by legislation which will remove the causes of the difficulty. He talked just now of cattle-driving. He called our attention to the fact that this is only an expression of the desire on the part of the people to possess the grazing land. That was cheered by the Attorney-General. Is that altogether the fact? Take the latest case quoted by my hon. friend behind me, of a farm on the Clancarty estate. I do not know whether the Chief Secretary has had his attention called to that case. It has only occurred within the last two or three days. If he has not may I pray him to take note of it, and to give us information at a later period as to the facts. I am informed that the man who occupied the farm is not a grazier in any sense of the word. He is an ordinary tenant and is precisely similar to the tenants who surround him. Because it was desired to take his ground his cattle were driven off and the ordinary prosecution of his industry was rendered impossible. My hon. friend quoted the case of Mr. Joyce, and hon. Gentlemen below the gangway again charged us with trying to blacken the character of their fellow-countrymen in Ireland because we quoted those cases. This is not a case of blackening men's characters. Nobody would rejoice more than I and my hon. friends behind me if it were rendered unnecessary to refer to these cases by the fact that they no longer existed. Is never a word to be said in this House on behalf of the man who is the occupier of the farm to which I have referred? Is never a word to be said in this House on behalf of a man like Joyce? Are we to assume that all that is necessary is that the Government should look with complacency on cases of this kind and say "We have no power," and do no more? This Act gives you the power, and if need be you can exercise it; if you do not choose to exercise it the responsibility must rest with you, the Government of the day. I for one shall oppose, as I am convinced my hon. friends above the gangway will, this attempt to repeal an Act of Parliament which is there for use if it is required. I would point out that this alternative of the Chief Secretary, of coming to Parliament for special powers, is certainly open to the criticism that I have already addressed to it. But I think the use of the Crimes Act is practically subject to the same sort of criticism, because if it is put in force in districts under proclamation what happens? This House, if it is in session, is immediately called upon to discuss it, the Government of the day have to justify what they have done, and, as we know, certain of the powers cannot be called into operation without reference to this House. That being the case, I repeat that this Act is one which may be necessary, and which I believe if it had been used would have put a stop to cattle-driving altogether eight or ten months ago. We believe it to be necessary as a part of the law which it would not be safe or just to abandon, and I shall vote with profound conviction against the Motion, and for the rejection of the Bill proposed by the hon. Member for Tullamore.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.) said that those Members who had listened to the debate must have been struck by the remarkable character of the speeches of those who had opposed the Bill. He proposed to examine the credentials of those monumental upholders of law and order to whose splendid eulogies of the Crimes Act they had listened. He was somewhat surprised, when listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin, to hear him declare that the law at all costs must be preserved and upheld by the House, the Government, and the country. He did not tell them that he himself was not always a law-abiding citizen; he did not tell them it was not so many months since he was impeached in a Dublin Court for endeavouring to pollute the founts of justice in Ireland. He, an ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland and a gentleman responsible for the whole government and administration of the country, did not tell them that he was impeached, and that owing only to the mercy of the right hon. Gentleman the Attorney-General a heavy fine was not inflicted upon him for his lawlessness. He could not deny that he was impeached in an Irish Court, and that the Lord Chief Baron, one of the most eminent Judges in Ireland, declared that if the right hon. Gentleman had been brought before him he would have inflicted a heavy fine. He did not, therefore, think it lay in the mouth of the right hon. Gentleman to stand there and with his feeble arguments, if violent gesticulations, appeal to English Members of Parliament to put in operation a Coercion Act for the Irish peasant, while he, a gentleman of England, an administrator of the law, a representative of British authority in Ireland, so despised law and order. He took it, having listened to the various counts in the indictment, that the general reasons why the Coercion Act should not be repealed, but rather why it should be brought into operation by the Government, were the following:—First of all, lawlessness. That came from the right hon. Gentleman. The next was boycotting. He would have something to say as to the credentials of the gentleman who made boycotting one of the chief items in the impeachment. The next was intimidation. They would see what the credentials of the gentleman were who spoke of intimidation. Finally, there was crime. Crime, intimidation, boycotting, and lawlessness. He had told the House the character of the chief impeacher of lawlessness. He would now come to the question of boycotting. He was somewhat amazed at the speech of the hon. Member for Cambridge University. He seemed to know everything about Ireland. Sometimes he gave the impression that he knew something about everything, but in this particular instance he knew everything about Ireland. He knew Ireland better than they did. He was better acquainted with its economic, its educational, its agrarian and political history than those who lived in Ireland. Some of his friends could acquaint him with the facts of one of the grossest acts of boycotting that had ever come to his (the speaker's) knowledge. It occurred in one of the most Unionist counties in the north. It was one of the most unfair attempts to deal with the liberty of the subject that had ever been recorded in the history of boycotting. What was the case? ["It has been given already."] Were they ashamed to hear it again? There were more Members in the House now than when it was given before. Perhaps he ought to follow the example of the hon. Gentleman above the gangway and put down a series of Questions every day, showing how criminal was the county of Tyrone, because the most nefarious cases of boycotting took place there under the auspices and guidance of the party supporters of the hon. Gentleman. They were dealing that day with cases of boycotting which sprang from agrarian agitation. It was the same sort of protest which strikers in great industrial communities made against attempts to interfere with their rights and principles. Boycotting in Ireland was the manifestation of the people's protest against the seizure of land which should be theirs and against an agrarian system which even the Leader of the Opposition had admitted to be the worst in the world. What was the case to which he had referred? It was the case of a Catholic sewing mistress employed by a Protestant minister in a Protestant school. She was a teacher of sewing, and not of theology, yet those paragons of virtue who sat on the benches above the gangway, and who filled the Order Paper of the House of Commons every day with the lawlessness of the Irish people, called a public meeting of their supporters and denounced the Protestant minister for employing the woman. The woman protested, and asked to be retained. The minister tried to keep her, telling his constituents that she was not teaching theology, and that there was no harm in her teaching sewing; but they hunted her out, and then came to that House and asked the Government to put into operation the Coercion Act. The people of whom the Unionists complained boycotted landlords, with all their wealth, with all their power, and with the Imperial police at their backs, and faced the consequences; they did not go to Tyrone to boycott women. Not a single one of the Unionists would hurt his finger for any cause or any interest. Here was a case of genuine lawlessness on the front bench, a case of boycotting in its most acute and malignant form. The gentleman who led this propaganda, the inspiring agent of this campaign, was Mr. Cook, who was, it appeared, on the bench of magistrates administering justice. He would like to know, if he had been a Nationalist, would he have been retained on the bench even by the present Lord Chancellor for Ireland? He had dealt with lawlessness and boycotting. Let him go on to intimidation. Was there ever a more cruel case of intimidation than that disclosed in the Bailey correspondence? It was a case of Members of that House attacking an official who was discharging his duty according to an Act of Parliament—not a Liberal but a Tory official, appointed to administer the Land Act by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover, and because Mr. Bailey desired to administer the Land Act according to the views and aspirations expressed at the time by the Government—and he was the only official he knew who had endeavoured to do so—the hon. and learned Member for Armagh wrote him a letter threatening him that if he continued his policy of doing justice to tenants and landlords alike and holding the scales evenly between the two parties concerned he would be dismissed when the Tory party came into power. The hon. Member who had attacked a public official in this way came to the House of Commons and paraded his own virtue. They all came there to parade their own virtues, though, in his opinion, they had shown themselves to be the greatest enemies of law when the law was not to their liking, the greatest agents of disorder when order did not suit them, the best friends of intimidation when intimidation was to be used as an official instrument for the purpose of intimidating those who were opposed to them. Now let him come to the question of crime. This had not only been a debate upon the repeal of the Coercion Act, but it had been also a demand that the Government and the Chief Secretary should put the Coercion Act into operation. But what did the recent official Returns show? They showed that while there was absolutely no crime in twenty counties, while Ireland to-day was the most crimeless country in the world, while in many cases the Judges were being presented with white gloves, the only counties in which there was any increase of crime were the counties of Down, Derry, and Antrim, represented by the Gentlemen who wanted coercion. Coercion might be a good thing or it might be a bad thing. If it was a good thing, why was it not put into operation in the Northern counties? He himself would oppose the Coercion Act as bitterly for Portadown as he would for Limerick. He wanted to know how the people in the Unionist parts of Ulster would like it if trial by jury were suspended because on the 12th of July there was lawlessness, if the freedom of the Press were abolished, if two removable magistrates were sent up from Cork to sit and convict, to send Protestant ministers and Unionist Members of Parliament to gaol for six months, and compel them to associate with ordinary criminals under the ordinary routine of the prisons. He wondered how long the Unionists of Ulster would submit to a system like that. When they were told that these removable and resident magistrates tribunals were established because convictions could not be secured, let the House remember that when they were established the Government took mighty good care that there was a conviction in every case. Under trial by jury a conviction was obtained sometimes. Under trial by resident magistrates convictions were always secured whether the man tried was guilty or not. Let the House remember who these prisoners were Members of Parliament, priests, county councillors, men eminent in their localities, and honoured by their own people, and it was rarely that one of these men escaped conviction once they were impeached, simply for defending the people in their natural protest against wrong, and in their passionate desire to have restored to them the land which an Act of Parliament had declared ought to be theirs. They had heard a good deal about cattle-driving. He hoped the House would understand what cattle-driving was. There had been more cattle houghing in England during two years than in Ireland in ten years, with the possible exception of the cattle houghing carried on by Sergeant Sheridan, one of the agents of the Tory Administration, who had to leave the country because he was found committing these crimes. Cattle-driving must be morally good or morally bad. His own experience in Ireland was that most of the reforms they had succeeded in securing for Ireland had been won by a not too squeamish desire to observe the law. He had always found that the way to ensure a Governmental promise being kept was to stir up public opinion in Ireland and keep the grievances of the people before the Administration. Cattle-driving to a large extent had been a purely harmless proceeding. He had seen one part of County Mayo where nearly twenty small tenants were living on patches of five acres of barren land, and right in front of these wretched cottages were 6,000 acres of the richest land in the county, owned by one man. In Ireland their natural passion was to live on the land. They could not get people to live on the land in England. It was one of their greatest difficulties in dealing with economic and social problems. In Ireland they wanted to live on the land, but were not permitted. He held it was the intention of the Land Act of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover, the spirit in which it was accepted by Members at all events, that almost immediately steps should be taken to have those vast grazing lands distributed to the people who were living in wretchedness, and economic holdings created. That was not done. Cattle-driving was a logical and inevitable consequence of broken Tory promises. Let the House remember that the moment the spirit of the Act of Parliament was carried into operation cattle-driving would cease. It would never by ended by the application of coercive measures. There was more crime in Ireland when they were imprisoning Members of Parliament and priests than when they were endeavouring to solve these problems on constitutional lines. When they heard these flippant denunciations of the only methods that the people had to get these lands distributed, he hoped it would be remembered that they were only endeavouring to put into operation an Act of Parliament. With regard to the Coercion Act it might be asked why, if the Act was not in operation, they wanted it repealed. They wanted it repealed because it was an Act which branded the Irish people as a race of criminals. There was no such Act of Parliament in England or Scotland. There ought to be no such Act of Parliament in Ireland. They asked for its repeal because it could be brought into operation at the caprice of a Minister. The Chief Secretary said he did not need it. The right hon. Member for South Dublin said he might need it and that he wanted it, and the meaning of that declaration was that when his Party got back to power they would once more arouse these old passions and prejudices which had done so much to destroy the good feeling and amity which they desired to exist between all that was generous in England and all that was generous in Ireland. They wanted the Act repealed because they believed that while it stood upon the Statute-book it would be regarded as a national insult, and they would take every opportunity that was presented to make their protest and to bring the necessary influence to bear upon the Government to remove from the Statute-book an Act that would never have been passed if it were not for the methods employed—*The Times* forgeries, and the propaganda that was carried on in 1887 and 1888 to blacken the fair fame and to outrage the national spirit of a country that was universally admitted to be the most crimeless in the world. They had brought this Bill forward in order that the brand might be taken from the brow of Ireland. They regarded it as an insult. They believed it unneeded. They had the declaration of the Chief Secretary that, as he conceived, it was much more possible to create contentment in Ireland, or at all events a passive respect for the law, than by keeping the Act on the Statute-book or bringing it into operation. The best way to get rid of evils in Ireland was not by driving them under the surface but by rooting them out altogether. What was the moral to be drawn from that discussion? Twenty years ago Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill and told the English people that at the end of nearly 100 years English rule in Ireland had been a failure. Repression, coercion, and persecution had been tried, and had not succeeded, and they invited the people of England, Scotland and Wales to try the other alternative of peace, conciliation, and appeasement. That policy was denied recognition by the Unionist Party, and Lord Salisbury offered the alternative policy of twenty years of resolute government. Twenty years had come and gone. There had not been a single instrument of torture that could be applied under a so-called constitutional *regime* that had not been brought into play against Ireland. They abolished trial by jury, practically suspended the constitution, destroyed the liberty of the Press, imprisoned the representatives of the people, and hunted, in that period of twenty years, 40,000 a year of their people across the seas. Were they nearer the solution of the Irish problem now than at the beginning of the period?

They were discussing not how to end this weary war between two great peoples, but whether the chains might be still more firmly rivetted upon Ireland, upon a race which even their enemies had admitted had played so mighty a part in the building up of Colonial greatness and was the marvel of the world in the United States for its splendid genius for government. They were discussing again whether the Coercion Act was to be put in operation or whether it should be repealed. Hon. Gentlemen above the gangway were arguing that the Act was not put into operation. That was their policy. Was that worthy of Irishmen—for he held they were Irishmen. At all events they represented Irish constituencies. Could they not possibly sometimes think well of their own country? Was it not a scandal to find that a number of Irishmen could find no more fruitful occupation in that Imperial Parliament than to be engaged in a constant propaganda of slandering their own countrymen and ever exposing their weaknesses? Granted it were all true, was it patriotic or an honourable pursuit? He would not dream of putting down a Question that would bring shame to the cheek of any Ulster Unionist or scandal to the province from which he came. He would not mind in the slightest degree what capital it made for his party or for the cause which he represented. To him it was an abhorrent task, a proceeding unworthy of men who, at all events, loved their country, he believed, and ought to find some higher object in life than to hold it up to the scorn and ridicule of another country. For these reasons, and because he was convinced that the solution of the Irish problem lay in a generous recognition of what was good in Ireland rather than in a policy of repression with only evil results, he appealed to the House to carry this measure of repeal and wipe off the Statute-book of England the stain which degraded it and, at all events, until they gave Ireland Home Rule, restore to them the constitutional right of freedom which they enjoyed in England.

MR. MOORE said that in the very few moments that were left to him he would certainly not follow the hon. Member into the subject matter of two-thirds of his speech. He had often heard the hon. Member speak but did not remember a single occasion on which he did not conceive that it strengthened his position or helped his argument to attack the personal character of all those who differed from him. Fortunately he was endowed by nature with such methods of attack that the persons who were supposed to be injured could very readily disregard them. He had one classical model. He was sorry he had not Pope's translation of the Iliad of Homer. Exactly the same line was taken up by Thersites in his counsel to the Greeks before the war of Troy. He suggested that the hon. Member should read it, and see if he could not bring himself nearer to the model he had voluntarily selected. They had had presented to them the bogus case of Sweeney *v.* Cook, which was dismissed by the highest Court of Appeal in Ireland, whose decision was affirmed by the House of Lords. It did not afford a very substantial peg on which to hang a suggestion of boycotting against Members on those benches. What were the facts? It was a bogus blackmailing action brought before the Irish Court of Appeal, who found against the protegé of the hon. Member below the gangway. The hon. Member could get English Radical Members to believe almost anything about the Court of Appeal in Ireland because it was only an Irish Court, but if he was going to carry his argument so far as to say that the Law Lords acted corruptly in the case in dismissing it as unfounded and unsustainable, and hon. Members opposite believed it, they were ready to accept a great deal more from him than they had done up to the present. Then they had been attacked because, in pursuance of what they thought their duty, they had brought and intended in the future still to bring, notwithstanding their censures, to the notice of the Imperial Parliament the wrongs, miseries, and cruelties that were daily being inflicted on isolated subjects of the King in Ireland. Why should they not? It was said in theory they had the Executive to protect them. They had the King's Courts. He regretted to say in the presence of the Chief Secretary that in nine cases out of ten the protection which they received from the Executive in Ireland was wholly inadequate. There was a conviction in every man's mind that the Executive did not wish to protect them. The Royal Irish Constabulary felt that if they stepped by a hair's breadth beyond the law in giving protection—and an emergency sometimes called for some action—to one one of these unfortunate individuals, he would be thrown over by the Executive.

Mr. BIRRELL: On what authority does the hon. Member make that statement?

Mr. MOORE said he made it on his own knowledge and experience, and his opinion was entitled to as much weight as that of the Chief Secretary on a matter of opinion. Then they had the King's Courts. To what had the Attorney-General reduced the King's Courts in Ireland? They knew perfectly well that trial by jury, when it came to vindicate or assert the protection of the individual had ceased to exist.

Mr. John Redmond rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 209; Noes, 76. (Division List No. 79.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Ambrose, Robert
Astbury, John Meir
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.

M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.
Meehan, Patrick A. (Queen'sCo.
Menzies, Walter
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Myer, Horatio
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Perks, Robert William
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Verney, F. W.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wadsworth, J.
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
White, Sir George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Henry J. (York W. R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Ctptain Donelan and Mr. Patrick O'Brien.

## NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bull, Sir William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. A. (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clive, Percy Archer
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Gardner, Ernest
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Helmsley, Viscount
Hills, J. W.
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kerry, Earl of
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renton, Leslie
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thornton, Percy M.
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 201; Noes, 77. (Division List No. 80.)

## AYES.

Abraham, William(Cork, N.E.)
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Astbury, John Meir
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone,N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir Wm.J.(S.Pancras,W
Corbett,C H(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon,Rt Hn.SirW.Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon.,S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jones, Sir D.Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah(Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, FrancisE.(Leitrim,N.)
Meehan, Patrick A.(Queen'sCo.
Menzies, Walter
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Mooney, J. J.
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Myer, Horatio
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Perks, Robert William
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, RobertJohn (Norfolk,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts,John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant,Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen,E.)
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Verney, F. W.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wadsworth, J.
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward,John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward,W. Dudley(Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Wason,Rt.Hn.E(Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
White, Sir George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wood, T. M‘Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Captain Donelan and Mr. Patrick O'Brien.

## NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bull, Sir William James
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Chamberlain, RtHn. J. A (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clive, Percy Archer
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Gardner, Ernest
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Helmsley, Viscount
Hills, J. W.
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kerry, Earl of
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham )
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M‘Arthur, Charles
M‘Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, JohnFrederickPeel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renton, Leslie
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Sheffield, Sir BerkeleyGeorgeD.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thornton, Percy M.
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Main Question put, and agreed to. Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House."—(*Mr. Long.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 74; Noes, 190. (Division List No. 81.)

## AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bull, Sir William James
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. A. (Worc
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clive, Percy Archer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Criag, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Gardner, Ernest
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Helmsley, Viscount
Hills, J. W.
Kerry, Earl of
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
M‘Arthur, Charles
M‘Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Moore, William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renton, Leslie
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley GeorgeD.
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thornton, Percy M.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

## NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Astbury, John Meir
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Halpin, J.
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.
Meehan, Patrick A. (Queen's Co
Menzies, Walter
Mooney, J. J.
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Myer, Horatio
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Perks, Robert William
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Verney, F. W.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wadsworth, J.
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
White, Sir George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Captain Donelan and Mr. Patrick O'Brien.

Bill committed to a Standing Committee.

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at twenty-six minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Monday*, 11*th May*, 1908.

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## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

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The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) ; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock ; North Eastern Railway ; Draycott Gas ; Gosport Gas ; Leicester Corporation ; Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc. ; Wishaw Burgh Electricity, etc. ; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) ; Louth and East Coast Railway (Transfer).

Also the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) [H.L.].

And also the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with :—Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway—(Petition for Bill).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Honourable Artillery Company—(Petition for Bill) ; Sligo and Arigna Railway Bill—(Petition for additional Provision).—Examiner's Certificates of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Monday next.

Thames River Steamboat Service Act, 1904 (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Bristol Tramways Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn ; The Orders made on 10th March and 1st April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Wath-upon-Dearne Urban District Council Gas Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The Orders made on 19th February and 1st April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The Orders made on 20th February and 1st April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Glyncorrwg Urban District Council Bill.—Read $2^{a}$, and committed.

King's College, London (Transfer) Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^{a}$, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Aire and Calder Navigation Bill [H.L.] ; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.] ; Rochester Bridge Bill [H.L.] ; Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway, Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway, and East and West Junction Railway (Amalgamation) Bill [H.L.] ; Barry Railway Bill [H.L.] ; Monmouthshire County Council Bill [H.L.] ; Stockport Corporation Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Sinclair be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl of Hardwicke ; read, and agreed to.

Manchester Corporation Bill.—Brought from the Commons ; read $1^{a}$, and referred to the Examiners.

Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.].—Report by the Board of Trade respecting the above Bill and the objects thereof. Laid before the House (pursuant to Standing Order 158B), and ordered to lie on the Table.

Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order). The Amendments proposed by the Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow.

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

## HURLY'S DIVORCE BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clauses 1 to 4 agreed to.

Clause 5:

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN): My Lords, I move to add, at the end of this clause, the following words—

"The said Maurice Randall Hurly may from time to time have reasonable access to the said children, and in the event of any dispute as to what constitutes reasonable access the question of access shall be determined by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland or the High Court of Justice in England as the case may require."

When the hearing came on certain questions of detail arose, and we asked Lord Macnaghten and Lord Atkinson to hear the parties and to arrange proper clauses to carry out the desire, subject, of course, to the control of the House. This is the first of the Amendments in question.

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 9, after the word 'minorities,' to add the words 'The said Maurice Randall Hurly may from time to time have reasonable access to the said children and in the event of any dispute as to what constitutes reasonable access the question of access shall be determined by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland or the High Court of Justice in England as the case may require.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6:

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, at the beginning of the clause, to insert the words, 'Whereas the said Maurice Randall Hurly and the said Honoria Hurly have agreed as to the future maintenance of the said children and whereas it is expedient to give effect to the said agreement: 'Be it therefore enacted that.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In line 22, to leave out the word 'marry' and to insert the words 'attain twenty-one years of age or marry under that age.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7:

Amendment moved—

"To leave out Clause 7."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 8:

Amendment moved—

"To leave out Clause 8."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow.

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## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### COLONIES: MISCELLANEOUS.

No. 50. British Cotton Cultivation.—Reports on the quality of cotton grown in British Possessions by Professor Wyndham Dunstan, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute.

No. 51. Southern Nigeria.—Report on the Forest Administration of Southern Nigeria for 1906.

### NATAL.

Further correspondence relating to native affairs in Natal (in continuation of [Cd. 3888.], January, 1908).

### TURKEY No. 3 (1908).

Further correspondence respecting the affairs of South-eastern Europe (in continuation of Turkey, No. 1. (1907), [Cd. 3454.]).

### TREATY SERIES, No. 12 (1908).

Additional Act to the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902, signed at Brussels, 28th August, 1907; Protocol recording accession of Russia to the International Sugar Convention of

5th March, 1902; and Additional Act of 28th August, 1907, signed at Brussels 10th December, 1907. (Procès-Verbaux recording deposit of ratifications, 31st March, 1908.)

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL, 1908.

Lists of persons to be proposed for nomination to be members—Of the first governing body of the college to have its seat in Dublin; Of the first governing body under a new charter for the constituent college at Galway.

### EDUCATION COMMISSIONERS (IRELAND).

Annual Report for the year 1907.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### LUNACY.

Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the visitors of lunatics, pursuant to the Lunacy Act, 1890, from 1st October, 1907, to 31st March, 1908.

### INDIA.

Home Accounts of the Government of India; Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, for the year 1906–1907; Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of India, for the year 1907–1908, compared with the results of 1906–1907.

### NATIONAL DEBT ACT, 1883 (TERMINABLE ANNUITIES).

Treasury Warrants, dated 6th May, 1908, for the adjustment of the terminable annuities created under the Finance Act, 1899, and held by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks.

### POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF DURHAM).

Order made by the council of the County of Durham altering the polling place for the Morton Grange polling district in the Houghton-le-Spring Parliamentary Division.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### HOP INDUSTRY.

Message from the Commons for leave for the Lord Eversley to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee of that House: Leave given for his Lordship to attend, if he think fit, and his Lordship consenting thereto, a message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

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## *NEW BILL.*

### REGISTRATION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law relating to the time for an Appeal from the decision of a Revising Barrister, and matters consequential thereon—Was presented by the Lord Alverstone; read $1^a$; to be printed; and to be read $2^a$ on Thursday, the 14th instant. (No. 61.)

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### THE HOP INDUSTRY.

**LORD ADDINGTON**: My Lords, I have the honour to move: "That the continued cultivation of the hop gardens of England is a matter of national concern, and that the present critical condition of the hop industry deserves the immediate attention of His Majesty's Government." I would not have brought forward this Motion while a Special Committee of the House of Commons is inquiring into the matter had I not remembered that no fewer than three Committees have, during the last half-century, sat on the subject; and while all have recognised the importation of foreign hops to be a great danger to an English industry, they have learned that a duty on the importation of foreign hops was the only remedy, yet none of them have had the courage to propose it. For the last fifty years Bavarian hops have been imported, and still will be imported. They are used in combination with English hops on account of the peculiar flavour they impart to the beer. But now the continued importation of hops from abroad, amounting to 200,000 cwt. a year, is depriving the English grower of the high prices which occasionally reimbursed him for losses in years of blight or of extraordinary over-production. The area of land under hops in England has been steadily decreasing. In the ten years from 1877 to 1887 the acreage was 68,000; from 1887 to 1897, 56,000; and in the last ten years, 48,000. The present crisis has been brought about by the formation of a Pacific Coast Hop-growers' Union, who have frankly said that they wish to ruin the English hop industry. Hops can be produced on the Pacific Coast at about half the price they can be in England, and the output per acre on the Pacific Coast is 15 cwt., as against 9 cwt. in England. They are now being sold under cost price, at 25s. per cwt., this being the result of a corner made in hops in America two or three years ago. This is disastrous, not only to English growers, but to vast numbers employed in the industry. I will quote an extract on this subject from the *Daily Express*, and I may say that I have myself taken the trouble to verify the accuracy of the letter referred to—

> "A complete exposure of the American plan to ruin the English hop industry by dumping all their surplus produce in this country has been made by Mr. Durst, the pioneer of the Pacific Coast Hopgrowers' Combine, in a letter to an English hopgrower. Mr. Durst writes—'What is the use of anyone thinking hop-growing in England can survive? In 1906 you had the smallest and most expensive crop on record. How many of the growers made a profit? In 1907 you lacked 245,000 cwt. of growing your annual requirements, and the United States of America only grew 280,000 bales; and yet you are selling hops at a heavy loss. What will happen when we grow from 350,000 to 400,000 bales, perhaps next year, which we can easily do?'"

Mr. Durst added, and here is the animus of the whole thing—

> "We can afford to sell our surplus in a foreign country at 30 per cent. below the cost of production, if necessary, providing that by such handling of our surplus we can secure profitable prices for the hops we market at home."

An import duty is a perfectly proper remedy, and I urge the Government to consider most seriously the universal demand of every hop-growing county in England for an import duty of 40s.

In 1857, under Mr. Gladstone, there was an excise duty on hops. The duty was just under £1 on English hops, and 45s. on foreign hops. There you see a protective duty of 25s. in favour of English as against foreign hops. Would it not be wise now to add 15s. to the old 25s. and make an import duty of 40s.? I have been assured by gentlemen who have spent their lives in hop-growing, and expended thousands of pounds in combating the defects of some parts of the hop-growing districts, that this is the one thing necessary. Lord George Hamilton, speaking at Ealing on 22nd October, 1903, said—

> "I would not hesitate in a case at all similar to the sugar duties, if I thought that a great national industry was likely to be endangered or extinguished, to put on duties to prevent that unfortunate result."

The late Sir William Harcourt, speaking at Tredegar on 12th December, 1903, and referring to the question of steel dumping in this country, said—

> "It is evidently a matter which requires very careful consideration. It must be considered with respect to the general interest of the iron trade, which is the greatest trade of this country. And I wish to say here, and to say very sincerely, that I should give the most careful attention to any proposal made by the Government or made by Mr. Chamberlain or anyone else to deal with that question."

And Sir Henry Fowler, in a speech at Wolverhampton on 12th January, 1904, said—

> "He was quite ready to admit that if there was a case where a foreign combination, trust, or cartel exported to this country at a nominal price with the aim and intent of injuring and ultimately ruining a British industry, that would be a state of commercial war in which we might deal with the hostile country by exceptional measures."

On 15th April last *The Times* drew attention to this question, and said—

> "The attack with which the hop industry is now faced is of a different kind from the ordinary stress of external competition which it has had to meet for many years past."

Here follow words which I should like to emphasise—

> "It is based on a total subversion of the normal laws of demand and supply, and aims at speedily securing an absolute monopoly, which of all conceivable forms of trade is the most unfree."

Providence has blessed England, and particularly the counties of Kent and Worcester, with a soil which produces absolutely the best hops in the world. I ask His Majesty's Government to prevent the importation of low-class hops from California, which I am assured are rank and give a sleepy, heavy taste to beer manufactured from them. If only the Government would shake themselves free from the old prejudice against protection, they would do an act which would really be to the interest of the working classes, and they could not have a simpler or a more grateful task. It is said to be a good thing to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. If the Government would only do what those engaged in English hop-growing desire them to do there would soon be three acres of hops where only one acre exists now. I have the honour to move the Motion standing in my name.

Moved, to resolve, "That the continued cultivation of the hop gardens of England is a matter of national concern, and that the present critical condition of the hop industry deserves the immediate attention of His Majesty's Government."—(*Lord Addington.*)

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I ask leave to say a very few words on this subject. I do not attempt to follow the noble Lord in his arguments on its financial aspects; nor am I qualified to speak upon the agricultural aspect, but I am of necessity very closely concerned with the welfare of the people of Kent. Apart from my wider duties and responsibilities, as the diocesan bishop of the greater part of the county I have to be in touch day by day with the life of the Kentish towns and villages, and I am simply aghast at the consternation which is at this moment prevailing in the villages of Kent at the prospects awaiting them if their present fears should be realised and the hop industry should practically come to an end. It is not a matter of incidental and temporary loss in a particular branch of industry or trade, such as has occasionally arisen in manufacturing centres from some change in the manner of dealing with a particular raw product or from the introduction of new machinery or the like. It is something far wider and more general, and I look with the greatest apprehension upon the consequences which I am told must come about unless some prompt steps are taken. What those steps should be, I do not profess to know; but I should be wrong if, with the knowledge I possess of the towns and villages of Kent, I did not say how widespread is the feeling that this is not a matter of ordinary importance, but one which really concerns the industrial and social well-being of the whole community. Nor is it a rural or a Kentish question only. Tens of thousands of the poorest Londoners look annually to their weeks of Kentish hop-picking as the time when health and purse are alike replenished. The matter has been brought before me in serious tones by those who are qualified to speak soberly and quietly, and who are facing the problem with no kind of object at heart but that of the well-being of the people at large. The matter is not one which can be lightly put aside. The very gravest possible disaster would befall the people of Kent if what at present is apprehended came to pass. Therefore I await with great interest to hear whether the Government can say anything to relieve the anxiety which now prevails.

LORD HARRIS: My Lords, may I add a few words from the purely practical point of view? After my long acquaintance with this industry it may, perhaps, be legitimate that I should do so. What is observable now is a continuance of what has been going on for a good many years. There is no doubt that hops were grown in a great many English counties a hundred years ago, and in many villages where no hops are now grown you will frequently come across the name "hop yard." What brought about the extinction of cultivation in a great many counties and left the growing of hops to about five counties was the change in the demand of the public for a particular class of beer. By degrees the public has demanded a brighter and clearer beer, and the consequence is that those counties capable of growing a bright hop have been able to supply the demand at a lower price than the other counties, even if the latter ever were able to grow bright hops.

Another curious influence, so I am assured by a practical man, a brewer himself, is the substitution of glass for pewter in public-houses. In the old days, when pewter was almost entirely used, the drinking public did not notice how dark the beer was. It was not necessarily any worse because it was dark; its colour was due to its being brewed with a dark hop. When glass came to be used the public demanded a brighter beer, and the brighter hop has gradually pushed out the darker coloured hop. Reference has been made to Bavarian hops. Apart from the fact that the quality of those hops is good and that they command a high price, they brew a light beer. That is a proof in the same direction. Another thing that has influenced hop growing is that the character of brewing has changed. Brewing in olden days used to be done at intervals of considerable length—two, three, or four times a year. Nowadays the brewer brews from hand to mouth, and consequently there is not so much preservative required in the beer and the quantity of hops per barrel has decreased.

Cold storage is another factor. Having laid in a large stock of good hops, purchased, perhaps, in a year when they were cheap, a brewer is able, by cold storage, to keep them for even longer than twelve months. The consequence is that the brewer can command the trade in hops the following year. This is a very important thing to the hop grower. His hops come into the market about the beginning of October. In the old days it was necessary for the brewer who had to do his October brewing to go to market and lay in the necessary supply of hops. But now, with the help of cold storage, and not having to lay in a large stock of hops in October, he is independent of the market. The foreign grower can, therefore, come in towards the end of October and compete with the English grower, whereas in the old days the English grower was first in the market and thereby got the advantage. Evidence has been given before the Committee in another place that the growth of hops per acre has increased. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech in another place on this subject, said that this was due to improved machinery. That made many of us smile, as it is hardly by the use of machinery so much as by attacking those pests which pursue the hop almost from the day that it emerges from the soil to the day that it is picked, that this result has been achieved. As the saying is—

> "First the flea and then the fly,
> Then the louse and then they die."

Washing to attack the fly, and the use of sulphur to attack the mould, has come into use in cultivation of late years, and it is largely by the application of those two remedies that an increased yield per acre has been procured.

*Lord Harris.*

I trust that we shall obtain a sympathetic reply from the noble Earl the President of the Board of Agriculture. I would suggest to him that there is no occasion to fall back upon the formula of free trade as compared with protection. I suppose the two great advantages of free trade are the free introduction of raw material, which enables our superabundant population to find employment, and the free introduction of cheap food. Now, I have no recollection whatever of the price of beer being raised in consequence of hops being dear. I have known hops as high as £28; they are down to £3 now. It makes no difference what the price of hops is, the price of beer has always been the same. The quantity of hops used per barrel is very small, and that may be the reason why the price of beer has not been affected. There is no doubt that this country can easily grow the whole of the hops required by the trade. There is not the slightest question about that, and I think it has been stated in evidence before the House of Commons Committee.

The noble Earl, the President of the Board of Agriculture, has done his best to support the "back to the land" movement. I can assure him that if the cultivation of hops continues to decrease as it has done during the last two or three years in the county of Kent, which grows more hops than any other county, a still larger number of cottages will become vacant. In East Kent, almost every farm over a very wide area grows a certain number of hops, and there are additional cottages on those farms because of the extra demand for labour. Within the last two years it has been far easier to obtain cottages than it was a few years ago, and this is attributed, and truthfully attributed, to the decrease in the cultivation of hops. Here is a practical proof of a dislocation of population. Those men are being driven away somewhere. They may go to the towns. If so, the efforts the noble Earl is putting forward to get people back to the land are, in this particular instance, being frustrated, and I think we may legitimately appeal to his sympathy on this ground.

There is another argument I should like to advance. In 1885, the extraordinary tithe was consolidated and fixed for ever upon the farms then paying it. When the Tithe Act was passed the Commissioners had to take notice in what parishes hops and fruit were being grown, and it depended upon the activity of the overseers whether extraordinary tithe was paid in certain parishes or not. Anomalies therefore will be found here and there, and in the case of two parishes alongside each other, apparently growing equally good hops, the extraordinary tithe is charged on one, but not on the other. But in 1885 those parishes which did pay the extraordinary tithe paid upon such acreage as was under fruit and under hops; and in that year, if my recollection is correct, those charges were fixed for ever upon those parishes. Therefore, they are, I believe, now paying, and will continue for ever to pay, a higher tithe whether they are growing hops and fruit or not. In those cases it is obvious that if the hop cultivation disappeared altogether they would suffer a real hardship.

I know that, compared with other agricultural interests, this is only a small matter, but it is no small matter for those counties in which hops are grown. In Kent, almost the whole of the agricultural interest in certain areas is centred upon hops. If any of your Lordships drive from Hastings to some of those beautiful ruins which are to be found in the neighbourhood, you will see indications that at one time there was considerable cultivation of hops in that part of England. That cultivation was killed by competition within this country, owing to other parts being able to grow brighter hops. But at this moment we are threatened, not with destruction from within, but from hops grown in foreign countries—countries which have imposed a heavy import duty against English hops. The other class for whom I would plead are the the labouring classes, both agricultural and urban. The urban labouring class are greatly interested in this industry, and they obtain as a result of their annual visit to the country immense benefit from the open air life they are able to lead. I am sure that even the most determined advocate of free trade must admit that, in the interest of these poor persons from urban centres, it would be a real misfortune if such an industry as this were to be destroyed; and I say unhesitatingly—that, although I have been accustomed to agricultural grumbles all my life, I have never before heard such a positive opinion as is now generally held that this cultivation must, except in most favoured corners, gradually die out unless some artificial assistance can be secured from His Majesty's Government.

*LORD EVERSLEY: My Lords, there can be no doubt whatever that the hop industry of England at the present moment is going through a very serious crisis, one which deserves our sympathy and requires inquiry; but I need not remind your Lordships that a Committee of the other House is inquiring into this subject, and I cannot but think that my noble friend Lord Addington would have done well if he had postponed his Motion until the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons could be in our hands. The noble Lord has anticipated the Report of the Committee by attributing the whole of the evils under which the hop industry is suffering to foreign competition, and particularly, as I understood him, to the competition of hops from the Pacific States. I think it will be shown before the Committee of the House of Commons that there are other causes at work to account for the present state of things. I speak with some confidence and with knowledge on the subject, for some years ago I presided over a similar Committee of the other House at the request of the then Government—namely, the Government of Lord Salisbury. It was in 1890, and at that time the hop industry was in an even worse state than it is at the present moment.

LORD HARRIS: Impossible.

*LORD EVERSLEY: Prices had ruled low for four or five years, and there was grave complaint from every part of England in which hops were grown as to the lowness of the price. No less than 17,000 acres—one-fourth of the total acreage of hops then existing—had been grubbed and universally the state of things was attributed to foreign competition, and especially to competition from the United States. The Committee over which I presided, and of which the great majority were supporters of the then Government, inquired at length into the subject, and came to the conclusion that there were other causes for the then state of things. It was shown in evidence before us that there had been a very considerable reduction in the consumption of beer owing to the depression in trade. It had been taking place for something like five or six years, and the total reduction in the consumption amounted to no less than 12 per cent. Then, again, it was shown that the brewers had for some few years previously been able to economise the use of hops. In consequence of the demand of the public for a lighter and brighter beer they were able to use a very much smaller proportion of hops to the barrel than formerly, and this reduction in the use of hops in the manufacture of beer amounted to no less than another 12 per cent. of the total consumption. Then again, it was alleged that hop substitutes had to a certain extent been used. As a result of it all, there was certainly a reduced consumption of hops, as compared with five or six years previously, of no less than 24 per cent., which exactly corresponded to the reduction in the total acreage under hops.

It was also shown before the Committee that the proportion of foreign hops to English hops remained about the same as it had been for previous years, and had been reduced at about the same ration. It was also stated, with great confidence, that a certain proportion of foreign hops were absolutely required by English brewers for the purpose of mixing with British hops, and that, even if a high duty were imposed on foreign hops, there would still be a large importation for the purpose of meeting this demand. The Committee came to the conclusion that the importation of foreign hops was not the main cause of the depression, but that it was due to the causes to which I have adverted; and in view of the great reduction which had taken place in the acreage under hops they concluded their Report by saying that there was every reason to hope that in the near future prices would again rise and the industry again become profitable to those engaged in it. The predicton of the Committee was amply justified, for the very next year a great rise took place in the price of hops, and for the following five years it averaged 40 per cent. more than in the previous years, showing that in consequence of the reduced production of hops the supply was better proportioned to the demand. The price rose accordingly, and the industry went through a very profitable period.

That period was followed by ups and downs. There was a period of five years of bad trade, and then, from 1901 to 1904, there was another period of very good prices when the hop growers did well; but in 1905 here was an enormous crop, and it is one of the peculiarities of the hop trade that when there is a very large crop prices fall to such a point that the trade becomes very unprofitable to those engaged in it, and very often the price is so low that it hardly covers the cost of picking. In the two following years, again, prices remained much lower than was expected. I cannot but think, from all the information I have received, that other causes than foreign competition are again at work to account for this depression and for the low prices prevailing. It is quite certain that there has been a further large reduction in the consumption of hops owing to the changed taste of the public and to the demand for a lighter and brighter beer requiring a smaller proportion of hops. This is shown by the Returns laid before the Committee by the Inland Revenue, which indicate that the actual consumption of hops during the last five years has been reduced by no less than 17 per cent., and that I believe to be wholly due to the brewers using a smaller proportion of hops per barrel of beer than formerly.

Perhaps even more important has been the great improvement in the cultivation of hop gardens. For some years past there has been a great advance in cultivation, with the result that the difficulties of bad seasons have been to some extent overcome. The growth of hops per acre has, therefore, very much increased. I think your Lordships will be rather surprised to hear how far this has gone. Taking the five years prior to 1890, the time of the inquiry of which I speak, the acreage under hops in this country was 65,000, and there was then produced, on the average of the five years, 460,000 cwt., or about 7 cwt. per acre. During the last five years the acreage has been reduced to 48,000, but the production, in spite of that, has been increased from 460,000 cwt., to 471,000 cwt., while the average production per acre is now no less than 9½ cwts., thus showing the effect of a better and higher cultivation. Then there is another cause which has operated in the same direction. It has been discovered that by the use of cold storage the hops of one year which are superfluous in consequence of a good crop can be kept for one, two, or even three years, whereas formerly the surplus stocks of hops in any one year rapidly deteriorated and were hardly worth anything at the end of twelve months. The result of all that is, that during the last few years there has been, quite independent of the importation of foreign hops, a large excess in the supply of hops as compared with the demand. These, however, are matters which require careful consideration, and I cannot but think that your Lordships would do well to suspend your judgment until the Committee of the other House have reported upon the subject.

I must again state that even if a duty of £2 per cwt. were imposed upon foreign hops, there would still be a large importation for the purpose of mixing with English hops and for supplying qualities which are deficient in English hops. This is proved by the fact that, although in the United States there is a duty of no less than 56s. per cwt. upon imported hops, yet a very large proportion of German hops are imported into the United States every year for the purpose of being mixed with American hops and correcting the flavour of the home-grown hops to suit the taste of American consumers. The noble Lord, who initiated this discussion, adverted to hops from the Pacific, and quoted the very low price at which they are being sold in England. I think he said that a large quantity of these hops were being offered in London at this moment at 25s. per cwt. Well, these hops cost, in freight and other expenses, 13s. a cwt. to bring over from America, and if you deduct this amount from the 25s. it leaves only 12s. as their value in the United States. I cannot but think that these hops must be of very low quality, and they are probably not worth even 25s. in this market. At all events, I see no reason to be much frightened by them.

It is quite certain that, whatever may happen, a large quantity of British hops will always be necessary for brewing in England. Many of the best brewers in this country never use American hops, but find it absolutely essential to their business to confine themselves to English hops. And my belief is that the proportion of foreign hops to British hops will not be seriously altered, and that the real difficulty under which the industry suffers at the present moment is that for some years past the supply of hops has been in excess of the demand. That is being corrected by the great grubbing of acreage which has taken place. There has been grubbing also in Germany, and, I believe, of late in America, in consequence of low prices; and I cannot but hope that as in 1890 the reduction in acreage led to a better proportion between supply and demand and brought back prosperity to the hop industry, so we may before very long see the same causes again operating in producing renewed prosperity to hop growers in England.

LORD HARRIS: My impression is that the high price of £28 was realised a year or two before the sitting of the Committee over which the noble Lord presided.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (Earl CARRINGTON): My Lords, I think the House will agree with my noble friend Lord Addington that this matter is one of national concern and deserves immediate attention. The Government quite agree with that. In fact, we have anticipated my noble friend by appointing a very strong Select Committee, presided over by Sir William Collins, who has been described in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as one of the most able Members of that House. He is admirably supported, the Committee are giving the matter their most earnest attention, and their Report, I hope, will be in your Lordships' hands within six weeks. My noble friend Lord

Eversley has given the House an account of the Committee over which he presided in 1890. It will not be necessary, therefore, for me to detain your Lordships with any reference to that Committee, but I should like to allude to what happened in 1906 in the discussion in Committee of the other House on the Land Tenure Bill. Colonel Gardner, the Member for the Ross Division of Herefordshire, moved an Amendment, at the request of some of his Worcestershire and Herefordshire friends, to the effect that landlords should compensate tenants who had erected hop kilns, poles, screens, and wireworks without the landlord's consent. To this the Government could not, and did not, agree, and I am sure your Lordships will acknowledge that they acted rightly in that respect.

The annual consumption of hops in Great Britain averages 600,000 cwt. Two-thirds of that quantity are produced in Great Britain. Though the acreage has been reduced, the output and produce are the same, because the yield per acre has increased. But I do not deny that the situation is very serious. The hop acreage has decreased from 68,000 acres to 47,000 acres, and Kent is responsible for 60 per cent. of the whole of the hop growing in England. This great industry, besides employing 5,000 regular labourers, has for many years past given employment to a large number—estimated at 250,000—of casual labourers. The question that arises is, What ought to be done? Up to the present we have not received much assistance from the other side of the House. Mr. Akers-Douglas admitted in a speech this year that—

> "We have not been able to suggest any remedy at all."

But the people of Kent, Worcester, and Hereford have been holding meetings, and the farmers' clubs and chambers of agriculture have been suggesting that it is imperative to put a 40s. per cwt. duty on imported hops. That is not recommended as a part of preference or tariff reform, but as a necessary step to save an industry in exceptional circumstances. But I must remind the House that such a duty would be none the less a tax on food.

Lord ADDINGTON: No, no.

*Earl Carrington.*

Earl CARRINGTON: It would also be a tax on raw material. The express object of this proposed duty is to raise prices, and not to raise revenue. What would be the effect of such a duty on the brewers and the general public? A witness before the Select Committee said that a 40s. duty would mean an increase of 7¾d. a barrel on the cost of manufacture of beer. That means, "Your beer will cost you more." Sir Thomas Whittaker has given figures to show that out of eighty-two brewery companies twenty-nine pay no dividend on the ordinary shares, and thirty-three are in arrear on their preference shares. If these figures are correct, the duty of 40s. on hops would mean that every shareholder in these sixty-two companies who is now receiving £1 in dividend, would receive 3s. 8d. less. What will happen if the brewers are not able to raise the price of beer? In these circumstances, I might ask, what is to become of the shareholders, of the poor widows and orphans of whom so much has lately been heard?

Leaving the brewers' side of the subject, I turn to the position of the English hop growers, and I ask the noble Lord it he is absolutely certain that a 40s. per cwt. tax would save the British hop grower. It has been asserted that such a duty would not prevent foreign hops coming in, and that there is a necessity for them has been proved by the evidence of witnesses before the Committee. It has been stated that for some of the best beer brewed by the great firm of Bass a certain amount of Bavarian hops must be used. By necessity a 40s. tax would not then keep out all foreign hops, which are required to meet the taste to which consumers have been educated. Germany has a 10s. import duty on hops; Canada, 33s.; Australia, not a great rival with this country as yet, 56s.; and the United States, 56s. That is to say, America puts half as much again on hops as a protective duty as my noble friend proposes should be put upon foreign hops imported into England. The advantages of America in the cultivation are, of course, very obvious. Hops are grown in Oregon and California in great quantities, the country round Sacramento producing the commoner, cheaper sorts. The cost of production in the United States is £23 5s. 9d. per acre. We have been told that in England hops cannot be grown under from £50 to £60 per acre.

Lord ADDINGTON: £42.

Earl CARRINGTON: The official figure that I have is £50 an acre. I think that is about the price.

Lord HARRIS: I think we may accept the price upon which there is a general agreement—£42.

Earl CARRINGTON: I accept that from the noble Lord's practical knowledge. The prices, then, are £42 to £60, as against £23. Hops planted in Oregon in February will yield a fairly good crop in September of the same year, but I believe I am right in saying that in England the first year there is no crop, the second year half a crop, and in the third year a good or full crop. In America, too, there is a better climate, no disease, thus saving washing and expenditure of that description, and virgin soil that requires no manuring. With these advantages it might be supposed, and it has been so stated, that hop-growing in America is a very profitable industry. It has been stated that they sell the best hops at very considerable profit and then send all their trash over here, and our brewers are unpatriotic enough to buy it. The complaint is that hops of a low grade and quality are dumped in this country, and that certainly would be good ground for complaint.

But I would refer the House to Consular reports which within the last few days have been sent by the Foreign Office to the Board of Agriculture. From these reports it appears that the hop-growing industry in America—I have forgotten the exact words—is in a very poor condition; I wish to avoid exaggeration and will say, not in a very satisfactory condition. It appears that practically there is no market at all, and that hops are being sold in the United States at from 2d. to 3d. per lb., while in England the average is something under a shilling. Besides this, there is the prospect of a very full crop in Oregon this year, and it is absolutely necessary to reduce the output. During the last few months the Consul reports that an attempt has been made to form an association to dictate the amount of acreage that must be grubbed. An American expert has declared that 37 per cent. only should be harvested. So far the scheme for grubbing has failed, but it shows to my mind that a country with a 56s. duty on imported hops, nearly half as much again as my noble friend suggested, is in no better condition than England at this moment under free trade. Besides this, the Consul tells of 88,000 cwt. of the 1907 crop and 18,000 cwt. of the 1906 crop in cold storage in the hands of growers and dealers. Cold storage, it appears, does not affect hops to any great extent; they do not deteriorate.

What does it really come to? I think the whole thing can be summed up in a word—the whole difficulty of the position, the cause of all the distress and alarm, is over-production. I hope my remarks have shown no want of sympathy with the tenant farmers of Kent and Worcestershire and other hop-growing counties. I am glad to learn that the alarm is not so great in Worcestershire. I should be sorry if anything I had said seemed to show want of sympathy with the tenant farmers of Kent. They are a fair-minded people, and the House of Lords has the reputation of being a fair-minded Assembly. The Government cannot be accused of want of sympathy for tenant farmers, seeing the efforts we have made to improve the conditions under which they carry on their industry.

In the interest of all concerned, I hope the House will come to no hasty conclusion, but will await the Report of the Committee admirably selected to clear up doubts on the subject, a Report which I am not without hope will lead to some proposal to deal satisfactorily with a state of things which, if not an agricultural danger, is, I frankly admit, a difficulty of most formidable proportions. On behalf of the Government, I entirely agree with the Motion of the noble Lord, whom I thank for having initiated a discussion on a subject of such great interest to farmers.

THE EARL OF DENBIGH: Does the noble Earl, in his allusion to over-production, mean over-production in America or generally?

EARL CARRINGTON: All over the world.

*LORD HINDLIP: My Lords, I rise merely to take exception to the noble Earl's statement that Worcestershire is not so much concerned in this matter as Kent. It is quite true that Worcestershire at the present moment is not nearly so hardly hit as Kent, but there is just as much fear of what will happen next year in Worcestershire as in Kent.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, the noble Lord who placed this Motion on the Paper and my noble friends who have supported him on this side may, I think, be congratulated upon their success in placing before the House and before the public the very critical condition of this important industry. In particular, I congratulate the noble Lord upon his having been able to bring forward as a witness the most rev. Primate, who, although one of the most ardent advocates of temperance in Parliament, has, nevertheless, with that absolute fairness which distinguishes him, stood up to say a word in favour of the people whose interests are most in jeopardy. There can be no doubt, as the noble Lords who have spoken have shown us to-night, that the disappearance of this hop-growing industry would be a very heavy calamity indeed to certain portions of England. There is, I believe, no form of cultivation which employs a larger number of people in proportion to the acreage devoted to the particular crop; and there can be no doubt that if these plantations have to be grubbed and the land used for other purposes there will be serious dislocation of the rural population in some parts of England, and much individual suffering.

With regard to the causes of the failure of the hop industry, I think justice was scarcely done to my noble friends on this side of the House when it was suggested, I think by the noble Earl and by the noble Lord at the Table (Lord Eversley), that they attributed all these misfortunes to foreign competition. They were, I think, careful to point out that there were other contributory causes. I noted down, for example, that they referred to the practice of cold storage, and to the introduction of substitutes for hops. Then there was the question of reduced consumption, which, of course, operates in the same direction—a fact of which we may make a note, in passing, in these days when so much is said as to the necessity for legislation for the promotion of temperance; for it is apparently conceded that within the last six or seven years the number of barrels of beer brewed in this country has fallen off by something like 4,000,000. There was another cause which was somewhat humorously touched upon by my noble friend behind me. Lord Harris pointed out that the demand for hops had diminished because malt liquors were now being divorced from what used to be called, in classic language, their native pewter, and put into glass vessels instead. There can be no doubt, however, that foreign competition is the main cause of the difficulty which has arisen; and I must say when I heard the account given of the circumstances in which that foreign competition takes place—the account given, first, by the noble Lord behind me, and then by the President of the Board of Agriculture—I could not help saying to myself that if ever there was a case of dumping in its most violent and aggressive form you certainly have it here.

The reply of His Majesty's Government was, on the whole, not a very unfriendly reply. The noble Earl pointed out that a Committee of the House of Commons was at the present moment conducting an inquiry into the conditions of the hop industry. I think it is very reasonable to suggest that we should reserve our judgment until we have the Report of that Committee before us. But the noble Earl was a little inconsistent when, immediately after making this suggestion, he proceeded to anticipate that Report and to give us a kind of Report of his own containing numerous, and, in his opinion, no doubt, conclusive, reasons for his view that no relief could possibly be given to the hopgrowers by anything in the form of protection for their industry. I prefer to be more cautious, and, acting on the suggestion of the noble Earl, I withhold my opinion until I see what the Committee have to say on that subject. The statement of the noble Earl did not come to any of us as a great surprise, because we all know that, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, the one remedy which is on no account to be even taken into consideration or discussed, no matter in what national or Imperial emergency, is that of any interference with our present tariff system. I understand from the noble Earl that he does not intend to oppose the Motion of the noble Lord, and, if that is so, I suggest to my noble friend that he may well be content with the result of this discussion. If, however, the Motion goes to a division, I shall certainly vote with him, but I hope no opposition will be offered from the benches opposite.

Lord ADDINGTON: My Lords, in thanking the noble Earl for his sympathetic reply I would urge His Majesty's Government to remember the necessity of acting quickly if the hop industry is not to be ruined by the deliberate intention of competitors abroad.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

## OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL [H.L.].

Lord JAMES of HEREFORD: The Official Secrets Bill has attracted a good deal of attention, and it would be a convenience to the House to know whether it is the intention of the Government to proceed with it at the next sitting.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Loreburn): My Lords, I propose to postpone the Second Reading of the Official Secrets Bill. I met a few days ago a deputation representing the Metropolitan Press on this subject, and they informed me of their anxiety lest this Bill should interfere with the legitimate enterprise and freedom of the Press. His Majesty's Government have no such design, I need hardly say, and if I entered upon detail I could show that a great deal of misunderstanding exists as to the clauses of the Bill and their effect. But it should be clear that anyone in the Press conducting his duties honourably would be quite safe. I told the deputation that I would be very pleased to receive from them any communications or criticisms directed to this object, or to safeguard legitimate enterprise; and no doubt I shall soon have an opportunity of considering them. Your Lordships will recall that when I first introduced the Bill I invited attention to it because of the undoubted difficulty of the subject. On the one side is the necessity of respecting the just freedom of writing and of publication; on the other side is the danger to the public interests of the publication of important secret documents or information, either of a military or civil character. What I should like is that, if possible, those interested should arrive at a common agreement with the Government. I do not know if it is possible. I hope it may be, and I have thought it better to postpone the Second Reading in that hope, although, of course, this does not signify that the Government have any intention of dropping the subject.

House adjourned at a quarter past six o'clock, till Tomorrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Monday*, 11*th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

### PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Great Western Railway Bill [Lords]; Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [Lords]; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

### PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow.

### PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

Huddersfield Water Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed without Amendment.

Garw and Ogmore Gas Bill.—Order for consideration, as amended, read, and discharged. Bill re-committed to the former Committee.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill [Lords].—Not amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Southwell District Gas Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill; Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill.—Read the third time and passed.

## *PETITIONS.*

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions against: From Clydesdale; Coatbridge; Langside; and Motherwell (two); to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Dreghorn; Govan Colliery; Wet Earth Colliery; and Whaley Bridge; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSED PREMISES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN).

Petition from Finedon, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Morley; Northleach; and West Dorset; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Ardrossan; Bedhampton, Beeston, Beith; Bethnal Green (two); Bishop Auckland; Chidswell; Clayton le Moors; Craigneuk; Dalry (four); Darvel (three); Dornoch; Earlsfield; Engie; Fairlie; Farnworth; Fenwick; Glasgow; Gosport; Gordon; Hinckley (two); Kilbirnie (three); Kilmains; Kilmarnock (two); Kilwinning (two); Largs (six); Leeds; London, E.; Luddenden; Lancarty; Manor Park; Motherwell (seven); Newmilns (four); Oxford; Pendleton; Richmond; Romford; Saint Pancras Road; Saltcoats (six); Shetland; Stevenston (two); Stewarton (two); Struther Dunlop; Temperance Union of Scotland; Troon; Wemyss; and Windsor; to lie upon the Table.

### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Petition from Newcastle-on-Tyne and other places, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions against: From Anstruther; Beith; Kilbirnie and Dalry; Kilmarnock; and Kilwinning; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Ardrossan; Cambuslang; Coupar Angus (two); Deerness; Edinburgh; Motherwell (three); and Stevenston; to lie upon the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF DURHAM).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the County of Durham altering the Polling Place for the Morton Grange Polling District, in the Houghton-le-Spring Parliamentary Division [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### NATIONAL DEBT ACT, 1883 (TERMINABLE ANNUITIES).

Copy presented, of Treasury Warrants, dated 6th May, 1908, for the Adjustment of the Terminable Annuities created under the Finance Act, 1899, and held by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### TREATY SERIES (No. 12, 1908).

Copy presented, of Protocol recording Accession of Russia to the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902, and Additional Act of 28th August, 1907. Signed at Brussels, 10th December 1907. Procès Verbaux recording Deposit of Ratifications, 31st March, 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### TURKEY (No. 3, 1908).

Copy presented, of Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Eastern Europe (in continuation of Turkey, No. 1, 1907) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### EAST INDIA (ESTIMATE).

Copy presented, of Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of India for 1907–8, compared with the results of 1906–7 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 139.]

### EAST INDIA (FINANCE AND REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Copy presented of Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1906–7 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### EAST INDIA (HOME ACCOUNTS).

Copy presented, of Home Accounts of the Government of India [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 140.]

### EAST INDIAN RAILWAY FINANCE.

Copy presented, of Report of Committee on East Indian Railway Finance and Administration for 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### COLONIAL REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS).

Copy presented, of Report No. 50 (British Cotton Cultivation. Reports on the Quality of Cotton grown in British Possessions, by Professor Wyndham Dunstan) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### COLONIAL REPORT (MISCELLANEOUS).

Copy presented, of Report, No. 51 (Southern Nigeria. Report on the Forest Administration of Southern Nigeria for 1906) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### POST OFFICE (FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PARCEL POST).

Copy presented, of the Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 18) Warrant, 1908, dated 11th April, 1908 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Lunacy—Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of Visits made, the number of Patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st October, 1907. and 31st March, 1908 [by Act].

## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

### Education (Scotland) Bill—Amounts referred to in Clause 13.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland what was the amount received during the financial year ending 31st March, 1908, in respect of each of the sums referred to in Clause 13 of the Education (Scotland) Bill; and what was the total credit balance remaining in respect of each of these sums at the close of that financial year.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The amount received during the financial year ended 31st March, 1908, in respect of each of the sums referred to in Clause 13 of the Education (Scotland) Bill was as follows: (1) £40,000; (2) £61,097 0s. 2d.; (3) £60,000; (4) £69,396 15s. 3d. (an unusually heavy payment); (5) £38,185 1s. 5d.; (6) £158,678. The amount under (6) is the sum voted as a general aid grant for 1907–8 less the re-vote of £75,000 and less the sum of £72,000 which would have been required to maintain the fee grant at the rate of 12s. per child in average attendance. It is impossible to state separately the total credit balance remaining in respect of each of these sums at the close of the financial year ended 31st March, 1908. (1) and (4) were paid into the Scottish Education Department's fee grant account, and the balance of the credit of that account at 31st March, 1908, is stated in the reply to another Question by the hon. Member. The amount under (2) was distributed as directed in Section 2 (iii.) (*b*) of The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890. The amounts under (3) and (5) were distributed in full. The sum under (6) was all spent in accordance with the terms of the various sections of the general aid grant minute of 9th March, 1907.

### Balances in Hands of Scottish Education Department.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE: To ask the Secretary for Scotland what was the total amount of the balances remaining in the hands of the Scottish Education Department, at the end of the financial year ending 31st March, 1908, of the sums paid to them prior to that date under Sub-section 2 of Section 2 of The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and Sub-section 6 of Section 2 of The Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, referred to in Clause 17 of the Education (Scotland) Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The balance of the sums received under the Acts cited, as at 31st March, 1908, was £140,148 14s. 10d.

### Kingston-on-Thames Post Office.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether Belgian natural cement is being used for work in connection with the Post Office at Kingston-on-Thames; whether he is aware that this article does not comply with the British standard or any other specification used for genuine Portland cement, and is of inferior quality; and whether he can see his way to issue instructions that works under his department should adopt the British standard specification in accordance with the practice of other departments.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The contract for this work (as in all other contracts of the kind) provides that Portland cement of the best quality shall be used. A test of the cement in this case showed that this provision was not complied with, but I am unable to ascertain whether the cement used was or was not Belgian cement. I am considering what further steps shall be taken in the matter.

### Tea Imports.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, what was the quantity and value of the tea imported into the United Kingdom in each of the years 1906 and 1907, distinguishing between that from India and Ceylon, and that from China, and that from Java, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) A Statement of the Quantity and Value of the Tea imported into the United

Kingdom in each of the years 1906 and 1907, distinguishing between that from India and Ceylon, and that from China, and that from Java, respectively—

| Consigned from | 1906. | | 1907. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| | lbs. | £ | lbs. | £ |
| India - - - - | 183,417,038 | 5,709,842 | 171,592,930 | 5,752,918 |
| Ceylon and Dependencies | 106,368,346 | 3,208,096 | 107,409,770 | 3,608,616 |
| Total from India and Ceylon - | 289,785,384 | 8,917,938 | 279,002,700 | 9,361,534 |
| China - - - - | 13,538,653 | 505,401 | 19,113,963 | 773,709 |
| Java - - - - | 12,726,518 | 328,349 | 11,936,373 | 377,336 |
| Other Countries - - | 5,139,509 | 152,397 | 7,074,022 | 232,140 |
| Total imported - | 321,190,064 | 9,904,085 | 314,127,058 | 10,744,719 |

### Ex-Soldiers and the Post Office.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he could, in consultation with the Secretary of State for War, so alter the regulations governing the employment of ex-soldiers in the postal service as to permit such of them as are in possession of Army first-class certificates to be employed permanently as sorters, in view of the fact that the Civil Service examination required for sorters is not so severe as that for an Army first.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Sorters' appointments are gained by competition, and the hon. Member's suggestion, if adopted, would involve the appointment of ex-soldiers without the competition. I regret that I do not think that such a course would be expedient.

### Position of Militia Officers Compulsorily Retired.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether Militia officers compulsorily retired under the new regulations for the Special Reserve, who have almost served the qualifying period for promotion, will be granted a step in rank and permission to wear the uniform of the regiment to which they belonged.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The hon. and gallant Member is under a misapprehension in thinking that Militia officers are to be compulsorily retired. The conditions of transfer to the Special Reserve are laid down in Paragraphs 72 and 73 of the Army Order of 23rd December last for the various ranks of Militia officers except lieutenant-colonels. In the case of the latter it is proposed to place them, if they so desire, on an unattached list for the Special Reserve. Honorary rank will cease to be given after this year's training. Officers who do not earn it by Militia service in accordance with Paragraph 45, Militia Regulations, prior to the date fixed for their transfer to the Special Reserve will not receive honorary rank.

### Pay of Colour-Sergeants of the Special Reserve.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the colour-sergeants of the Special Reserve will be paid on the same scale as Line colour-sergeants; and, if not, for what reason.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Colour-sergeants of the Special Reserve will continue in receipt of the same rate of pay as colour-sergeants in the Militia. The reasons for the difference of pay between colour-sergeants of the Line and the Militia have been fully explained to the hon. Member in answer to a Question he put to me in November, 1906.

### Recruiting for the Special Reserve.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will consider the advisability of increasing the age limit for recruiting for Special Reserve to thirty-five years, as the present limit of thirty years renders it practically impossible for ex-soldiers to join, and recruits for Militia were formerly accepted up to forty-five years.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This question has been considered, and it is not proposed to make any alteration in the age limit in the manner suggested.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to the fact that a fee of 2s. 4d. is paid in respect of a line recruit while only 1s. 6d. is paid for a recruit for the Reserve; and is it proposed to continue this arrangement, which naturally causes colour-sergeants to use all their efforts against the Reserve recruiting.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The fees are as stated, and the 1s. 6d. levy money paid for a Special Reserve recruit is exactly the same amount as was paid in the past for a Militia recruit. It was not found that this rate of levy money prevented recruiters from raising recruits for the Militia, and it is not expected that it will militate against recruiting for the Special Reserve.

### Status of Quartermasters.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is proposed to make any alterations in the status of quartermasters under the new regulations which will entitle them to draw pay, when retired for age, according to rank, instead of, as at present, only the retired pay of a lieutenant.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) I fear that at present I have nothing to add to the full reply given to the hon. Member for Newmarket on 19th February.

### Position of War Office Writers.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the fact that the position of writers in the several departments of the War Office was analogous to that of assistant clerks in the Civil Service, he will consider the desirability of abolishing the gratuity system, and treat them in the same way as assistant clerks, viz., place them under a pension scheme.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) It is considered that the position of these writers is not really analogous to that of assistant clerks in the War Office, the conditions of entry and of service being dissimilar. The question of a pension scheme for the writers has been fully considered, and it was decided that the proposal could not be entertained as the proposal put forward was found to be actuarially unsound.

### Pay of War Office Storehouse Clerks.

MR. CROOKS: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the fact that for the London district the War Office have fixed a minimum of 26s. a week for clerks, ex-soldiers, attached to the headquarters offices, Territorial division, with an increment of 3s. after three years service, he can see his way clear to grant the same conditions to the storehouse clerks who perform similar duties at Woolwich and elsewhere under the War Office.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Will the hon. Member kindly refer to my reply to a Question in regard to storehouse clerks put by my hon. friend the Member for North Paddington on the 30th ultimo, to which I have nothing to add.

### Army Expenditure on Gun Ammunition.

Mr. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he can say what was the approximate expenditure by the War Office on guns and gun ammunition during each of the four financial years ending 31st March, 1907; and what amount in each of those years represents expenditure in the Ordnance factories.

(*Answered by Mr. Acland.*) The expenditure on guns (including mountings and spare parts) and gun ammunition (including cordite for filling) was as follows:—

| Year ended. | Total. | Ordnance Factories. |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| 31st March, 1904 - | 1,835,000 | 848,000 |
| ,, ,, 1905 - | 1,015,000 | 698,000 |
| ,, ,, 1906 - | 2,457,000 | 903,000 |
| ,, ,, 1907 - | 1,955,000 | 651,000 |

The figures given above for the two years ended 31st March, 1906, and 31st March, 1907, include the expenditure on the re-armament of the Horse and Field Artillery. The expenditure in this case covers orders placed in respect of India and the Colonies, as well as for the War Office.

### Army Razor Contract.

Mr. JAMES HOPE: To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he can say when the new specifications for razors for the use of the Army will be issued and fresh tenders invited.

(*Answered by Mr. Acland.*) After consideration it has been decided to make no change in the specification at present.

### Civil Service—Class I. Clerkships.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Prime Minister whether the system of recruiting clerks by means of the Class I. open competition is found to yield men fully qualified for the duties to be performed; and, if so, why it was found necessary, in the case of the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade, and the Post Office, to import over the heads of the existing clerks into the headships of those departments men who were not admitted by open competition.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I have no doubt that my right hon. friends who were responsible for the appointments in question selected the gentlemen whom they considered to be best qualified to fill the vacant posts.

### Conviction of Lord Ashtown's Gamekeeper.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether the conduct of the majority of the magistrates on the Ballymacarbery bench, who on 13th January convicted Lord Ashtown's gamekeeper and his assistant of an assault and condemned them to fourteen days imprisonment, and refused to extend the imprisonment to thirty days so that the accused should have a right to appeal, and whose conviction was quashed within twenty-four hours by the Lords Justices and the accused set free, has been brought before the Lord Chancellor with a view to their being removed from the magistracy.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) The Answer is in the negative. The magistrates, in declining to increase the term of imprisonment awarded by them, acted quite within their powers. The conviction was not quashed, as alleged in the Question. The Lord Chancellor does not interfere with the judicial discretion vested in magistrates.

### Dismissal of Mrs. Moule from Purley National School.

Mr. MACKARNESS (Berkshire, Newbury): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to the case of Mrs. Moule, the schoolmistress of Purley national school, who has been dismissed from her post by the managers; whether he is aware that she was dismissed for no fault on her part or any want of capacity, that one of the managers resigned by way of protest against her dismissal, and that the Education Committee of the Berks County Council was equally divided, and confirmed the dismissal only by the casting vote of the chairman; whether he is aware that Mrs. Moule has conducted her school for twelve years without complaint from either Government or diocesan inspectors; whether he is aware of any just cause for her dismissal; and, if not, whether he will take steps to have her case reconsidered.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) My only information as to this matter is derived from a newspaper report. On the facts there stated, I am of opinion that the case is one in which the Education Committee might reasonably have exercised their right of withholding consent to the teacher's dismissal. The Act, however, gives no right of appeal to the Board of Education, and I regret, therefore, that I have no power to intervene.

### Indian Cotton Trade.

Mr. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the production per spindle in India is 122½ lbs. of yarn per annum as against 240 lbs. in China; and, if so, whether the Secretary of State will, in view of the importance of the cotton trade to India, bear this fact in mind when fresh restrictions upon labour in Indian mills are proposed, which must affect the competition of the Indian industry with its chief competitor.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) I have seen in a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association a statement to the effect mentioned by the hon. Member, but with the explanation that the higher production per spindle of Chinese mills is due to their working day and night without intermission. This system is not one which could usefully serve as a model for Indian legislation especially as regards the employment of women on night work.

### Garrisons at Tinnevelly and Tuticorin.

Mr. REES: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, when the recent riots occurred at Tinnevelly and Tuticorin, the Native infantry regiment at Trichinopoly was reduced to a strength less than that of a single company; and whether, since no regiments are now stationed at Palamcottah or Guilon, a regiment of full strength should be maintained at Trichinopoly.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) With the exception of a small detachment of sixty men at Tivandrum, a whole battalion of Indian infantry is stationed at Trichinopoly, and there is no intention of reducing the garrison. The strength of the regiment was considerably reduced at the time mentioned by the hon. Member owing to the fact that a larger number of men than usual had been allowed to go on leave on account of the recent return of the regiment from service in Ceylon.

### The Loishilman Railway.

Mr. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the frontier railway known as the Loishilman railway is still under construction, or whether further progress with it has been abandoned.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) The construction of the railway up to "mile 300" was sanctioned in July 1905. Owing to the condition of the frontier no work is at present in progress.

### Cattle-Driving at Brierfield.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a cattle drive took place on 30th April on the lands of a Mr. Morris, at Brierfield, County Galway, when forty-six head of cattle, six horses, eighty-three sheep, and ninety-seven lambs were driven a distance of eighteen miles; and how many of the thirty-five persons who have been arrested in connection with the offence have been convicted.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The number of persons arrested for taking part in the cattle-drive in question was forty-six, of whom forty-two were bound to keep the peace and the remaining four were discharged.

### Intimidation at Athlone.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the local branch of the United Irish League at Athlone ordered a certain farm of 70 acres, near Athlone, to be kept unlet so that it might be purchased by the Estates Commissioners for distribution; whether he is aware that on 1st May members of the local vigilance committee patrolled the district, and when two men attempted to put cattle on the farm the animals were worried by dogs and hunted away; and what steps he proposed to take to protect persons from being interfered with in the prosecution of their legitimate business, and what arrests have been made.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) On 1st May a man was taking a heifer to graze on a farm at Mount William, near Athlone, when he was met on the road by several men who set dogs on the heifer and drove her away. Three of the offenders who were identified were proceeded against and bound over to keep the peace. The police have no information as to the alleged action of the United Irish League in regard to this farm. The police will afford full protection to persons who may send cattle to graze on the farm.

### Poor Law Returns—Extra Work Entailed.

Mr. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, owing to the Returns required by the Vice-Regal Commission on Poor Law for the House of Commons, a vast amount of labour was thrown on the clerk, master, and relieving officers of each union; and whether the Government will allow anything in payment for those services.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Several boards of guardians have passed resolutions proposing to remunerate their officials for the extra duty cast on them in the preparation of the Return in question, and asking for the sanction of the Local Government Board to such proposals. The Board have replied that when the Returns have been examined they will be prepared to consider favourably the requests of the guardians.

### Evicted Tenants—Case of Thomas Devereux.

Mr. FFRENCH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Thomas Devereux, Broom Cottage, Drinagh, who was a tenant on the Furlong estate and was evicted twenty-one years ago, has made application to be restored to his home; whether the Estates Commissioners have taken any action in this case; and whether it is known if the landlord who has this farm on his own hands is prepared to sell to the evicted tenant.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The application in question is under the consideration of the Estates Commissioners, who have not yet decided what action, if any, they will take upon it. Some time ago the landlord informed the Commissioners that he required the evicted farm for his own use, but the Commissioners are now making further inquiries in the matter.

### Railway Extension at Belmullet.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the present position of the negotiations respecting the scheme of railway extension to Belmullet projected by the late Government; and whether he can hold out any hope that such extension will be undertaken.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I understand that the scheme of railway extension to Belmullet, to which the hon. Member refers as having been projected by the late Government, is the scheme for the construction of a railway from Mullaranny to Belmullet. His Majesty's present Government, after careful consideration, and as the result of protracted negotiations, made a definite offer to the Midland Great Western Railway Company of a large sum of public money as a free grant conditional upon the construction and equipment of the proposed line by the company. This offer the company did not see their way to accept, and the Government have since had under consideration an alternative scheme for a line from Killala to Belmullet. The promoters of this scheme, however, have not satisfied the Government, as at present advised, that the prospects of the scheme are such as to promise success, but I have been asked to receive further representations on the subject, and the matter therefore must be regarded as still pending.

### Progress of Marine Works in Cos. Wicklow and Down.

Mr. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of

Ireland if he will state what progress has been made with the marine works at Wicklow and Arklow, county Wicklow, and at Portavogie, county Down, for which grants were made by the late Government; and when it is expected these works will be completed.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The marine works at Wicklow are in the hands of the Wicklow Harbour Board. The Government have already paid to the Harbour Board sums amounting to over £18,000 out of the total grant of £22,000. I am informed by the Board that the foreshore protection works are practically finished, and that a considerable part of the new main breakwater has been built. It is expected that the works will be completed in about six months. The works at Arklow are being carried out by the Department of Agriculture. A great part of the dredging of the river has been done; the new road giving access to the pier of the south side of the proposed basin has been completed; and some progress has been made with the construction of basin walls. The works at Portavogie were commenced by the Board of Works about two months ago, and will, it is expected, be completed by the autumn of next year. The work at present in hand consists of the excavation of rock in clearing the sites for the permanent concrete quay and pier, and the collection of materials for the concrete.

### Civilian Rights of Belfast Corporation Employees.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the regulations for motor-men and conductors recently issued by the Belfast Corporation, and in particular to a rule prohibiting such persons from taking any active part in any municipal or general election, whether on or off duty, under penalty of dismissal; and whether, in view of the interference of this rule with the men's rights as citizens, and of the fact that it is not in existence even in Government departments, the Local Government Board will refuse their sanction to its being enforced.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that the regulations in question were issued by the general manager of the Belfast Corporation tramways for the purpose of maintaining discipline among the employees. I have been referred to a copy of the particular rule alluded to in the Question, which states that motor-men and conductors are expected to refrain from taking active part in any municipal or general election, whether on or off duty, but the penalty of dismissal applies only to a breach of the rule committed while on duty. The right of voting is not interfered with. The necessity for the rule is alleged to have been demonstrated by a recent instance in which a conductor canvassed the passengers in his car. The Local Government Board have no powers in respect of these regulations, which are not subject to their confirmation.

### Amalgamation of Commissionership of Irish Prisons Board and Inspectorship of Reformatories.

MR. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether there is any official record of a proposal by the late Government to amalgamate the inspectorship of reformatory and industrial schools with one of the commissionerships of the Prisons Board when the opportunity presented itself; and if he will cause inquiry to be made whether the union of offices which the present Government decided to bring about in September 1906, was anticipated three years previously.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) There is no official record of an actual proposal by the late Government to amalgamate the offices in question, but I find that in 1903 it was put on record that the question of uniting these offices would be a proper subject for consideration when opportunity offered. I may mention that the Irish Prisons Act of 1877 provides that any member of the Prisons Board may hold the office of inspector of reformatories, and that, as a matter of fact, the two offices were held by the same person from the passing of the Act until the year 1890.

### Irish Primary Education Estimates.

MR. J. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to state the additional amount that is to be added to this year's Estimates for Irish primary education.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am not in a position to state the precise amount, but I anticipate that it will be over £100,000. There are some details which are still the subject of discussion between the Government and the Board of National Education, but the matter is, I trust, approaching completion.

### Cattle-Driving at Boyle.

MR. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has any information respecting the driving of cattle off lands at Boyle in the possession of the Estates Commissioners and let by them for grazing purposes; and whether the gates which were removed from the property have been recovered.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The lands referred to consist of a small part of the King-Harman estate purchased by the Estates Commissioners, but not yet resold. The local police have reported that there is no truth in the newspaper statement that cattle were driven off the lands in question. No cattle, in fact, were on the farm when the drive is alleged to have taken place. A gate on the farm was found to have been broken on that occasion, and this appears to have given rise to the rumour in question.

### Recruiting Area for the Scots Greys.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs): To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the present recruiting area for the Scots Greys.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) When recruits are required for the Scots Greys endeavours are always made to obtain the men in Scotland. At present the regiment, being over establishment, is not recruiting.

### Education of Children in Workhouses.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether, in view of the difficulty of education of children in workhouses, the Board of Education will consider the question of the repeal of Section 40 of the Education Act, 1876.

(*Answered by Mr. McKinnon Wood.*) Section 40 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, embodies the principle that outdoor relief to paupers shall not be continued unless their children of school age are regularly attending school. It does not apply to children in workhouses. I do not think the present moment would be opportune for dealing with the general question involved, which will no doubt receive consideration, among other matters, at the hands of the Poor Law Commission which is now sitting. Certain administrative difficulties which have arisen can be dealt with without resorting to legislation.

### Cab Licences.

MR. CROOKS: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can inform the House how many licences were in existence in London for two-wheeled horse-drawn hackney carriages, four-wheeled, and mechanically propelled cabs.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The numbers of hackney carriages which were licensed by the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police in 1907 were as follows: 5,952 two-wheeled horsed cabs, 3,866 four-wheeled horsed cabs, and 723 mechanically propelled cabs. The corresponding figures for the year 1906 were 6.648, 3,844, and 96.

### Board of Trade Appointments in Glasgow.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what were the four appointments made in Glasgow in the years 1906 and 1907 under his Department which were filled by candidates from outside.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) The appointments were one sanitary surveyor, one messenger, and two boy clerks.

### Mails to the Far East—Siberian Railway Route.

MR. CAVE (Surrey, Kingston): To ask the Postmaster-General whether any steps are at present being taken to make arrangements for the despatch, to and from the countries of the Far East newspapers and commercial papers sent at the usual special rate for the latter over the Siberian Railway route.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) As I recently informed the hon. Member for the Hexham Division of Northumberland, the charges for the conveyance of mails *via* Siberia are so high that the British Post Office has been compelled, in common with other European Post Offices, to restrict the use of this route to specially addressed letters and postcards. I am endeavouring, in concert with other postal administrations interested in the matter, to effect a reduction in the present cost of transit.

### Direct Parcels Service to Cuba, Ecuador, etc.

MR. AGNEW (Salford, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can arrange for a direct parcels post service from Great Britain to Cuba, Ecuador, and Venezuela, and so obviate the necessity for sending British samples to those countries *via* France or Germany.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Negotiations are in progress for the establishment of a direct parcel post with each of the countries in question.

### Glasgow Telephone Employees.

MR. W. T. WILSON (Lancashire, Westhoughton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has decided to dispense with the services of some of the telephone employees at Glasgow who were brought under the State as a result of the transfer of the corporation telephone system to the Post Office; whether, as the result of the adoption of the principle of the nationalisation of the telephone system at Glasgow, capable members of the telephone staff are to be added to the unemployed, although the service is extending rapidly; and whether he will state the reason of this action, and, pending reconsideration, retain the persons at the work upon which they are now engaged.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The services of certain persons taken over from the Glasgow Corporation have been or shortly will be dispensed with, because of inefficiency, unsatisfactory conduct, or misconduct, and one because the condition of her health was a source of danger to the rest of the staff. No capable officers of approved character have been discharged.

### Post Office Contractors and the Fair Wages Resolution.

MR. W. T. WILSON: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the India Rubber and Telegraph Company, of Silvertown, and the Great Western Electric Company, of North Woolwich, who contract for work and supply articles to the Post Office, pay many of their workmen less than the standard rate of wage, the amount in some instances being 8s. per week less than the recognised rate of the district; and whether he will take steps to induce these firms to comply with the fair wages clause.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Perhaps the hon. Member will be so good as to let me know to what particular class or classes of workmen he refers, giving the rate of wages received by them. I will then have full inquiry made.

### Report of Committee on the Baronetage.

EARL PERCY (Kensington, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is his intention to take any action on the Report of the Committee on the Baronetage issued last year.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The Report of this Committee is still under my consideration, but I hope to deal with it shortly.

### Admiralty Contractors and the Fair Wages Resolution.

MR. W. T. WILSON: To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the firms of W. T. Henley and Company, the Western Electric Company, of North Woolwich, the India Rubber and Telegraph Company, of Silvertown, and Johnson and Phillips, of Charlton, who contract for and supply goods to the Admiralty, pay from 2s. to 8s. per week less than the standard rate of wage to many of the workmen in their employ; and whether, seeing that this is unfair both to the workmen and to firms that compete with them who do pay the standard rate of wage, he will take steps to induce those firms to pay the standard rate, or otherwise strike them off the list of firms that are allowed to contract for Admiralty work.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The Admiralty is not aware that the firms in question are paying wages below the current rate of the district. All contracts with those firms contain the usual clause as to the payment of the current rate, and no complaint of any breach of that clause has reached the Admiralty. If specific details of any cases of under-payment are furnished in respect of Admiralty contracts full inquiry into the matter shall be made and suitable action taken according to the result of any such inquiry.

### Increase of Irish Teachers' Salaries—Issue of Supplementary Estimates.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state when the Supplementary Estimate for the increase of national school teachers' salaries in Ireland will be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse*). Subject to a reply to a recent letter addressed by the Treasury to the Irish Government, I hope to present this, along with any other Supplementary Estimates that may be required, at the usual time, namely, in July next.

### Outstanding War Debt.

MR. HAROLD COX (Preston): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, what was the total amount of war debt remaining unpaid at the end of the financial years ending 31st March, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, and 1908 respectively; and whether he can state approximately what was the interest payable on the war debt in each of those years.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Question only admits of a hypothetical reply. On the assumption that all the reductions of debt, funded and unfunded, that have been effected during the years in question were reductions of War Debt, the Answer would be as follows—

| | Estimated War Debt outstanding. | Estimated Interest payable thereon. |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| On 31st March, 1903 . . . . . | 159,000,000 | 4,328,000 |
| On 31st March, 1904 . . . . . | 153,243,000 | 4,074,000 |
| On 31st March, 1905 . . . . . | 151,466,000 | 3,992,000 |
| On 31st March, 1906 . . . . . | 144,077,000 | 3,735,000 |
| On 31st March, 1907 . . . . . | 133,206,000 | 3,421,000 |
| On 31st March, 1908 . . . . . | 117,049,000 | 3,017,000 |

### Duty on Voyage Marine Policies.

MR. GIBB (Middlesex, Harrow): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what would be the further loss to the revenue if the duty on voyage marine policies were made 1d. per policy, as is now the case with voyage marine policies in which the premium does not exceed 2s. 6d. per cent. and also with fire policies, instead of, as proposed in the Prime Minister's statement, 1d. per cent.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The further loss to the revenue would probably be about £40,000 a year; but it is impossible on the information available to forecast with any approach to accuracy the effect of my hon. friend's proposal.

### Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. O'Shaughnessy.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the cause of delay in reinstating Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. O'Shaughnessy in their respective holdings at Aughanish Island, near

Borrigone, in the county of Limerick, from which they were evicted by the landlord, William Lane Joynt; and will the Commissioners see that they be no longer kept out of them.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners' offer for the purchase of the two evicted farms in this case was refused, but it is understood that proceedings for the sale to the Commissioners of the entire estate are about to be instituted; and, in the event of their acquiring the property, they will deal with the question of reinstating the evicted tenants named.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Scanlan.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say what are the Estates Commissioners doing in the case of Mrs. Scanlan, of Knockaderry, who, with her husband, since deceased, were evicted from their holding at Kilgulvan, Knockaderry in the County of Limerick.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I refer to my Answer to the hon. Member's Question on this subject on 2nd April, to which the Estates Commissioners have as yet nothing to add.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Robert and Jeremiah Dunworth.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the inspector of the Estates Commissioners has yet inquired into the case of Robert and Jeremiah Dunworth, of Garryfine, Bruree, in the County of Limerick, evicted tenants, and, if so, with what result; and if he can say how long they will be kept out of their holding.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer the hon. Member to my Answer to his Question of 2nd April on this subject. The inspector has not yet reported to the Estates Commissioners the result of his inquiry into the case.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Grant to James Reardon, of Rathkeale.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say why it is that James Reardon, of Blossom Hill, Rathkeale, evicted tenant on the estate of General Lloyd, did not get the grant he was promised by the inspector of the Estates Commissioners to enable him to work his little holding, in which he has been reinstated; and will the Commissioners see to his case without delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The question whether the Estates Commissioners will make a grant in such case as is referred to in the Question is one entirely for the Commissioners themselves. An inspector has no power to promise a grant. The Commissioners have received from Reardon an application for a free grant, and will consider it when they have received the inspector's report upon it.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of William Bourke, of Ballinagould.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say why the Estates Commissioners are not reinstating a William Bourke, of Ballinagould, in the County of Limerick, and the other evicted tenants on the Waller property, having regard to the fact that the landlord has given up the evicted farms to the Commissioners; and when may they expect to be reinstated.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The owner has signified his willingness to accept the Estates Commissioners' provisional offer for the evicted holdings in this case, and the necessary formal proceedings will shortly be instituted. There will be no unnecessary delay in completing the arrangements for purchase.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Grant to Mrs. M. R. Conway.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can say why it is that Mrs. Margaret Sheehy, of Raheen, Croagh, in the County of Limerick, evicted tenant on the estate of Mrs. M. R. Conway, of Ballinaguile, Croagh, did not get the grant that was promised to her by the inspector of the Estates Commissioners to enable her to stock her evicted farm, although the two other evicted tenants on the same property got theirs; and whether the Commissioners will see that she gets this grant at once.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The question of making a grant in such case is one for the determination of the Estates Commissioners themselves. The case is being inquired into.

### Reform of Irish Poor Laws.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received resolutions from various public bodies in Ireland, representative of all classes and creeds, urging speedy legislation for reform of the Irish Poor Laws on the lines indicated by the Vice-Regal Commission; and whether, seeing that legislation on this matter would be practically non-contentious, he will see his way to give instructions for the preparation of a Bill calculated to carry out the recommendations of the Vice-Regal Commission Report.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer the hon. Member to the statement which I made on 3rd April in the debate on the Second Reading of the Poor Law (Ireland) Bill. The importance of dealing with the question of Poor Law reform in Ireland is fully recognised by the Government, and it is intended to introduce a Bill on the subject with as little delay as possible. It is, however, out of the question to introduce such a measure during the current session, but I hope it will be one of the first to be introduced next year.

### Dairies, Cowsheds, and Milkshops (Ireland) Order.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what steps, if any, have been taken by the Local Government Board for Ireland to carry into effect the provisions of their General Order with respect to dairies, cowsheds, and milkshops, which was to come into force on the 1st of the present month.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The execution of the General Order rests with the local authorities and their officers. The Local Government Board, when issuing the Order, addressed a circular letter to all of the local authorities explanatory of their duties and of the objects and of the principal provisions of the Order.

### Evicted Tenants—Case of John Keating.

MR. FFRENCH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, when an estate is being sold under the Land Act of 1903, the Estates Commissioners are bound to see that there is sufficient accommodation for the labourers on that estate; and, if so, will the Estates Commissioners make inquiries with a view to giving John Keating, who was evicted by a middleman named Gahan, a purchasing tenant on the Ely estate, a house and an acre of land on Gahan's farm, as provided for by the Labourers Acts.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) When the estate referred to reaches its turn to be inspected the Estates Commissioners will, in accordance with the provisions of Section 96 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, as amended by the Labourers Act of 1906, cause inquiries to be made as to the necessity for accommodation for labourers on the estate, and if of opinion that such accommodation is needed they will make the necessary representation to the Local Government Board.

### Money-lending Cases at Belfast—Excessive Interest.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the comment of Dr. Todd, K.C., Acting Recorder at Belfast, on 30th April last, with regard to the rates of interest charged in a number of money-lending cases which came before him, the interest amounting in some cases to about 100 per cent., and to the suggestion of Dr. Todd that if the poor people understood the nature of the promissory notes which they signed they would be very careful before doing so; and whether he would advise the Government to take action in this matter with a view to preventing the hardship which the present system inflicts on ignorant borrowers.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Money Lenders Act, 1900, provides relief in such cases as are referred to in the Question. In proceedings taken by a money-lender for the recovery of money lent, the Court, if satisfied that the interest charged is excessive, may take an account between the parties and relieve the borrower from payment for interest or otherwise of any sum in excess of that which the Court adjudges to be reasonable. I gather from a newspaper report, to which my attention has been called, that the cases in question were referred by the Acting Recorder to the registrar of the Court in order that a proper rate of interest should be fixed.

### British Manufactured Glucose and Invert Sugar and the Reduction in the Sugar Duty.

MR. BARNARD (Kidderminster): To ask the Prime Minister whether the proposed reduction in the sugar duty will affect British manufactured glucose and invert sugar as from 18th May or from 1st July; and is he aware that if the reduction takes effect from 18th May, the British manufactured article will be prejudiced in favour of the foreign manufactured article now lying in bond, as the latter will be benefited immediately owing to the reduced duty, while the home product will have to pay the whole duty until the stocks are exhausted.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) British manufactured glucose and invert sugar will be liable to duty at the present rates until the 18th instant and at the reduced rates thereafter. The matter raised in the second part of my hon. friend's Question is receiving my careful consideration.

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## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### H.M.S. "Vanguard."

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty why the "Vanguard," a battleship of the Estimates, 1907–8, was not laid down until 3rd April last, during the period 1908–9.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The exact date of laying the keel of a contract-built vessel is one that is left to the discretion of the builder. In the case of the "Vanguard" a considerable amount of work was done and expenditure incurred in the financial year 1907–8, although the stage technically known as "laid down" was not reached till 2nd April last.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): Can the right hon. Gentleman say approximately how much money was spent last year?

MR. MCKENNA: Not without notice.

### Battleship Construction.

MR. PIKE PEASE: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the Admiralty will issue a Return of the ships of the "Dreadnought" and "Invincible" types now completed or which are expected to be completed by December, 1911, by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States respectively.

MR. MCKENNA: Information of the nature of that for which the hon. Member asks would be so unreliable that the public might be misled if such a Return was issued under the apparent sanction of the Admiralty.

### Brazilian Battleships.

MR. PIKE PEASE: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether in the event of the battleships building in this country for Brazil being placed upon the market the Government will give the House an assurance that their sale shall not be permitted detrimentally to disturb the balance of naval power, as might be the case if they were acquired by a nation possibly hostile in international and maritime interests.

MR. MCKENNA: Unless and until the ships referred to are placed upon th market, it seems premature to discuss the question of their purchase.

### H.M.S. "Vanguard."

MR. PIKE PEASE: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the new battleship "Vanguard" is expected to be completed within twenty-four months of her commencement, and from what date is the commencement of her construction to be reckoned.

MR. McKENNA: Messrs. Vickers contracted to complete and deliver the "Vanguard" in twenty-four months from 1st March last, viz., 1st March, 1910. It is expected that the vessel will be completed and delivered by that date. The vessel may be reckoned as having been effectively commenced on 1st March last.

### Naval Cordite.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware of the unanimous Resolution passed by Lord Rayleigh's Committee on 25th February of this year, to the effect that they could not recommend that any of the explosives therein referred to could, consistently with the public safety, be put to any useful purpose or dealt with otherwise than by destruction, on the ground that such explosives contained an unauthorised ingredient which masked the official test; whether this Resolution in any way affected naval cordite containing mercuric chloride; and whether Lord Rayleigh's Committee made any similar recommendation in respect of the naval cordite containing mercuric chloride, and whether the Admiralty are complying with the recommendations of that Committee.

MR. McKENNA: The answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. This Resolution did not affect naval cordite. Lord Rayleigh's Committee made no similar recommendation as regards naval cordite.

MR. BELLAIRS: Are the Admiralty complying with the recommendations of Lord Rayleigh's Committee?

MR. McKENNA: Those regulations referred to blasting explosives and had nothing to do with mercuric chloride.

MR. BELLAIRS: But did not the Secretary to the Admiralty state that that Committee would deal with cordite containing mercuric chloride?

MR. McKENNA: Well, I can only say it did not deal with it.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): Do they not make any recommendation applicable to naval cordite?

MR. McKENNA: None at all.

### Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether any instructions have been issued to the officers commanding His Majesty's ships with reference to their compliance or otherwise with the regulations made by Order in Council for preventing collisions at sea; and, if so, can he lay a copy of those instructions upon the Table or state their effect to the House.

MR. McKENNA: The rules for preventing collisions at sea which have to be complied with by officers commanding His Majesty's ships, are stated in Article 1035 of the King's Regulations, to which I beg to refer the hon. Member.

### London Territorials—Sergeant-Instructors.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War why the number of sergeant-instructors of each Territorial battalion in the London District has been reduced to two as compared with three in the old Volunteer Force.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The hon. Member appears to be under a misapprehension. The minimum establishment of three sergeant-instructors to each battalion applies to the troops in the London District.

### Officers on the Regular Establishment.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what number of officers are needed to complete the establishment of the Regular Forces.

**Mr. HALDANE**: There are six vacancies in the Household Cavalry and eighteen in the Cavalry of the Line. In the Artillery there are twenty-three supernumerary to establishment. In the Royal Engineers there are twelve vacancies which will be filled by the batch of cadets from the Royal Military Academy in July next. As to the Infantry there are fifteen vacancies in the Foot Guards and seventy-two in the Line, but sixty are due from the Militia for first appointments, and vacancies will be required in August for twenty University candidates and 160 Sandhurst candidates; so that practically there are no vacancies. In the Army Service Corps there are seventeen vacancies, but eleven officers are expected to return from the seconded list during the present year.

### Territorials' Walking-out Uniform.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War when the walking-out uniform of the Territorial soldier will be issued; and whether, when issued, it will preserve the national and peculiar characteristics of individual corps.

**Mr. HALDANE**: No new walking-out uniform has been specially approved for the Territorial Force. The uniforms are purchased by the County Associations and are not issued from Government store. In most cases corps will continue to wear the old uniform, or they may have two suits of service dress and wear no walking-out uniform. If Associations are desirous of providing a walking-out uniform of a new pattern, they are obliged to secure official approval.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: Are we to understand that the War Office have nothing to do except to approve the pattern of the walking-out dress?

**Mr. HALDANE**: The County Associations are to purchase them.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: Did not the right hon. Gentleman send a Memorandum to the County Associations telling them not to purchase these walking-out uniforms until further notice?

**Mr. HALDANE**: They have instructions and know what to do.

**Earl WINTERTON** (Sussex, Horsham): What instructions have been given then to the Associations?

**Mr. HALDANE**: They have been informed that the old uniform may be used until the new pattern has been adopted.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: Will the Territorial soldier have a walking-out uniform—whether the old pattern or new?

**Mr. HALDANE**: Certainly.

### Pay of Infantry Sergeant-Instructors.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War why the colour-sergeants of the Regular Forces who took up the appointments of sergeant-major and sergeant-instructor to the infantry battalions of the old Volunteer Force are now, on being transferred to the new Territorial Force, to receive only about 50 per cent. of their former corps pay.

**Mr. HALDANE**: The Army emoluments of the permanent staff are given to remunerate them for their military duties which they can be called upon to perform as soldiers. Extra remuneration was permitted to be given by their corps and is permitted to be given by the County Associations for extra work performed in addition to military duty. It is the business of the Associations for whom the work is done to fix the rates subject to the approval of the Army Council. The Army Council, however, cannot approve of payments made simply for the purpose of increasing the regulated emoluments of the permanent staff without any reference to the amount of extra work which they are required to do.

**Mr. ASHLEY**: Are these Regular non-commissioned officers to have less work than under the old Volunteer system?

MR. HALDANE: In some cases less, and in others more. The remuneration will be according to the work they do.

MR. ASHLEY: Is it quite fair to these men who left the Army and took these posts on the distinct understanding that they should have a certain amount of pay to have that pay reduced through no fault of their own ?

MR. HALDANE'S reply was inaudible.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): If the County Association makes up the pay of these non-commissioned officers to the full amount will there be any recoupment from the State?

MR. HALDANE: Yes, that is provided for.

### Duke of York's School.

MR. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has taken into consideration, or will take into consideration, the desirability of establishing a secondary school on part of the site vacated by the Duke of York's School, in connection with the new school at Dover, so as to keep up the traditional connection with Chelsea.

MR. HALDANE: The Army Council considered that it was not satisfactory to keep a school of this character in London, and decided to remove it to Dover. There is no intention of establishing a secondary school at Chelsea.

### Wireless Telephony at Paris.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to certain experiments in wireless telephony round Paris which are said to be quite successful; and if he has any official information as to whether any such experiments have taken, or are likely to take, place in this country.

MR. HALDANE: My attention has been called to these experiments. I have no information as to similar experiments being carried out in this country.

### Bulford Isolation Hospital.

*CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the accommodation in the Bulford Isolation Hospital for scarlet fever cases, when this isolation hospital was erected, and how long it has been used for that purpose; and what is the total number of regiments and batteries within a six-mile radius of Bulford.

MR. HALDANE: This hospital has accommodation for four beds; it was completed in January, 1904, and has been used as an isolation hospital since that date. This accommodation has been supplemented by a hospital marquee erected in the infectious enclosure on 23rd April, 1908, but this has not yet been required. The number of regiments and batteries within a radius of six miles is eighteen.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): Is there a cavalry regiment quartered at Bulford?

MR. HALDANE: No, Sir.

MR. PIRIE: Is there one in the vicinity?

[No Answer was audible.]

### Norfolk Militia Garrison Artillery.

MR. MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Staffordshire, Handsworth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many rounds of ammunition have been fired by the Prince of Wales' Own Norfolk Garrison Artillery (Militia) during their last two trainings.

MR. HALDANE: No ammunition has been fired by this regiment during its last two trainings.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): Have the officers and men of this regiment been transferred to the Special Reserve ?

MR. HALDANE: We hope they will be, and arrangements are being made, but I cannot say what progress has been made in the matter.

### War Office Cordite.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware of the unanimous resolution passed by Lord Rayleigh's Committee on 25th February of this year, to the effect that they could not recommend that any of the explosives therein referred to could, consistently with the public safety, be put to any useful purpose or dealt with otherwise than by destruction on the ground that such explosives contained an unauthorised constituent which masked the official test; whether this resolution in any way affected cordite containing mercuric chloride; whether Lord Rayleigh's Committee made any similar recommendation in respect of the War Office cordite containing mercuric chloride; and whether it is proposed to comply with the recommendations of that Committee.

MR. HALDANE: I am aware of the resolution referred to. It has no reference to cordite. As regards the rest of the Question I have nothing to add to the information which I have already given to my hon. friend.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) asked whether there was any similar recommendations as to the destruction of cordite.

MR. HALDANE: I think not, but I should like notice of that Question.

MR. BELLAIRS: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the recommendations of Lord Rayleigh's Committee have been carried out?

MR. HALDANE: So far as we are concerned we have taken care to comply with them. We have carried them out with regard to cordite ammunition.

### Pay of Territorial Non-Commissioned Officers.

MR. GRETTON (Rutland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if non-commissioned officers who were serving in the Volunteers as such on 31st March last and have since re-engaged into the Territorial Forces will be paid full rates according to their rank, if embodied, and during the annual encampment, in those cases where they are in excess of the proportionate numbers as laid down in War Office Letter No. 9 (General Number) 701 (A.G. 5), dated 24th April, 1908 (C.R., N.C., A (37,456), dated 27th April, 1908, but not in excess of the authorised establishment; and, if so, will he take steps to make the above intention clear.

MR. HALDANE: Any Volunteer non-commissioned officer who comes under the provision of Paragraph 79 of Army Order of 18th March, 1908, *i.e.*, who belongs to a transferred unit and is attested to his own unit, will remain a non-commissioned officer and draw pay as such, although he is in excess not only of the proportionate number but also of the authorised establishment of non-commissioned officers. A non-commissioned officer who comes under Paragraph 80 of that Order, *i.e.*, who wishes to enlist into another unit or arm will be permitted to enlist as a non-commissioned officer and draw pay as such provided the new commanding officer is willing to accept him, and provided there is a vacancy in the proportionate number.

MR. GRETTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of the Question?

MR. HALDANE: We have taken steps to make it quite clear. If there is any ambiguity about it still it shall be dealt with.

### Supply of Army Horses.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now furnish any information as to the arrangement arrived at with the Board of Agriculture regarding the adequate supply of horses for military service in case of war.

MR. HALDANE: I am not yet in a position to give the House any further information on this subject.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Were we not promised a definite solution of the matter early this week?

MR. HALDANE: Certainly not by me.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Then it was by your deputy.

### Bulford Cavalry Stables.

*Major RENTON (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War at what date the cavalry stables at Bulford will be completed.

Mr. HALDANE: My hon. and gallant friend evidently refers to the cavalry barracks now building at Tidworth. Eight blocks should be ready for occupation on 2nd June, and the other six blocks on 30th June.

Earl WINTERTON: Did not the right hon. Gentleman, in the course of debate, promise that these stables should be completed before this?

Mr. HALDANE: I said so, subject to certain contingencies. I have good hopes they will be finished by the time I have now stated.

Mr. PIRIE: Where are the Scots Greys quartered?

Mr. ASHLEY: Are not the horses a long way from the men?

Mr. HALDANE: They are quite near enough.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Is it not a fact that a great many of the horses are in one place and the men in another?

Mr. HALDANE: They have been kept as close together as possible having regard to human contingencies.

Mr. PIRIE: Would it not be more advantageous to military interests to have the men and horses at the same place?

Mr. HALDANE'S reply was inaudible.

*Major RENTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware there were two inches of snow in the stables of the Scots Greys ast month?

Mr. HALDANE: It may have been so.

### Suicides at Bulford.

Major RENTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many suicides and attempted suicides have taken place at Bulford since 1st January, 1904.

Mr. HALDANE: There has been one case of suicide and three of attempted suicide at Bulford since 1st January, 1904.

### Territorial New Service Jacket.

Mr. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state the price of the new service jacket supplied by the Pimlico stores to the Territorial Force, the inclusive cost of material, and the cost for civilian labour.

Mr. HALDANE: The garment in question is not supplied to the Territorial Force in a made up condition, but only cut out, without buttons and titles. The inclusive cost of the material supplied, plus carriage, is on the average (including 3d. for cost of cutting out) 6s., and this is the rate charged. The cost of the labour of making up the garments is met under local arrangements by the various County Associations.

### Camp Leave Regulations.

Mr. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what instructions have been issued by the military authorities with reference to granting leave from annual training in camp this year to the Territorial soldier.

Mr. HALDANE: No instructions have yet been issued on this subject, but it is hoped they will be published by the end of next month.

Mr. ASHLEY: In the London district have not instructions been given that no man need attend training if he would thereby lose his employment?

Mr. HALDANE was understood to say that the spirit of this instruction was intended to apply to the whole force. His answer had been with regard to the formal notification.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: And what was the distinction in this case between the informal and formal notification? Has it been intimated to the whole

Territorial Army that they need not go into camp?

Mr. HALDANE said that the reason why a special announcement had been made in the case of London was that a rumour had got abroad that the military authorities would insist on a man's going to camp, although it involved the forfeiture of his employment. If the commanding officer had reason to be satisfied that attendance would be followed by such a result it would not be insisted upon. There was no intention of adopting any other order for the rest of the country.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: Are we to understand that any territorial soldier who states that he will lose his employment if he goes into camp for eight days is to be excused from complying with the terms of the Act?

Mr. HALDANE: No, that would be trusting too much to human nature. The object of the regulations is to give as much camp training as possible to as many men as possible.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: But will not this have the effect of discouraging employers from granting leave?

Mr. HALDANE: No; on the contrary, if you say to the employers: "We are going to trust you, and we will not put you in a hole in case of emergency," they will co-operate with us. It is not always expedient to exercise one's full legal right. The experience which I have had during the last few days in negotiating with the great railway companies bears out the view that to trust employers and ask for their co-operation has the effect of inducing them to come forward to the assistance of the force in the most marked manner.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): Is it the intention of the regulations to provide for a minimum amount of training during the Territorials' years of service, and at the same time give elasticity as to the amount from year to year?

Mr. HALDANE: The object is to secure as much training as possible for as many men as possible, and we think we can best do that by showing confidence in both employers and employed.

### Territorial Clothing Contracts.

Mr. ALDEN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that instructions have been sent by the Territorial Forces Association of the County of London to the commanding officer of each regiment of the above force, giving instruction to such officers to procure clothing outfits for non-commissioned officers and men, the tenders of the same to be up to Pimlico sealed patterns, the tenders not to exceed £1 1s. 8d. for dismounted men's outfit, viz., jacket, trousers, cap, and puttees; for mounted men, £1 11s. 7d., the oufit to consist of jacket, trousers, cap, puttees, and spurs; and whether he will consider the advisability of taking steps to secure that the Fair Wages Resolution of the House shall apply to such contracts.

Mr. HALDANE: I have given the question careful consideration, and I am of opinion that this matter should be left to the discretion of the County Associations.

Mr. ALDEN: Has the right hon. Gentleman any real control over the manufacture of clothing for the Territorial Force?

Mr. HALDANE: Under the Act we have a good deal of general control, but this question is essentially one that should be left to commanding officers.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): If the uniforms are paid for out of national funds, surely there ought to be some control?

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): Will the spirit of the Fair Wages Resolution of this House apply in these cases?

Mr. HALDANE: I think so, for the Pimlico prices are to be the basis.

### Saving on Army Expenditure.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what he estimates will be the actual saving upon Army expenditure charged to Army Votes in the year 1908–9 as compared with the year 1905–6.

Mr. HALDANE: The Estimates for 1908–9 show a reduction of £1,020,000 on the actual expenditure of 1905–6, and I have no present reason for revising this Estimate.

### Enlistments for Special Reserve.

Mr. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what number of Special Reservists have been enlisted for the Infantry of the Line and the Horse and Field Artillery respectively up to 1st May; and what number of Special Reservists were being trained by the thirty-three batteries of training brigades on that date.

Mr. HALDANE: The number of men who enlisted for the Special Reserve from 15th January to 1st May was as follows: Royal Field Artillery, 1,406; Infantry, 10,830. The number drilling with the training brigades on 1st May was 934.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Are 80 or 90 per cent. of these men nominally enlisted for the Special Reserve known to be going on to the Line and necessary for the Line?

Mr. HALDANE: No doubt a good many will go into the Line, but I do not know how many. Where you enlist men from seventeen upwards a good many do go into the line.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Is it not a fact that unless 10,000 of these men pass on to the Line, the Line will be short of the establishment?

Mr. HALDANE: I do not know. Recruiting for the Line has very much improved of late and we hope there will be a considerable number for the Line—very likely 10,000. I see no reason why we should not get them.

### Gun with Alleged Remarkable Range.

Mr. HART-DAVIES: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the War Office has any cognisance of a gun alleged to have a range of over 100 miles: and whether this weapon has been acquired by His Majesty's Government.

Mr. HALDANE: The War Office has no official cognisance of a gun with this remarkable range and has not had the good fortune to acquire such a wonderful weapon.

Mr. HART-DAVIES was understood to ask if the War Office would take steps to inquire further?

Mr. HALDANE: I am getting old, and more and more sceptical, but we watch these things closely, and should the gun turn out as it is said to be going to, my hon. friend may be sure that it will not escape our attention.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: If the projectile had such a velocity as is suggested —50,000 ft. a second—would it not be melted before it could reach its objective?

Mr. HALDANE: I am only a humble layman, but I have no reason to question the conclusion put forward by the hon. and gallant Member.

### Argyll and Bute Volunteer Artillery.

Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyll): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how soon he expects to be able to supply the guns for the mountain batteries of the 1st Argyll and Bute Royal Garrison Artlilery (Volunteers).

Mr. HALDANE: Four guns have been ordered to be issued next week and the remainder can be issued whenever the corps are ready to receive them.

### Army Cordite.

Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if any cordite containing mercuric chloride has been used in the service during the last twelve months.

Mr. HALDANE: It is not possible to say definitely without reference to the various stations whether such cordite has been fired.

Lord BALCARRES: Has any such cordite passed into the service?

**Mr. HALDANE**: Certainly not, unless it has been previously tested.

**Lord BALCARRES**: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire how much cordite containing mercuric chloride has passed into the service?

**Mr. HALDANE**: It will be extremely difficult to find out, but I will do my best.

### Comparisons of Actual with Estimated Expenditure.

**Mr. HAROLD COX**: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that in the Memorandum accompanying the Army Estimates a comparison is made between the estimated expenditure of the current year and the estimated expenditure of the year 1905–1906, although the latter Estimate was no less than £1,335,000 in excess of the actual expenditure; whether it is the custom in the War Office to base the Estimates of a future year upon the inaccurate Estimates of past years; and whether he anticipates that the actual expenditure in the current year will differ as greatly from the estimated expenditure as was the case in 1905–1906.

**Mr. HALDANE**: My hon. friend will find in the Memorandum on page 11 a very full comparison of the actual expenditure for several years past. Estimates are not based upon the Estimates of past years, but on anticipated expenditure. The reply to the last part of the Question is in the negative.

### Comparisons between British and German Armies.

**Mr. HAROLD COX**: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what was the total strength of the British land forces in the year 1907, including Yeomanry and Volunteers and Native troops in India and the Crown Colonies; what was the total strength of the German Army in the same year; and what was the total cost of the British land forces, including expenditure charged to India, to Egypt, and to the Crown Colonies, and what was the total cost of the German Army.

**Mr. HALDANE**: The figures are approximately as follows:—British Forces: Strength (excluding Army Reserve), 790,000; cost, £49,000,000. The latter figures include £1,200,000 for the pay of the Army Reserve. German Forces: Established peace strength, 625,000; cost, £49,000,000.

### Purchase of Horses for Military Purposes.

**Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY**: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the statement in the Twelfth Report of the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding to the effect that horses are bought for military purposes now in the United Kingdom at the age of three years by representatives of foreign countries, and consequently the best are gone before the English authorities come into the market; and what steps he intends to take to secure the best horses for our own Army.

**Mr. HALDANE**: The attention of the Army Council has been drawn to this report and the whole question is at present receiving their consideration.

### Officers' Costs on Transfer.

**Captain MORRISON-BELL** (Devonshire, Ashburton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that a number of captains and subalterns in the Northumberland Fusiliers, Royal Warwickshire Regiment, Lancashire Fusiliers, and Manchester Regiment are being transferred to other battalions, on account of the reduction of the *personnel* of the Army, much against their wish, he will say what will be the cost to imperial funds for compensation for change of uniform, and cost of passages involved; will those officers be called upon to pay, out of their own pockets, the usual mess subscriptions on transfer to their new units; and, taking into consideration the shortage of officers in the imperial forces, will he take steps to avoid the necessity for these compulsory transfers which are likely to discourage the entrance into the service of young officers.

**Mr. HALDANE**: It is quite impracticable at the present moment to give any estimate of the cost referred to in the first part of the Question. The question of the mess contribution is now under consideration. In regard to the last part of the Question, as I have just explained to the House, there is practically no shortage of officers for the peace establishment of the Regular Forces. The reasons for the necessity for the transfers have been explained to the House on a previous occasion.

Earl WINTERTON: When will the right hon. Gentleman be in a position to make a statement as to the cost?

Mr. HALDANE: When our inquiries are completed.

Earl WINTERTON: Will the officers know beforehand what the transfer will cost them?

Mr. HALDANE'S reply was inaudible.

### Repatriation of Chinese Coolies from the Transvaal.

Captain CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies how many Chinese coolies have applied to be repatriated since the repatriation notices were posted in the Transvaal mines, on the grounds that they considered the conditions under which they worked to be tantamount to slavery.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Colonel Seely, Liverpool, Abercromby): I cannot add anything to the Answer given by my predecessor to a similar Question by the hon. and gallant Member on 27th February of last year.

Captain CRAIG: Has a single case arisen, since the repatriation notices were posted, in which any one of these Chinese coolies has asked to be repatriated on the ground that his service was tantamount to slavery?

Colonel SEELY: I must refer the hon. Member to the Answer given last year. As he has asked this Question three times already, surely he must be cognisant of the Answer.

Captain CRAIG: In view of the importance of the matter, may I press for information as to what has happened during the past year.

Colonel SEELY: The hon. Gentleman asks as to what the Chinese themselves consider conditions of slavery. It is impossible for me to see into the minds of the Chinese labourer.

Mr. MOORE (Armagh, N.): Are we to understand that since the Question referred to no applications for repatriation have been made?

Colonel SEELY replied that the hon. Member must understand nothing of the kind. The Question was whether a certain number of Chinese asked to be repatriated on certain grounds existing in their own minds as to their service. If the hon. Member would put down a definite Question he would endeavour to answer it.

Captain CRAIG inquired whether it had not been stated again and again by the Party opposite that the Chinese coolies must assign a reason for claiming repatriation. In view of that, he asked if any Chinese coolie had assigned as a reason for repatriation that he considered his terms of labour tantamount to slavery.

Colonel SEELY replied that if the hon. Member would put down a Question as to the reasons assigned he would be happy to answer it.

Captain CRAIG rose to ask another Question, but Mr. Speaker intervening, pointed out that the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had already invited him to put down a further Question.

### The Congo.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in view of the representations made that, when the Treaty of Transfer and the Colonial Law came before the Belgian Parliament, representations would be made by this Government to the Government of Belgium upon the abolition of the present system of appropriation of the soil and the products of the soil in districts of the Congo inhabited by natives and where natives have tenure, whether he can now publish the Memorandum presented by the British Government to the Belgian Government upon the question.

MR. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden; for Sir E. GREY): We have made the communications to the Belgian Government to which the Question refers. My right hon. friend has no objection to their publication; but, when they are published, it will be of equal importance that the communications made by the Belgian Government should also be known, and the time for the publication of these must depend upon the Belgian Government. My right hon. friend cannot, at the present moment, do more than repeat the statement already made that they will be laid before Parliament, before His Majesty's Government take any step committing them to recognition of a transfer of the Congo State.

### Grants for Horse Breeding.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the inadequacy of the funds granted to the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding, as expressed in their Reports of 1895, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, and 1907, and to the recommendations of this Commission as regards the supply of horses for military purposes; and whether, in view of these facts, he can see his way to increase the grant for this purpose.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): The Report of the Royal Commission is under the consideration of the Government, and I am not in a position to make any statement on the subject at present.

### Poole By-Law Prosecution.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a sentence of two months' imprisonment recently passed by the Poole bench of magistrates upon Thomas Taylor, a cobbler, upon failure of distraint for a fine in respect of an infringement of a local by-law by carrying on his trade in a wooden shed in his own garden; and whether he will consider the justice of advising a mitigation of such sentence.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): I have made inquiry in this case, and find it was one of persistent refusal to comply with the law; every effort seems to have been made to induce the defendent to comply, but in the end there was no alternative but to commit him to prison. The prisoner has now undertaken to do what is necessary, and at the instance of the town council who prosecuted in this case, I have recommended the remission of the remainder of the sentence.

### Control of London Street Traffic.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that, under the Burgh Police Act in Scotland, and under various local Acts in England powers are given to Scottish municipal authorities, and to various provincial municipalities in England to prescribe the routes to be followed within their boundaries by different kinds of traffic; and whether there is any objection to the grant of similar powers to municipal authorities in the metropolis.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am aware that such powers exist under the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, and under certain local Acts in Scotland; and there are probably a few cases in which similar powers are given in England under old local Acts. But I see serious objections to the hon. Member's suggestion as regards the Metropolis. The Royal Commission on Locomotion and Transport in London stated in their Report that "it would be impossible to confer the necessary powers" for the general control of locomotion and transport in London "on the London County Council or any other existing local authority or body"; and, if the power were given to the Metropolitan Borough Councils, the exclusion of traffic, such as that of motor omnibuses, from one road and its diversion to another by orders of the various authorities would give rise to constant friction and grievance.

Sir HENRY CRAIK asked if any such friction had arisen in the case of municipalities in Scotland where similar powers were exercised.

Mr. GLADSTONE replied that, as the hon. Member knew, the conditions which attached to municipal authorities in Scotland were different from those which attached to municipal authorities in London.

Sir HENRY CRAIK: In what way?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Because you have in London nearly thirty different authorities with different jurisdictions.

Sir HENRY CRAIK: Is it to be understood that the authorities in the Metropolis do not possess over the traffic the powers which are granted to every burgh in Scotland and many municipalities in England?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I can only refer the hon. Member to the authority of the Royal Commission.

### Club Entertainments.

Mr. W. F. D. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the rooms of clubs and institutes in which stage plays, variety performances, and cinematograph exhibitions are constantly given are subject to any inspection, especially in respect of the means of ingress and egress; and, if not, whether he will insert provisions in the Licensing Bill which will have the effect of rendering these rooms as safe as public halls, theatres, and music halls, in which similar performances are given.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The suggestion of the hon. Member forms part of the large question whether and to what extent the law which now regulates places of public entertainment in the interests of public safety should be applied to private premises, including clubs, where large gatherings are held or entertainments are given. It would be outside the scope of the Licensing Bill to deal with the matter on a broad basis, and I think that it will be found undesirable to deal with only a small part of it.

Mr. MYER (Lambeth, N.): Will there be any inspection of some of the West-end clubs where gambling goes on?

Mr. BOWLES asked whether, as a matter of fact, these places referred to in the first part of the question were subject to any inspection.

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I imagine they are not.

Earl WINTERTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman make certain about it? It is a very important point.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am pretty certain about it.

### Hove Conservative Club.

Mr. RIDSDALE (Brighton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been directed to the evidence given in a case of murderous assault lately committed at Sackville Road, Hove, in which it was stated that the ground of quarrel was the non-payment of a sum of £15 put on by one man for the other at a club; if he can state the name of the club where the alleged transactions were carried on; and whether he will direct the attention of the authorities to that institution.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have obtained a report relating to the assault mentioned by my hon. friend, and find that the man who committed it is now under remand on the charge of feloniously wounding with intent to murder. While the case is *sub judice* I do not think it would be right for me to discuss any incidents of it.

Mr. RIDSDALE: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the name of the club?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir. The Hove Conservative Club.

### Flogging Sentences at Cardiff Assizes.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many convicts at the recent Assizes at Cardiff were sentenced to the punishment of flogging. what was the total number of lashes inflicted, and what was the greatest number of lashes inflicted on one individual; whether any, and, if so, which, of the cases in which at these Assizes prisoners were sentenced to be flogged were considered by the Home Secretary with a view to the remission or reduction of the penalty of the lash; whether the fact that these sentences of flogging had been passed came to his knowledge before the floggings were inflicted; and, if so, what steps, if any, did he take, having regard to the moral degradation produced and pain inflicted by such punishment, to satisfy himself of its absolute necessity in the interests of justice and for the preservation of social order.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Fourteen men were convicted of robbery with violence at the recent Assizes at Cardiff, and sentenced to corporal punishment, in addition to terms of penal servitude or imprisonment. The corporal punishment was twelve strokes with the cat in ten of the cases, fifteen strokes in three, and six strokes in one. Some of these cases were brought to my notice by the hon. Member at the time, and I obtained particulars of the punishments ordered, but, as I then informed him, the sentences were passed by humane and careful Judges, and I saw no reason for interference. Three of the men petitioned, and their petitions were considered before the infliction of the punishment, but they disclosed no ground for interference. An outbreak of these crimes of robbery with violence had recently taken place at Cardiff. The records of the prisoners showed that all but two of them had been previously convicted, several of them many times, and that ordinary sentences of imprisonment had failed to check their criminal tendencies.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Did the right hon. Gentleman consider each of the cases?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I considered those that were brought to my notice.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: But I brought every case to the right hon. Gentleman's notice.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am referring to the cases in which petitions were sent in.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: There were only three out of fourteen who petitioned. Was it not the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to consider every case?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir, my jurisdiction is not that of a Court of Appeal.

Mr. MACLEAN (Bath): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that since the infliction of these sentences there has not been a single case of robbery with violence in this district?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I believe that is the fact.

### The Cat-o'-Nine Tails.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the weight of the cat-o'-nine-tails used in the infliction of the punishment of the lash on prisoners sentenced to be flogged, and whether each stroke of the cat-o'-nine-tails inflicts at least nine stripes on the person flogged; by whom are the floggings ordered by Judges inflicted, and whether the persons on whom this office devolves get additional remuneration for its discharge; if so, what is the scale of the pay thus earned; are the sentences of floggings carried out in their entirety at once, or are the floggings administered by instalments at intervals; what time elapses between the pronouncement of a sentence of flogging and its infliction; whether persons on whom floggings are inflicted are immediately after the administration of the flogging conveyed to hospital; and what period of time on the average elapses from the infliction of the flogging to the convalescence of the prisoner.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The weight of the cat is 9 ounces, of which the handle weighs 6¾ ounces and the tails 2¼. Nine stripes would be inflicted if each of the nine tails struck separately. The sentences are carried out by prison officers, who receive 2s. 6d. extra remuneration on each occasion. They are carried out in their entirety, and not by instalments, as soon as possible after the expiration of the time within which notice of an appeal or of an application for leave to appeal may be given under the Criminal Appeal Act of 1907. A prisoner who has been flogged is not conveyed to hospital unless there is some special reason for so doing, which is very rarely the case, but is kept in the separate cell until the medical officer thinks him fit to resume work, a period which varies from half a day, to three days.

### Flogging Statistics.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many persons on conviction in Great Britain were sentenced to be flogged in the years 1905, 1906, and 1907, respectively; what were the total numbers of the lashes inflicted in each year, and what was the greatest number of lashes inflicted on an individual in each of these years; and whether he will state the names of the Judges who, in the years 1905, 1906, and 1907, sentenced men to be flogged, and the number of cases in which each of these Judges sentenced prisoners to the punishment of the lash.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. and learned Member will find the information he desires for the years 1905 and 1906 in Returns laid before this House in 1906 and 1907 (No. 217 of 1906, and No. 224 of 1907). Similar information for 1907 is being collected in response to an Address moved on the 7th instant.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in each of these years the number of flogging sentences was less than at the recent Cardiff Assizes?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Return will show.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: But does not the right hon. Gentleman know it is the fact?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Pay of High Wycombe Postal Officials.

MR. HERBERT (Buckinghamshire, Wycombe): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether it is intended to retain High Wycombe in Class 5 for purposes of scale of pay of sorting clerks and telegraphists; and whether, having regard to the fact that such classification purports to be based upon volume of work and cost of living, it is proposed to classify along with the smallest rural post office the office in a manufacturing town having no less than 130 chair factories.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): High Wycombe was in the old Class VI. for sorting clerks and telegraphists and goes, on the system of classification proposed by the Committee, into Class V. for sorting clerks and telegraphists. The cost of living is not yet ascertained.

### Pay of Auxiliary Rural Postmen.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the pay of existing auxiliary rural postmen on Bank Holidays has been reduced owing to the Hobhouse Report; and, if so, by how much, and for what reason.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Auxiliary rural postmen are treated in accordance with the recommendation in Paragraph 34 of the Report of the Select Committee on Post Office servants that: "Any officer who works on Bank Holiday should receive a day's leave in lieu, and that every postal servant, whether he works on Bank Holiday or not, should receive the full ordinary week's pay for the week in which the Bank Holiday falls, that if the time worked on Bank Holiday, reckoned at time and a half, exceeds the officer's normal duty on that day, the excess should be paid for at single rate and added to the normal week's pay."

### The Murray Creed System of Telegraphy.

MR. ALDEN: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the Report of the Committee on Press Telegrams states that the Murray Creed system is not ready; whether he could inform the House as to the expense that has already been incurred in connection with this system, the amount that has been paid to Mr. Murray, and the length of time it has been under discussion; and whether he will explain why the Department has refused to test or examine an English invention which has actually been in successful operation for the last twelve months in London.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The hon. Member seems to be under some misapprehension. The statement in the Report in question is merely that the Murray Creed System (as at present developed) is too delicate to be recommended for general use. But it has been in use by the Post Office for about two years with satisfactory results, and I am satisfied that the expenditure incurred in connection with it has been fully justified. Perhaps the hon. Member will let me know what is the invention he has in mind. A number have been tried within the last year or two.

### Lotteries for Religious Objects.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether he is aware that packages containing lottery circulars are permitted to go through the post when they relate to religious objects; and whether he will direct the attention of the Public Prosecutor to the matter.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir W. ROBSON, South Shields): I have no information on the subject, which is one for the Postmaster General to deal with.

### Register House, Edinburgh.

MR. A. DEWAR (Edinburgh, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to a Minute issued on 14th September, 1893, by the Secretary for Scotland, with the consent of the Treasury, regulating the terms and conditions on which the engrossing clerks in the Register House, Edinburgh, were to receive gratuities on retirement, and that the said terms and conditions were to the effect that the gratuity should be calculated on £120 a year or the average of three years, whichever was greater; whether, until May, 1906, the Treasury recognised that this Minute formed an essential part of the contract between the engrossing clerks and the Government, and regularly paid gratuities to retiring clerks calculated on the larger of the two sums; whether the said Minute still regulates the rate of gratuities paid; whether clerks who have retired since 1906 have been paid at the same rate as those who retired before that date; and, if not, why not.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): I fear I can add nothing to the Answer given by my predecessor on 19th August last to a similar Question by the hon. Member.

MR. A. DEWAR: May I ask whether those clerks who have retired since 1906 are receiving a different rate of gratuitous pay from those who retired formerly?

MR. HOBHOUSE said it was impossible for the Treasury to pay a larger pension than that to which the clerks were legally entitled.

MR. A. DEWAR said that did not answer his Question. What he wanted to know was whether a lower pension rate was now paid than was paid eighteen months ago, and if so why.

MR. HOBHOUSE replied that in certain cases he believed that was the case.

MR. A. DEWAR: Has the hon. Gentleman given notice to the officials that their pay will be reduced while they are yet in the service, or is it reduced without notice?

MR. HOBHOUSE asked for notice of the Question.

MR. A. DEWAR gave notice that he would call attention to the matter at the earliest possible moment.

### Circle Trawl in the Firth of Forth.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether, having in view the evil effects of the circle trawl in the upper reaches of the Firth of Forth, whereby large quantities of immature herrings are destroyed, the bulk of which have been disposed of as manure, causing loss to the fishing communities on both sides of the Firth of Forth, he will cause a searching inquiry to be made into the matter with a view to taking such action as may be necessary.

The SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire): Investigation shall certainly be made into this matter, which has not hitherto been brought under my notice.

### Gillespie v. Riddell—Sheep Farm Leases.

Major McMICKING (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware of the insecurity caused to sheep farming in Scotland by the decision of the Inner House of the Court of Session in the case of Gillespie *v.* Riddell, on 20th February, 1908, when it was held that the tenant of a sheep farm upon an entailed estate in right of a lease granted by one heir of entail in possession cannot enforce against a succeeding heir of entail in possession, as such, an obligation in the lease on the landlord to take over the sheep stock at the expiry of the tenancy; and what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

Mr. DUNDAS WHITE (Dumbartonshire): I also beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether his attention has been directed to the decision of the Court of Session in the case of Gillespie *v.* Riddell (45 Scottish Law Reporter, 514), in which the Inner House, reversing the decision of the Lord Ordinary, held that the tenant of a sheep farm upon an entailed estate in right of a lease granted by one heir of entail in possession cannot enforce against a succeeding heir of entail in possession, as such, an obligation in the lease on the landlord to take over the sheep stock at the expiry of the tenancy; and whether, in view of the effect of that decision on sheep farming in Scotland, he will introduce remedial legislation.

Mr. SINCLAIR: My attention has been directed to this case, the importance of which I fully realise. I understand, however, that an appeal against the judgment of the Court of Session has been presented to the House of Lords, and it would be premature to consider as to the need for legislation until the result of the proceedings in that tribunal are before me. My hon. friends may rest assured that in the meantime the Government will keep the point under close observation.

### Scottish Education Department.

Mr. LAMONT (Buteshire): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether, seeing that the Scottish Local Government Board is already located in Edinburgh, and that he has introduced legislation to set up in the same city a Scottish Department of Agriculture, though expressing a conviction that the Scottish Education Department should not likewise be transferred thither until the Scottish Parliament has been re-established, he will consider the propriety of preparing a Scottish Home Rule Bill with a view to its introduction next session.

Mr. SINCLAIR: I am not at present able to make any announcement as to legislation next session for Scotland.

Mr. AINSWORTH: Will the right hon. Gentleman say, if he is not able to answer the larger question, whether he will consider the advisability of transferring the Board of Education to Edinburgh, seeing the strong feeling there is in favour of it among the Scottish Members?

Mr. SINCLAIR: There will be ample opportunity to consider this point. The point has already been suggested to the Government and considered by them, but they have not made any proposal on the subject.

Mr. PIRIE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there is an Amendment to the Education Bill on the Paper dealing with this question, and will he give his special consideration to it?

Mr. SINCLAIR: Yes.

### Carlisle Pier, Kingstown.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he will allow the hon. Member for Waterford to inspect the Report of Captain Meldrum, nautical adviser to the Post Office, as to the feasibility of sailing two lines of steamers f Carlisle

Pier, Kingstown, without interference with the mail service.

MR. HOBHOUSE: No, Sir; this was a confidential Report by Captain Meldrum to the Post Office, and I regret that I cannot comply with the hon. Member's wishes.

### Derry City Factory Prosecution.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a case heard at the Derry City Petty Sessions on 30th April last, in which Messrs. Tillie and Henderson, Foyle Factory, were summoned by Miss Hilda Martindale, inspector of factories, for having failed to take adequate measures for securing and maintaining a reasonable temperature in a room in the factory so as not to interfere with the purity of the air; whether he is aware that it was given in evidence that in one of the rooms where eighty-six women and girls were working the temperature was found to be 46 degrees in one part and 49 degrees in another, that the room was not provided with any means of securing warmth and the twenty-six windows in it were closed owing to the cold, that it was contended by the defence that the breath of the workers was sufficient to heat the rooms properly, that medical evidence given was to the effect that a temperature of 46 to 49 degrees induced lung trouble, neuralgia, and rheumatism, and that the warmth produced by the breath of the workers vitiated the air; is he aware that it was contended by the defence that the temperature of prisons was good enough for the workers, and that the Bench by a majority dismissed the case, and refused to state a case except on a point of law; and whether, in view of the importance to the workers of the issue raised in this case, he proposes to take any further action with regard to it.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have received a Report of the proceedings in this case, and the facts are substantially as stated in the Question. I cannot agree with the view taken by the Court that a temperature of 46 degrees was a reasonable temperature for persons engaged in a sedentary occupation; and it is a view I think which few, if any, other Courts would take. No other case of the kind has come to my notice. I am advised that there is no appeal from the decision, but the matter shall have my consideration with a view to seeing what further steps may be desirable.

### Irish Treasury Remembrancer.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can say if any, and how many, Irishmen applied for the position of Treasury Remembrancer, recently filled by an imported English official; whether he will give the names of the Irish applicants, and the departments to which they belong, their length of service, and positions in their several departments; and whether he will explain in what respect or qualifications the English gentleman appointed is superior to the Irishmen rejected.

MR. HOBHOUSE: So far as I am aware, no Irishman applied for the appointment in question.

### Carlisle Pier Correspondence.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state on what date he proposes to lay upon the Table of the House the correspondence which has passed on the subject of the use of the Carlisle Pier, Kingstown, by vessels other than the mail steamers, between the Treasury and the Commissioners of Public Works, the Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour, the London and North Western Railway Company, and the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, and any other steamboat company or Government Department, between 1st January, 1907, and the present date.

MR. HOBHOUSE: All the correspondence on this subject which can be published has been laid already and was issued to hon. Members on the 8th instant.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Why have not the other Papers promised by the Postmaster-General been given?

MR. HOBHOUSE: I am not aware any others were promised.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: It is stated in one of the letters that further communication will be made to the London and North Western Company on the subject of the dues to be paid by the company. That further communication is not included in the Papers, however.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I must ask for notice.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): What is the reason why the Government are afraid to produce these letters?

[No Answer was returned.]

Mr. DELANY (Queen's Co., Ossory): Is it not the fact that the London and North Western Company have, since they got access to Carlisle Pier, raised their rates considerably?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I must have notice of that.

### Irish Universities Bill.

Mr. C. J. O'DONNELL (Newington, Walworth) asked leave, it being a quarter to four, to put the following Question to the Chief Secretary for Ireland: Whether he was aware that the Convocation of the Royal University of Ireland, representing more than 6,000 Irish graduates, would meet on Tuesday, when several Resolutions condemnatory of the new Universities Bill would be discussed; whether—considering that the city and corporation of Cork had already condemned the subordination of Cork College to the new Dublin University; that the Catholics of Belfast had condemned the proposal to limit the Catholic representaton on the proposed Belfast Senate to one member in thirty-five, though Catholics formed half the total population of Ulster; that the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church had condemned by a large majority the sectarian character of the new Bill; and that the annual congress of the Irish school teachers, representing more than 8,000 schools, had condemned the proposed exclusion of home students from graduation — he would delay the Second Reading until the House had had time to be informed of the results of the meeting of Convocation.

The request was met with cries of "No" from the Nationalist Benches, and on Mr. Birrell rising to reply the objection was renewed, whereupon the right hon. Gentleman resumed his seat.

Mr. C. J. O'DONNELL: Is it just or seemly that this Bill should be rushed through?

*Mr. SPEAKER: The Question of which the hon. Gentleman has given notice is a proper and urgent one, and that is why I called on the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.): Without entering into the details of the various matters mentioned in the Question, there is not, so far as I am aware, any substantial reason why this House should not at once proceed to the discussion of the Irish Universities Bill.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will you give a ruling, Sir, on the point of order whether a Question on the Paper can be put and answered after the time for questioning has elapsed?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, if it is urgent, and relates to the business of the day. It is obvious that if this Question had been postponed the time would have gone by for asking it and getting an answer.

### Empire Day.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the increasing desire among British subjects at home and abroad officially to recognise Empire Day, His Majesty's Government will prescribe 24th May as a day on which the British flag is henceforth to be flown over Government buildings, including those of the War Office and Board of Trade.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. Asquith, Fife, E.): I can only repeat the Answer given last year by the late Prime Minister, with which I agree, namely, that he had already given this matter his consideration, and that he did not think it advisable that any order should be issued with regard to the hoisting of flags on Government buildings on the day in question.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: May I ask whether the Cabinet as a whole have any objection to each Minister in charge of a Department having the flag flown over his own Department?

MR. ASQUITH: Not the faintest.

MR. DELANY: Would the right hon. Gentleman say what Ireland has gained from the Imperial policy of the late Government that her people should take off their hats and shout on Empire Day?

[No Answer was returned.]

### By-Elections and the Corrupt Practices Act.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that several hundred canvassers and similar agents were sent to Wolverhampton during the recent contest to work on behalf of one of the candidates, but for whom the candidate is not held to be financially or otherwise responsible; and whether he proposes to abolish the Corrupt Practices Act so that candidates who desire to respect its spirit as well as its letter may not be hampered by its continued existence in its present form, or whether he has any intention of amending it so as to give effect to the desire of Parliament that the expenses of elections should be kept within reasonable and definite limits, and responsibility for all expenditure incurred placed upon the candidate and his accredited agent.

MR. ASQUITH: I have no information as to what happened at the contest referred to beyond what has appeared in the public Press. The impression left on my mind is that so far as by-elections are concerned the Corrupt Practices Act is being rapidly reduced to a dead-letter. I cannot at this moment promise legislation on the subject, but the matter is one that deserves, and will receive, grave consideration.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): May I ask whether canvassing and urging electors to vote in a certain direction is not the highest and noblest duty in which a man can engage?

[No Answer was returned.]

### The Public Trustee.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether Mr. C. J. Stewart, the Public Trustee, has definitely resigned all directorships of public companies held by him.

MR. ASQUITH: I have nothing to add to the Answer which I gave to the hon. Member last Tuesday.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: The Answer then was that the Public Trustee was willing to resign these appointments? I now ask, has he done so?

MR. ASQUITH: I can add nothing to my Answer.

### Autumn Session

MR. SMEATON (Stirlingshire): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he can now say whether there will be an autumn session, and from what date it is likely to commence.

MR. ASQUITH: I think that an autumn session is inevitable; but I cannot at present forecast the date at which it is likely to commence. I am glad, judging from the cheers of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that they approve this.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind the recommendations of the Select Committee to allow the House to adjourn early in the summer?

MR. ASQUITH: My sympathies are entirely with the hon. Member.

EARL WINTERTON: In view of the need by hon. Members to make engagements some time before, will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of making an announcement by Whitsuntide?

MR. ASQUITH: I will not say by Whitsuntide, but I will consult the general convenience.

### Old Age Pensions.

MR. SOARES: I beg to ask the Prime Minister what is the position of a pauper aged seventy with regard to an old-age pension; will such a person be entitled to receive a pension if he ceases from being a charge on the rates; and will the same rules apply both to outdoor and indoor relief.

MR. ASQUITH: I should be glad that Questions in regard to the details of the scheme should be addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the President of the Local Government Board according to the subject matter. As I stated in my Budget Speech it is not the intention, at any rate during the first year, to extend the benefits of the scheme to existing paupers. Actual receipt of Poor Law relief, whether outdoor or indoor, at the time of application or within a time which I will not at present definitely fix, but which will not be unduly long, will be a disqualification. It is necessary that some such provision should be made to prevent the transfer of the cost of Poor Law relief from rates to taxes and to keep entirely separate Poor Law and pension administration. As I pointed out, this part of the scheme is necessarily provisional, and without prejudice to changes in the law and administration of poor relief which may result from the recommendations of the Poor Law Commission.

### Education Bill.

MR. BOWLES asked whether there was any truth in the report that the Government intended to take the Second Reading of the Education Bill next Monday.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY, Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will ask the Prime Minister on Thursday.

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### NEW MEMBER SWORN.

The Right Hon. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, for the Parliamentary Burgh of Dundee.

### SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B. (in respect of the Children Bill): Mr. Kennedy; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Children Bill): Mr. Lardner.

Report to lie upon the Table.

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### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

Hop Industry.—That they give leave to the Lord Eversley to attend in order to his being examined as a Witness before the Select Committee appointed by this House on the Hop Industry as desired by this House, his Lordship consenting.

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## *NEW BILL.*

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### INFANT LIFE PROTECTION (No. 2) BILL.

"To prevent the destruction of children during birth," presented by Lord Robert Cecil; supported by Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Chiozza Money, and Mr. Simon; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 220.]

### UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM BILL.

"To make further provision with respect to the University of Durham," presented by Mr. Hills; supported by Sir William Anson, Sir David Brynmor-Jones, and Mr. Hudson; to be read a second time upon Monday, 25th May, and to be printed. [Bill 221.]

### CHEAP TRAINS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Cheap Trains for the working classes," presented by Mr. Bowerman; supported by Mr. Hodge, Mr. Hudson, Mr. J. W. Taylor, Mr. Wardle, and Mr. Thorne; to be read a second time upon Monday, 25th May, and to be printed. [Bill 222.]

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### CHILDREN (EXPENSES).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question again proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament of any Expenses that may be incurred and of any contributions that may be made under the provisions of any Act of the present session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) moved to leave out the words "and of any contributions that may be made." He was afraid that the Motion was not understood by Members either on his own side of the House or on the opposite side. That was because the hon. Gentleman opposite had persisted in refusing to put the Resolution upon the Order Paper so that every Member of the House might have an opportunity of seeing it. He did not propose on that occasion again to refer to speeches of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, when Resolutions of that kind were introduced into the last Parliament by the then Government. On every occasion —and they were rare; he did not think more than one or two in the whole of the last Parliament—right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite vied with each other, first of all in saying that those Resolutions ought to be put upon the Order Paper so that Members might know what they were doing, and also in saying that the House should not vote unknown sums of money. The attention of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had been called to that by hon. Members on his side of the House, including himself; they had read their speeches to them, but he was sorry to say that they did not seem inclined to profit by their own speeches, and, therefore, as he feared it was useless to expect that they, when in power, would adhere to any principle expressed by them in opposition, he did not propose to trouble the House with their speeches upon that occasion. He might say that all the Resolutions which he remembered until this one, of which, by the courtesy of the Clerk, he had been empowered to obtain a copy, had provided for the payment out of the Treasury of certain expenses. There was only one payment; it was to be for expenses incurred under the Bill, but this Resolution was different from all the others, because it provided for two objects, for "any contributions that may be made," and for "expenses." He had two Amendments down, the one he was now proposing, and the other to omit the expenses. As regarded the first, it seemed to him that the words were very vague, and that it was impossible to know what they covered. The object might be perfectly good, but the House was committing itself by the Resolution to approve of any contributions that might be made under any Act. At the present moment they were pledging themselves to he did not know what next year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was present, and he hoped to have his support when he went into the division lobby. His solicitude for the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year was one of the reasons why he desired to leave out those words. The right hon. Gentleman had a very hard task, and if he was to be bound by that Resolution all he could say was that he was very sorry for the taxpayer and also for the right hon. Gentleman. A few days ago the Under-Secretary, in asking him to assent after twelve o'clock to the passing of that Resolution, was most enticing in his manner, and he was not at all sure that had it not been for the stern sense of duty which animated him on that occasion he might not have succumbed to the wiles of the hon. Gentleman, but he put duty above everything, and did not succumb. The Under-Secretary said that the Resolution had nothing whatever to do with salaries. But it was not salaries that they objected to. It was the question of expense. They wanted to know what the expense was going to be and what the contributions were. He presumed that the Home Office had made some calculation as to what the cost and the contributions were going to be. If he was right in that assumption he wanted to know why the contributions were not specified. Why were they to give a blank cheque, even to the Home Secretary? He did not know anybody on that side of the House to whom he should have greater pleasure in giving a blank cheque, but he objected to giving blank cheques, even to hon. Members on his own side of the

House, and he objected to giving blank cheques to hon. Gentlemen on the other. Therefore he wanted to know, first of all, whether or not the Home Office had made any calculations as to the amount of the contributions; secondly, if they had made those calculations, what they were; thirdly, why they had not been put in the Resolution; and fourthly, who was to contribute and to what. He begged to move—

Amendment proposed—

"In line 3, to leave out from the word 'incurred,' to the word 'under'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury*).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

* THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL, Yorkshire, Cleveland) said that perhaps it would be for the convenience of the Committee if he saved time by saying a few words of explanation at once. The form of the Resolution he was told was precisely the usual form that it had always been the practice for the House to pass on occasions such as that. The House was not asked, as the hon. Baronet suggested, to sanction any contribution offhand that might be asked, or to give a blank cheque to the Home Secretary or anybody else. All that was asked was that it should grant permission to the Grand Committee upstairs now considering the Bill to make such monetary provisions in the Bill as might seem suitable to that Committee, and before any money could be granted under this money Resolution it must first have the sanction of the Standing Committee upstairs; secondly, the sanction of the House on the Report stage; thirdly, the approval of the Secretary of State before the grants could be made; fourthly, the approval of the Treasury; and fifthly, it would be subject to the review of the House when the grants were made on the Estimates that would be presented to it The Children Bill, in addition to its numerous other good qualities, had this virtue, that it did not create any new offices and that it did not propose any new salaries. There were three purposes with which the money Resolution would deal. In the first place the grants to day industrial schools were now limited to a very low figure. Only 1s. per week per child could be given as a maximum, and the result was that schools were being closed and day industrial schools were nowhere being developed. The Government proposed that the Secretary of State and the Treasury should be given power to increase the grants above the present low limit. This change was recommended by the Departmental Committee on Reformatories and Industrial Schools, of which his predecessor the hon. Member for Ayrshire was chairman. This additional expenditure would, they believed, indirectly result in economies as children in future might be committed to a day industrial school instead of the much more expensive industrial schools now available. The second object for which money was required was to enable a lump sum to be paid so that children from industrial schools might be emigrated at the end of their sentences. At present there was no statutory power to make such grants. Money could only be granted for custody and maintenanec. This change was also recommended by the Departmental Committee. The third and only other purpose for which money was needed under the Bill was to enable grants to be paid for the maintenance of children to be committed to places of detention instead of to prison. These grants would not be additional expenditure; they would be in substitution for existing expenditure. Children, instead of being sent to prison, would be sent to places of detention, and it was obvious that the money which would have been paid for them in prison should be diverted for their maintenance in places of detention. It was wholly impossible to estimate the cost of the various grants. They could not form a lump sum estimate of grants to be made *per capita*. They could not say how far the magistrates would commit children to day industrial schools instead of to other schools, and it was equally impossible to know how many children would be committed by the magistrates to places of detention. In these circumstances it was perfectly hopeless to expect any exact estimate, and he should not venture

to lay before the Committee any figure. It must necessarily depend on the working of the Act when it came into operation, and upon the extent to which the magistrates made use of the various powers. If the grants were too high they would be criticised on the Estimates when they came before Parliament. He asked if the Committee would consent to the passing of the Resolution so that the Standing Committee which was now sitting week by week to examine the clauses of the Bill might not be hindered.

Mr. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) said the Under-Secretary had given many excellent reasons with which he cordially agreed why the Bill should be passed, and had then proceeded to say that it was impossible to estimate what the expenses would be. The Under-Secretary had referred the Committee to the safeguards in the matter of expenditure, but it appeared to him that what the hon. Gentleman had said gave all the more reason why they should be very careful in parting with the powers which were inherent in this House, and why they should support the Amendment. It seemed to him that the Government were unduly hurrying the Resolution. He understood that the Standing Committee had dealt with only thirteen clauses of the Children Bill which contained altogether 119 clauses. Surely if they were going to pass a Resolution such as this, it would be better to wait until the discussion upstairs was finished. Then they would be more likely to know to what the expenses would amount.

Captain CRAIG (Down, E.) said he did not understand the hon. Baronet who moved the Amendment to ask exact figures as to the expenses; he merely stated that no approximation as to the amount had been put before the Committee. The Under-Secretary had asked the Committee to pass the Resolution so that the Standing Committee upstairs might be enabled to go on with its work.

*The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is really not discussing the Amendment. I allowed the hon. Baronet to discuss the Resolution in moving the Amendment, as indeed was his right, but I must, now that the Amendment has been put from the Chair, ask those Members of the Committee who wish to speak to confine themselves to the Amendment.

Captain CRAIG said he would not transgress the ruling of the Chairman. He understood the Amendment to mean that, although this Resolution might possibly refer to the Children Bill, yet according to the wording it might refer to any Act and the present session.

*The CHAIRMAN: Order, order. That has nothing to do with this Amendment.

Sir F. BANBURY said he was sorry that the Under-Secretary had not satisfied him in any way. They were told also that the Home Office was to be given power to increase grants to any extent.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: The Treasury has control over all these grants, and they all have to be voted by Parliament.

Sir F. BANBURY said that what he wanted to do was to keep the power in this House. It was all very well for the Under-Secretary to say that there were so many safeguards, but they all knew what that amounted to. The Estimates might come on at the end of August at four o'clock in the morning when there were only a few Members in the House. It would be foolish for the House of Commons to part with the power which it had at the present moment. He had no idea that the words which he proposed to leave out went so far as appeared from the hon. Gentleman's statement. When he asked the hon. Gentleman for some estimate of the expenses, he did not wish him to set it down exactly in pounds, shillings and pence, but he thought that the Home Office and the Treasury ought to have some idea of what the amount would be. They had none, and in these circumstances he would certainly divide the House. [Nationalist cries of "Oh!"] Hon. Members below the gangway said "Oh!" He knew that the Irish Party were always very anxious to spend other people's money. He hoped he would have the support of hon. Members opposite who were pledged to economy.

**Mr. RAWLINSON** (Cambridge University) said that Resolutions of the kind they were now considering were either a farce or they were of some use to the House of Commons. He understood that they were the most important business of the House. Hon. Members on the Ministerial side were in the habit when in Opposition of objecting to blank cheques being given to the then Government. It was idle to say that the safeguards were sufficient. It was more and more the tendency of Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, to propose that work which ought to be done by the House itself should be handed over to Departments of the State. They had now the power of saying whether these contributions should be allowed to be made or not. He had no doubt that the emigration of children was an excellent idea, but the Committee ought to be told approximately what the cost would be. They were asked to sanction the expenditure in advance, and there would be, he understood, words put in the Bill to limit the amount. He ventured to submit that the question was far greater than the mere amount of money necessary for the expenses of the Children Bill; and he thought that these formal Resolutions should be protested against by the private Members on both sides of the House. He took exception to them on two occasions when his own party was in power. At the same time he had to confess that if he were in the position of the Under-Secretary he should do practically what the hon. Gentleman was doing, for it was an exceedingly convenient procedure.

**Mr. BOWLES** (Lambeth, Norwood) said he understood from the speech of the Under-Secretary that the only purposes under the Bill for which new expenditure would be required were first, for day industrial schools; secondly, a lump sum in aid of the emigration of children detained in industrial schools; and thirdly, for the maintenance of children who instead of being sent to prison would be sent to places of detention. All those were clearly expenses that would be incurred under the Act. Why then did the Government think it so necessary to take power there and then by that Resolution, not only for expenses under the Act but for any other contributions that might be made? What were those contributions? The Under-Secretary had told the Committee nothing about them. The only thing he told the Committee was the absolutely clear expenses under the Act. He hoped the Under-Secretary would reconsider the matter. Certainly if his hon. friend went to a division he should support him.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 264; Noes, 48. (Division List No. 82.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Branch, James
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)

Dunne,Major E.Martin(Walsall
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glen-Coats,Sir T. (Renfrew,W.)
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon,Rt.Hn.SirW.Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert,Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Jones,Sir D.Brynmor(Swansea)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb,Edmund G.(Leominster)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lever,A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert

Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs)
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh,Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan,Francis E.(Leitrim,N.)
Meehan,PatrickA.(Queen's Co.)
Menzies, Walter
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Perks, Robert William
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.

Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea. Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards,T.F.(Wolverh'mpt'n)
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G Scott(Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick,B.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas,Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampt'n)
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason,John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J.W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

## NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn.SirAlex.F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major

Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn. Sir H.

Balcarres, Lord
Bowles, G. Stewart
Butcher, Samuel Henry

Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Clive, Percy Archer
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Craig,Captain James(Down,E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison(York)
Fell, Arthur
Gordon, J.
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Heaton, John Henniker
Hope,JamesFitzalan(Sheffield)
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lee,Arthur H.(Hants.Fareham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin,S.
Magnus, Sir Philip
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Winterton, Earl
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley,Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Lonsdale.

Main Question again proposed.

CAPTAIN CRAIG moved to omit the words, "any Act of the present session," in order to insert the words, "the Bill now in Committee." He thought that any business man in any quarter of the House would support that Amendment, because the Motion made by the Under-Secretary as it stood on the Paper, applied to money that might be expended under the provisions of any Act relating to young persons, passed during the present session. He had gone to considerable trouble in searching through other public Bills in order to discover whether any of them would apply in this matter; and he could only narrow them down to the Infant Life Protection Bill, several Bills relating to health, and several charitable Bills. There were several charities dealt with in the public Bills. He had tried to find out whether any of these fell within the wording of the Resolution, and although the hon. Member might say that the terms of his Motion were the same as those which had been moved from year to year, he thought that in a House dominated by Radical principles he might have considered it fair to break through traditions, and frame his Motion in somewhat more business-like terms. If his Amendment were accepted, it simply meant that the Government would get what they wanted, and what they were asking for. They asked, with regard to the Children Bill, that the Committee should be empowered to go on with its work, but this Resolution referred to any Act of the present session, and not to the specific Bill under consideration. Although that might, to those hon. Members who took no interest whatever in these financial Resolutions, appear to be a trivial matter, he did not suppose that even the most sanguine Member on either side of the House expected to get more than one measure of such importance dealing with the protection of children and young persons through the House this session. That being so, surely it was not extravagant to ask the Government to nail down their Resolution to that specific Bill. The House would be most wrongly parting with its rights and privileges if it passed the Resolution without amendment. When he received his Order Paper he thought that perhaps a misprint had occurred, and that instead of "an" the word "any" had been printed, but on his arrival at the House he found that the copy handed to him in the Vote Office corresponded with that which he had received. He hoped the Government would see the importance of the subject, and if they were, as they had already stated, only following precedent, he asked them to take a bold step and create a precedent, by making the Resolution read so that anyone could understand it, and depriving it of the omnibus character which it now bore. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 4 to leave out from the first word 'of' to the word 'to,' in line 4, and insert the words 'the Bill now in Committee,'"—(*Captain Craig*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL said the hon. Member proposed to omit the words of the Resolution applying it to any Act of the present session, and to insert the words "the Bill now in Committee," but no expenditure could be made necessary by a Bill. The hon. Member's Amendment, if accepted, would make nonsense of the Resolution, because no expenditure could be incurred under a Bill, but could only be made necessary by an Act of Parliament. The Resolution, as it stood, was in accordance with invariable practice and precedent, and there was no reason for altering it.

Sir F. BANBURY said he had never heard a lamer statement. The Under-Secretary had taken refuge in the fact that the Resolution was in the usual form, and therefore no change would be made—and he belonged to the Radical Party, who thought that the procedure of the House was slow and clogged the wheels of progress! A greater confession of the hollowness of Radical professions had never before been made. He thought the thanks of all the hon. Members on that side of the House were due to his hon. friend for his researches in this branch of procedure. The Under-Secretary said that no Bill could confer powers of expenditure, but his hon. friend could amend his Amendment and use the word "Act" instead of "Bill," and put in the title of the Bill and call it an enactment.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: The title may be altered.

Sir F. BANBURY said that if they were going to fall back upon technical objections and precedents, of course many could be found ready, but, as the hon. Member for Preston said the other day, there were many foolish precedents for everything, and the Under-Secretary was falling back upon one of these old precedents. His hon. friend's Amendment must commend itself to everyone who was an economist and desired that the finance of the country should be administered in a proper manner. The passing of slipshod Resolutions of this sort was absolutely abhorrent, because they did not know what they were laying themselves open to by putting in the words "any Act of the present session." If his Amendment had been accepted there would not have been quite so much force in this one, but if this were rejected, money might be devoted to any Act dealing with children. He challenged any hon. Member on the other side of the House to get up and say that that statement was wrong. Under these circumstances he would have great pleasure in supporting his hon. and gallant friend if he went to a division as he hoped he would. It showed the weakness of the case of the Under-Secretary that there was not one single Member opposite who would get up and support the Government view.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 266; Noes, 56. (Division List No. 83.)

## AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry,Redmond J. (Tyrone,N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell,SirJ.H.(Essex,Romf'rd
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Branch, James
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner,J.F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner,RtHnSirJ.T.(Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Buxton,Rt.Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Davies,M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson,W.H. (St. Pancras,N
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)

Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r
Hart-Davies, T.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.
Meehan, Patrick A. (Queen's Co.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. Lonsdale.

## NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur

Bowles, G. Stewart
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clive, Percy Archer
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fell, Arthur
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Guinness, Walter Edward
Hardy,Laurence (Kent,Ashf'rd
Heaton, John Henniker
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lee,Arthur H.(Hants,Fareham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin,S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G.(Petersfield)
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Valentia, Viscount
Wilson,A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Captain Craig and Mr. Ashley.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 268; Noes, 52. (Division List No. 84.)

## AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry,RedmondJ.(Tyrone,N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Gethell,Sir J.H.(Essex,Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Branch, James
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L. (Lancs.,Leigh)
Brunner,RtHn SirJ.T(Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Buxton, Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir Wm.J.(S.Pancras,W
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson,W. H.(St.Pancras,N.
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan,C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,Major E.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T.(Renfrew,W.)
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon,Rt Hn.SirW.Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Sir D.Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G.(Leominster)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.

Lever, A.Levy(Essex,Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire,Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah(Down, S.)
MacVeigh,Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan,Francis E.(Leitrim,N.)
Meehan,Patrick A.(Queen's Co.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampt'n)
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E(Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilson, J.W. (Worcestersh.,N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

## NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt.Hn.SirAlex.F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO.
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fell, Arthur
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Guinness, Walter Edward
Heaton, John Henniker
Hope,James Fitzalan(Sheffield)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G.(Petersfield)
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East)
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Valentia, Viscount
Wilson,A. Stanley (York,E. R.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Captain Craig.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 266; Noes, 35. (Division List No. 85.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J.H.(Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Branch, James
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, RtHnSirJ.T.(Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Buxton, Rt.Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C.H.(Sussex, E.Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H.(St.Pancras, N.
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Rt Hn.SirW.Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor(Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Sir D.Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A.Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H.(Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah(Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, FrancisE. (Leitrim, N.)
Meehan, Patrick A.(Queen's Co.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Nicholson, Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Pullar, Sir Robert

Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Remnant, James Farquharson
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G Scott (Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E. (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Fell, Arthur
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Guinness, Walter Edward
Hamilton, Marquess of
Heaton, John Henniker
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Younger, George

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Frederick Banbury and Captain Craig.

Resolved, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament of any Expenses that may be incurred and of any contributions that may be made under the provisions of any Act of the present session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Protection of Children and Young Persons."

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

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## IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. HUTTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Morley), in moving, "That this House refuses to take any step which would increase the strength for denominational interests in any branch of education in Ireland, believing that the interests of truth and the welfare of the nation demanded the "maintenance of an entirely free atmosphere, particularly in the region of higher education, and that this cannot be secured on a denominational basis" said, and therefore declines to provide further with the measure, that it was to him a matter of sincere regret that he should find himself in opposition to his right hon. friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland. There was no man in the House for whom he had a higher personal regard, and there were no proposals to which he would give a more sympathetic consideration than those coming from his right hon. friend. They all knew and recognised his great passion for furthering the interests of education, both in England, for whose educational interests he was responsible a short time ago, and in Ireland, for which country he was responsible at the present time. But having regard to the proposal which he had laid before the House he did not think the right hon. Gentleman could be at all surprised, nor indeed would he complain, if he or some other Member put down an Amendment such as he now rose to move. He thought the Chief Secretary would naturally look for some sort of criticism or some kind of opposition from those who had been accustomed to look upon the matters dealt with in this Bill from the position which he (Mr. Hutton) and his friends occupied. That position was not so popular to-day as it was a few years ago; and it was a position which seemed to be becoming rather old-fashioned, but one which they had the honour to fill. A generation ago, the views which he held to-day in respect to education and religion and their common relation to the State were very prevalent in the Liberal Party, especially that section of it associated with Nonconformity. Though he could not hope to put their case before the House with the force he desired, at any rate, he was glad of the opportunity of stating in regard to this Bill some of the positions which he thought the Liberal Party ought not to desert. He recognised the courage of the right hon. Gentleman in tackling this question. Whether at the present moment it was politic was another matter. He believed the Government had taken on its shoulders the consideration of a great many topics of first-class importance, and he was a little surprised that they should have chosen the present moment for shouldering this question, which was a very thorny one indeed, and might prove thornier still before this Bill became law. The proposals of the right hon. Gentleman were, he thought, of a frankly denominational character. He had brought forward a proposal for the settlement of what had been a very difficult question, and no doubt he hoped to pass a measure which should be a settlement for a very considerable time. He was always suspicious of proposals which were to achieve a permanent settlement. He did not think when they looked back, at any rate on questions that related to education and religion, that they had been very successful with proposals that were to be far-reaching and effect a settlement. It was far wiser to proceed by steps in these matters rather than to attempt a revolutionary proposal and build on a foundation which the House and the country had never hitherto accepted. The Bill was frankly on a denominational basis. It might be said that there were no denominational tests, and that there were provisions to avoid all appearance at any rate of any denominational basis, but he thought it was well to brush away all these considerations, and frankly recognise at the beginning that the Bill proposed to settle the University question of Ireland upon a denominational basis. They had had from the hon. Member for East Mayo, in his speech upon the First Reading of the Bill, a reference to the Catholic demand in regard to this question. He understood that the Bill met their wishes. Of course he made no complaint about it on that ground. He was always very glad if any wishes as regarded education were met by the Government without departing from what he believed to be sound principles. But this Bill met what the hon. Member spoke of as the Catholic demand. He was always at a loss to know what were the Catholic demands. He made no pretence to an intimate knowledge of the question. All he could say about it was that he did not think he had ever missed a single debate upon the question. Though he never offered any remarks himself he had always during the time that he had had a seat in the House been an attentive listener to the interesting discussion of the question. What was it that constituted the Catholic demand in regard to the University question? The Queen's Colleges did not meet it. They were under the Episcopal ban, and because of that he supposed they had to go. There was instituted a Royal University. That had not met the Catholic demand, so he supposed it had to go. In addition they had Maynooth, which was in possession of a very handsome endowment, and another College. None of these met what the hon. Member spoke of as the Catholic demand. But this Bill did, and he thought that that was a confession, whether it appeared on the face of the clauses or of the grant charge, that it was frankly a denominational proposal. He did not know whether a

University upon denominational basis met with the ideal of his right hon. friend or not. He did not know, if he were beginning *de novo*, whether he would set up a University on a denominational basis or not. But what he asked for was that, in treating this question, they should be frank with one another and say what were their ideals in regard to University education in Ireland or anywhere else, and ask the House if they could not get all they wanted at a time to take one step in the right direction. He frankly said that the denominational basis for Universities was not his ideal, and this Bill took not only one step but many steps in what he conceived to be a wrong direction. If he had any quarrel with the right hon. Gentleman it was that in a Bill of this kind they were taking substantial steps in a direction which led towards an ideal in regard to education which he believed to be fundamentally wrong. He could not presume to say what ought to be the characteristics of a University; he did not pretend to have made a sufficient study or to have sufficient knowledge, but he ventured to lay down two principles with which he did not think his right hon. friend or anybody in the House ought to quarrel. The first was that it ought to be open to and frequented by all classes of the community. It was all very well to say there was no prohibition, but every provision was taken with the exception of prohibiting the attendance of those who did not belong to the particular denomination. Otherwise every inducement was offered to students of a particular denomination to attend a particular University, and it was so arranged and so provided that what was bound to happen was that in the Belfast University they would have Presbyterians in a large majority; at Trinity there would be Anglicans and very few others; and in the other University there would be Roman Catholics and not many others. That was not carrying out, at any rate, the first principle he laid down, that any satisfactory University ought to offer every inducement to all classes of the community to attend. And in this particular case they were making the difficulty so obvious that they would have the three Universities, however free they might be on paper, actually available only to those belonging to one particular denomination or another. The other principle that he would lay down was that in all branches of learning there should be absolute freedom in regard to study, research, and teaching. He did not mean to say that any University must be expected to provide teaching upon every subject that might be desired, but where there were subjects provided for by University chairs, they ought to be assured that there was absolute freedom in study, in research, and in teaching. Was it likely that in regard to a University where they had secured a denominational atmosphere at any rate they were likely to have this absolute freedom? It was perfectly certain that although they might not have tests on paper they might have indirect as well as direct tests. A professor might find his classroom vacant because he had gone in his teaching beyond the limits prescribed by the doctrine of his Church. If he had been so venturesome as to do that, and no pressure could be brought to bear upon him individually and personally, pressure could be brought upon the students, and directly or indirectly they could very successfully bring tests to bear when they had provided that the Universities were to be frequented only by those of a particular denomination. The result of that would be that they would take every possible precaution to have theological "pens" and not Universities in the proper sense of the term. He always looked for education to be assisted by the State, and if it was to fulfil what he believed to be its proper functions, he always looked upon it as a unifying force. Where they had in an educational institution people of different classes and different denominations it brought out what was common to all and unified them. By this Bill they were making the Universities a dividing and not a unifying force, and that was a deplorable result. His right hon. friend was aware of the examples of other countries in regard to the development of University education. He did not pretend to be well acquainted with any particular style of University that had been established recently or the developments that had taken place. The only knowledge he had was from the Paper laid on the

Table by the Government something like ten years ago as the result of inquiries in regard to Universities in all countries on the Continent. He did not see any grounds of encouragement from the result of those inquiries to give any support to this proposal of his right hon. friend. On the contrary, it seemed to him that the whole tendency was in the opposite direction, that Universities that had been denominational were all growing out of that atmosphere and spirit, and it seemed to him a deplorable thing that in these days they should be taking the utmost pains to go back to a state of things which it was hoped they had left behind. He believed there were many experiments in this direction in the United States of America. He believed there were a great many denominational Universities there. He should hardly think his right hon. friend would justify this experiment on the ground of the tendency that had exhibited itself in the United States, in the private establishment of denominational Universities. He did not suppose there was a single denominational University in the United States that had received any assistance out of State funds. All of them were the result of private benevolence and private charity. However they came into existence, they were there. Would his right hon. friend suggest that those Universities were equal to those that were not narrowed down in their view and outlook by denominational interests? Would he choose to send someone over whom he had influence to a denominational University? He knew of no experiments in any country that would give any encouragement to the new proposals which the right hon. Gentleman was asking the House to adopt. Thirty or forty years ago the question of tests in Oxford and Cambridge was dealt with. What would the right hon. Gentleman have said if at that time the Nonconformists had said: "That is not enough for us. We cannot send our sons to Oxford or Cambridge, because the influence of the Anglican Church will be too powerful for them; you must make provision which will prevent them from being contaminated?" He did not claim that Nonconformists should have a University established for their benefit, but the great thing was that they should be permitted to make the best use of their opportunities. The Episcopal authorities did their utmost to prevent the sons of Roman Catholics frequenting Oxford and Cambridge; but now that official ban had been removed, and the sons of Roman Catholics frequented Oxford and Cambridge Universities, to the advantage of themselves and of those two institutions. But, supposing the Government of that day had treated that demand in the same hesitating way as the Governments in days gone by had treated the Roman Catholic demand for University education in Ireland, what would have been the result? That ban would never have been removed. If the Government had not continually made concessions abolishing this, that, and the other in Ireland in order to meet denominational differences, long ago they would have had a University in Ireland which would have been agreeable to all denominations. The demand put forward in this Bill was exceedingly difficult to justify. It was rather extraordinary that under the Education Bill for England a special type of schools had been promised for Catholics, and under this Bill they were proposing a special type of University. The reason given in the case of the special schools was that Catholics were to have special treatment because they were in a minority and poor, and could not properly protect their own interests; on the other hand, Catholics in Ireland were to have this special kind of University because they were in a large majority. That was the whole theory of endowment at the hands of the State by a Liberal Government. It should be noted that this experiment was going to be tried in a country where they no longer had an Established Church. It was a most amazing result, after they had secured the disestablishment of one Church to proceed by statute with the endowment of all kinds of Churches when they came forward and demanded special consideration. In introducing this Bill his right hon. friend made special reference to the affiliation of colleges, and said that it would be done only under the most stringent restrictions. He did not understand that there were any restrictions of any kind upon the affiliation of colleges with the Universities. If those colleges were affiliated they were to have all the privileges that any constituent college could claim.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): No.

Mr. HUTTON said that that was his reading of the Bill. At any rate they were to have all the University privileges and degrees. At present Maynooth College possessed a handsome endowment. It had over 600 students, mostly clerical, who were pursuing their theological studies, and they were to have a full opportunity for receiving their degrees, after residence at Maynooth College. Did Maynooth College come under the clause referred to by the Chief Secretary in regard to tests? He considered that Maynooth or any other college would, under the educational restrictions laid down, have the full advantage of the University. In that case the education would be devoted to clerical students alone and Maynooth would be in a position to apply any kind of test they might choose. In that case it would be a very simple thing to have colleges affiliated with all the tests they might desire. He did not want to press that too hard, but it was a proof that there were ample opportunities provided, directly and indirectly, for making these Universities absolutely denominational in character, and that would be a disaster to education. The right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for East Mayo had made a statement to the effect that to have a high standard of University education was far more important than a high standard of elementary education; and that in the interests of the country it was necessary, first of all, to have a satisfactory standard of University education. He was not going to challenge that statement for a moment, because the type of education given at the University would stamp itself upon the elementary education, and the secondary schools, as well as on the men who were passing through the University. They were establishing three Universities for Ireland of a purely denominational order, which stamped denominationalism upon the students from the earliest days of their education through all its stages.

Mr. DILLON asked what the hon. Member meant by a denominational University.

Mr. HUTTON said he meant a University frequented, if not entirely, at least overwhelmingly, by people of one denomination. If they had the denominational atmosphere which it was the aim of Catholics to secure, they were bound to have these three Universities denominational in every sense of the word. They might have affiliated colleges with every kind of test.

Mr. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) said the Bill clearly laid down that "in no constituent college shall there be any test whatever."

Mr. HUTTON said it had already been pointed out that there was no other example in history where they had a college confined to clerical teaching recognised in a University system. If that was recognised there was no reason why many others should not be recognised. He regretted exceedingly that he had to offer opposition to the measure proposed by his right hon. friend, but he must say that his ideas of what ought to be the duty of the State with regard to the provision of education, and especially when it came into contact with religion, were directly contrary to the directions and intentions of this Bill, and, therefore, he was obliged to move the Amendment.

*Dr. HAZEL (West Bromwich), in seconding the Amendment, said that the House might be disposed to regard his hon. friend and himself as facing fearful odds in the course they were taking, but he was fortified by the remark which fell the other day from his hon. friend the Member for Preston that when this House was most unanimous it was generally most wrong. He must admit certain misgiving at finding himself for the time acting with the hon. Member for North Armagh and his friends. He comforted himself with the reflection that consistency like adversity sometimes brought strange bed-fellows. He seconded the Amendment of his hon. friend because he came to the House pledged to his constituents to vote against the endowment of a denominational University whether overt or covert. Whatever the paper constitution, who would deny that in intention and in fact they had here two denominational Universities? He might not be able to answer the demand of the hon. Member for East Mayo to define a denominational University, but he knew one when he saw it, and there were two of them in this Bill. It really did seem passing strange to an unsophisticated back bencher like himself that the Liberal Party should be asked to spend part of the session in endeavouring to expel the denominational atmosphere from the State-supported elementary schools in England and Wales, and another part of the same session in introducing the denominational atmosphere into State-supported Universities in Ireland. The Bill was against Liberal principles. It was one of the most cherished principles of the Liberal Party that State-endowed higher education should be undenominational. Here they had the concurrent endowment, as he took it, of three distinct denominations. They had one University mainly intended for Roman Catholics, and another in Belfast mainly intended for Presbyterians, while Trinity College *tertius gaudens* got away with endowments free to apply them to the uses of the Episcopalian Church. He supported the Amendment because what the Bill proposed was against the trend of modern educational policy in this and in every other country. The older Universities were getting rid as fast as they could of their denominational atmosphere, and the new Universities did not allow that atmosphere to be introduced. So far as regarded Belfast the attitude of that city was one at most of acquiescence. Belfast, before the Robertson Commission, repudiated any desire for a University, and now it was to have a University foisted upon it as a makeweight. What was the dose which had put to sleep the Nonconformist watchdogs while the right hon. Gentleman was burgling their safe? It appeared to be Clause 3 which prohibited tests—

> "No test whatever of religious belief shall be imposed on any person as a condition of his becoming or continuing to be a professor, lecturer, fellow, scholar, exhibitioner, graduate, or student of, or of his holding any office or emolument, or exercising any privilege in either of the two new Universities, or any constituent college; nor in connection with either of those Universities or any such constituent college shall any preference be given to or advantage be withheld from any person on the ground of religious belief."

If that clause was relied upon by his Liberal or Nonconformist friends, either as a guarantee of undenominationalism or as a guarantee for the freedom of the teaching of the professors, they were relying upon something which was utterly illusory. In the first place, the very constitution of the governing bodies of these new Universities would mean in itself a *de facto* religious test. They had it on record in the evidence of the ecclesiastical witnesses before the Robertson Commission and the Fry Commission that the governing body of a college or University to satisfy the Catholic demand must be dominantly Roman Catholic. They had it on record from another ecclesiastical witness that the laymen on the governing body must be such as would "generally defer at once to the ascertained wishes of the bishops." Any applicant for the post of professor or teacher in Belfast or Dublin might not legally be asked the question: "What is your religious belief? Are you of this, that, or the other faith?" But under this clause he might be asked questions which would amount equally to a religious test. He might be asked as a condition of his appointment whether he would teach or abstain from teaching a particular view, say, of history or of science. That being so, if he were rejected on that inquiry, and if a complaint were made, the governing body would be entitled to say: "We were not testing his religious belief. We were merely ascertaining whether he would be an efficient and suitable teacher," That was *de facto* a religious test. They had it further in the evidence of the ecclesiastical witnesses that it was the bishops who must determine the "boundaries of the scientific region" in secular subjects. The right hon. Gentleman took credit to himself in the able speech in which he introduced the Bill that he was sweeping away the declaration which at present had to be made by those who were appointed professors in the Queen's colleges at Cork and Galway.

A portion of that declaration said that the professor was—

> "Not to make any statement . . . injurious, or disrespectful to the religious opinion of any portion of my class."

MR. DILLON: There is more than that. Read it all.

*DR. HAZEL said he proposed to apply his remarks to the portion he had read. Any hon. Member who wished to comment on any other portion could read it. He held that the abolition of that declaration opened the way for denominational teaching of the most pronounced character. It made it perfectly possible in any one of these State-endowed colleges to carry on open proselytising, whether on the Protestant or the Roman Catholic side. It proved that the colleges which were to be provided for the benefit of the Roman Catholics would satisfy the requirements laid down by one of their ecclesiastical witnesses, who stated that the college must be "substantially a denominational college without tests." Referring to the question of the tenure of the present professors, the hon. Member said that was a matter on which considerable interest and even perturbation had been excited in the minds of the present staff at Cork and Galway. The Chief Secretary, in introducing the Bill, referring to Cork and Galway, used these words—

> "Existing professors will of course go on and be professors of the new University, but upon the old terms. When they die or retire the Senate will appoint their successors."

In the Bill, as printed, Clauses 12 and 13 proposed not that these gentlemen should go on as before, but that on the "appointed day"—which was likely to be a fatal day to some of them—their places were to become vacant, and they were only to take them up again if they were re-appointed by the Dublin Commission, whose names he did not at present know. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would be able to relieve the minds of those gentlemen, for at the present time the position seemed to them to be that they might lose their posts. Further, he asked, was this Bill to be a final settlement of the question? He knew perfectly well that some of his hon. friends on those benches had waived the objection which they held to denominational endowment, and had supported this Bill in the belief that it would at last settle the religious difficulty in regard to University education in Ireland, and would allow the education of that country, too long neglected, to advance as it ought to advance. What was the position? It was perfectly certain that the arbiters of the success or non-success of the scheme would be the Roman Catholic hierarchy. He found in an article which had recently attracted a good deal of attention, that a most distinguished Bishop well-qualified to speak for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, Dr. O'Dwyer, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, had expressed his great disappointment with the Bill. He said "it hurts the religious sense of the people," he objected to the omission of the bishops *qua* bishops from the governing bodies, and declared that their claim to be on the Senate should be pressed as a matter of principle. If Dr. O'Dwyer was speaking for any considerable number of Roman Catholic Bishops, he foresaw that this settlement, welcomed by almost everyone when the right hon. Gentleman introduced the Bill, was likely to be no settlement at all. He thought, therefore, they were justified in asking, and insisting on asking, whether this would be accepted as a final settlement or whether it would be used as a lever to get further concessions. He desired to say a word as to the position of Trinity College. He hoped he would be acquitted of any desire of making an attack on Trinity. Trinity was an *Alma Mater* of his, and he happened to be the possessor of a couple of her degrees, and to be misrepresented in this House by the right hon. Gentlemen the Members for the University of Dublin. He fully admitted the great traditions and possibilities that there were in Trinity for the advancement of the higher education of Ireland. He regretted exceedingly that it seemed likely that under this Bill and by the policy of those responsible for the government of Trinity, those great traditions and possibilities instead of being put to the service of the nation, were to be devoted to the interests of a denomination or a party.

It was intended, when Trinity was founded that she should be the nucleus of a great National University. That position was put forward with great force in the appendix of the Lord Chief Baron, Dr. Hyde, and Dr. Coffey, to the Report of the Trinity College (Dublin) Commission, and their arguments had never been answered. He contended that to reserve Trinity, as it would be practically reserved under this Bill, for the Unionists and for the episcopalian portion of the inhabitants of Ireland was an abuse of the intentions of the foundress. He did not want to enlarge at length on the position of Trinity, but he would say that so far as that college was concerned, he, for his own part, would have much preferred the scheme of Mr. Bryce. That scheme was based on the great conception, the magnificent ideal of a National University, with Trinity at its head. But Trinity would have none of it. The distinguished advocates who represented Dublin University, aided by the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge University, who was a safer guide on the aspects of Greek genius than on the aspects of Irish politics, carried the fiery cross round the Combination rooms of Cambridge and the Common rooms of Oxford, and raised a considerable academic uproar against the proposals of Mr. Bryce, with the result that they appeared to have frightened the present Chief Secretary into giving up the Bryce scheme. They said: "Trinity is saved." But saved from what, and saved for what? Saved from the possibility of being a great National University; saved for the use of the Ascendency Party and of the Episcopalian Church! That might be a victory, but from the general standpoint of education in Ireland it was not a victory to be proud of. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman who seemed to have set out on a crusade of University reform would not stop at this Bill. He hoped that something would be done to carry out the recommendations of the Commission in regard to Trinity College. It called for reform at every turn. Anybody who examined the constitution and emoluments of the present governing body of Trinity would admit that it was not unfair to say that at the present moment Trinity was ruled by an elderly and highly-paid oligarchy. Another great institution that would be affected by this Bill was the Royal University of Ireland. The Royal University of Ireland was to be abolished. He held no brief for an examining University. It was by no means the best form of a University; but it was better than none at all. The Royal University, as everybody would admit, had done great and useful service to education in Ireland. Here he would like to drop a tear over the grave of the external student. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to kill him off at the end of a time-limit of five years, thereby extending to him less mercy than was granted to the licensee. He thought that if the external student was to be entirely abolished in Ireland as the right hon. Gentleman proposed—as the Trinity College Commission proposed to abolish him also, so far as Trinity was concerned —if it were impossible to get a degree except by attendance at lectures not only would great injury be done to education generally, but injustice inflicted on teachers, clergymen, Nonconformist ministers, and many others of both sexes, who were content for the sake of education and of their own advancement, to work hard and long in order to be fitted to present themselves for examination. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would make some provision for external students alongside the new foundation as was at present done in the University of London. He did not want to go into a disquisition on the value of examinations and an examining body. They were discussed when the Bill was introduced. He remembered the Leader of the Opposition denouncing examinations amid the sympathetic cheers of his supporters behind him, some of whom had been ploughed with painful frequency in the more elementary examinations at Oxford and Cambridge. [OPPOSITION cries of "Name."] He could understand the right hon. Gentleman himself saying that he himself was not a success as an examinee. It was very difficult to imagine any undertaking in which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition would not be a brilliant success; but from his own experience of examinations, active and passive, examiners liked definite answers; and if the present was any indication of the past he could quite believe that the answers of the right hon. Gentleman to questions on political economy would be a little too vague to earn the highest marks. At any rate, whether examinations were the best method of testing knowledge or not, they were a useful method and a very valuable incentive to the acquisition of knowledge. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary proposed that nobody should get a degree unless he attended college lectures. There was no educational magic about college lectures. He had heard and delivered too many to be under any delusion about their value. A young man or woman might obtain knowledge from admirably written text-books just as well as from badly taken lecture notes. That was rather a technical point, but he was sure the right hon. Gentleman, before this Bill passed into law, would hear that there was in educational circles a very strong consensus of opinion that it would be from an educational point of view a great mistake entirely to abolish the external student. There was one other point he would like to touch upon. The hon. Member for Cork, in the very eloquent speech in which he supported the introduction of the Bill—a speech which was a delight to everyone who heard it—said that one of the results of the Bill would be—

> "The emancipation of the Catholic youth of Ireland from intellectual penal laws."

It might be that the Catholic youth of Ireland did labour under intellectual penal laws; but who imposed them? If there were any they were not imposed by Parliament or by the Universities at present existing in Ireland, but by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. He did not want to trouble the House with minute details; but on this point it was necessary to remind it that in Trinity College, Dublin, Roman Catholics were admitted to degrees in 1793, and it had been open to them ever since. And it was stated in the Robertson Commission Report that—

> "For fifty years after that date there was hardly a Roman Catholic layman of eminence who had not been educated at Trinity."

Why did that stop? It was because of the episcopal ban which enacted the intellectual penal laws. Here was what the Report of the Royal Commission stated—

> "There is a considerable body of Roman Catholic laymen in Ireland who would gladly send their sons to Trinity if they could do so with the approbation of their Church, and their views have been presented to us in evidence."

They obeyed the ban and kept their sons away from Trinity; and, therefore, the intellectual penal laws, so far as they applied to young Catholics, were imposed not by Parliament, not by Trinity, not by the Royal Irish University, not by the Queen's Colleges, but by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. He knew that it was put on record by two Prime Ministers, by Mr. Gladstone and by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London, that: "They had no right to go behind the Episcopal veto and ask whether it was justified or not"; but he contended that they were entitled to inquire how far the Episcopal demand was consistent. Anyone who had traced the course of events during the last few years would admit that there had been a gradual fall in the demand. Changing times changed the attitude; and he was not without the hope expressed by the hon. Member who moved the Amendment, that if this Bill had not been brought forward at this juncture they would have had a still further development and that Irish Catholic youths would have been allowed to go to an Irish University with the same freedom as English Catholics without injury to their faith or morals went to Oxford and Cambridge and to the other English and to the Scottish Universities. He believed that among the laity of Ireland there was no great desire for any special denominational University of this kind. He would quote from the Appendix to the Trinity College Commission Report a statement by a member of that Commission, a Roman Catholic, a gentleman of note in the educational world, a layman and a fellow of Trinity. That gentleman used these weighty words—

> "I believe the demand (for the establishment of a college for Catholics in Dublin) is unreasonable and could not be conceded without grave injury to the interests of Irish lay Catholics and grave danger at no distant date to the peace of the country."

AN HON. MEMBER (on the IRISH Benches): A minority of one.

*DR. HAZEL said he quoted the gentleman as one, as a fellow of Trinity, as a Roman Catholic, and as a gentleman of weight in the educational world. Well, that unreasonable demand was now being conceded. But they were having more than that. They were having, not one denominational University in Ireland, but three. He objected, to a Presbyterian University and to an Episcopalian University as much as to a Roman Catholic University. He objected to the whole scheme of tripartite denominationalism and this Trinity of sectarian Universities, and preferred the scheme of Mr. Bryce of a single National University. There they would have had undoubtedly colleges at first denominational; they might have met and probably would have met with difficulties of administration, but there was in that scheme the potentiality in the future of a great National University. The difficulties would have disappeared with experience and before the integrating influence of a common interest in higher education. What were the Government doing by this scheme? They were stereotyping denominationalism. They were penning the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic, each in his own fold, leaving the Methodists bleating outside for admission. Higher education could be and ought to be a unifying force, an influence to break down the barriers and to lessen the differences that separated parties and creeds, and the right hon. Gentleman was using it in this scheme to strengthen those barriers and to perpetuate those differences. For these reasons, because he believed the Bill to be a social mistake, a political mistake, and an educational mistake, he begged to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all after the word 'that' and insert the words 'this House refuses to take any step which would tend to increase the strength of denominational interests in any branch of education in Ireland, believing that the interests of truth and the welfare of the nation demand the maintenance of an entirely free atmosphere, particularly in the region of higher education, and that this cannot be secured on a denominational basis, and therefore declines to proceed further with the measure.'"—(*Mr. Alfred Hutton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I do not rise for the purpose of entering upon any elaborate argument to prove the existence of the grievance from which the great majority of the people of Ireland have been suffering for generations and for centuries in this matter of Irish University education; because, I beg leave to say, with the utmost deference and respect to the hon. Gentlemen who have spoken, that grievance has come to be admitted by both the great Parties in the State. Neither do I rise for the purpose of entering upon an elaborate and detailed criticism of the clauses of this Bill, although upon one or two details of a vital character I shall have a word or two to say; but I recognise that in speaking of the clauses and details of the Bill generally it is more convenient and more regular to discuss them in Committee rather than upon Second Reading. Still less do I rise for the purpose of entering upon a prolonged answer to the two hon. Gentlemen who have spoken. Before I sit down I shall endeavour to deal with the main arguments which they put before the House, but I would like to say that, although I differ profoundly from the view that they have expressed, I make no complaint whatever of the manner in which they have put that view before the House or in which they have dealt with this question. I have been concerned in many debates upon this question in the past, and I recognise in the speeches of the two hon. Gentlemen who have spoken, if I may be allowed to use the expression, a softer tone than that which we were accustomed to hear from the Gentlemen who represented what was called in those days the extreme Nonconformist view. I make no complaint whatever of their speeches. In fact, I rather gather from the speech of the seconder of the Amendment that he would have been in favour of passing Mr. Bryce's scheme.

*DR. HAZEL: May I point out that as between this scheme and Mr. Bryce's scheme, I prefer Mr. Bryce's. I prefer a single national University.

**Mr. JOHN REDMOND**: I notice that it is always the scheme that is dead that is approved. "You praise the prophets that your fathers stoned and you stone the prophets of to-day." I understood the hon. Gentleman to say that he prefers Mr. Bryce's scheme. What does he mean by that? Does he mean that he would have supported that scheme or nothing of the kind. I gather that all he will say is that that is a better scheme, but he would have opposed it. I am sorry to have elicited that from the hon. Gentleman, because I was going on to give him some credit for having made some advance and for being willing to go as far as Mr. Bryce's scheme. But my object in rising is far different from this. I consider it desirable, and I think it is due to the Chief Secretary and to this House, to make plain at the earliest possible moment, and in the most direct and unequivocal manner, what is the attitude which the Irish Party take up with regard to the main principles of this measure, speaking, as I claim they are entitled to do, for the general body of the Catholic people of Ireland. I said that as to the existence of this grievance I will not say many words, and as to the urgent need for the redress of that grievance for forty years at least, it has been admitted by the leading statesmen of both Parties in this House that the majority of the people in Ireland have been suffering from a grievance in this matter. It is thirty-five years since Mr. Gladstone introduced his University Bill, and from that day to this various Ministers have made various attempts to settle the question. Almost every leading statesman on one side or the other has admitted that the grievance existed, and the plain facts of the case admit of no doubt or controversy. The hon. Gentleman who seconded the Amendment complained of a phrase used by my hon. friend the Member for the City of Cork about penal laws upon the intellect of young Irishmen in this matter of University education, and he tried to lead us to believe that these penal laws were really of their own making or of the making of the Church or the clergy of the Church to which they belonged. Why, the plain fact of the matter is that for over 300 years, a small—a very small—minority of the people of Ireland, have had the advantage of a highly endowed University institution in the shape of Trinity College, Dublin, but the overwhelming majority of the population, 75 per cent. of the population, until recent years, have been denied facilities for University education altogether, and down to this hour are deprived of any real University institution deserving that name except one to which their religious convictions make them object. The hon. Gentleman says that they ought not to have these religious convictions, but surely in this matter if you attempt to decide what is right or wrong in the religious convictions of your neighbours you are exercising religious tyranny. If 75 per cent. of the people of Ireland have a religious objection to going to a Protestant denominational University institution, surely they are entitled to ask that an institution shall be provided to which they can go. The only University institution that has been open to them up to to-day has been the Royal University. That is only a University in name. The hon. Member has quoted copiously from the Reports of some of the recent Royal Commissions, but he has not quoted what the Royal Commission to whose authority he adverted has said about this Royal University. What did that Royal Commission say? It described the Royal University—

> "As an institution which suffered from incurable defects and which had lowered the ideal of University life and education in Ireland."

While in Scotland you have four democratic Universities all in harmony with the religious feeling of the people, while you have in England a number of University institutions none of which are abhorrent to the religious opinions of the people in England, in Ireland there is practically none existing, except the Royal University, which is not a University at all, but a mere examining board. That is a grievance which has been admitted by both Parties in the State and by all enlightened statesmen of the last thirty or forty years. Neither need I dwell upon the incalculable injury done to Ireland by the delay in the settlement of the question. It is unnecessary to point out the consequence of this denial of University facilities to the youth of Ireland. We have been repeatedly told from the Front Bench, when we complained that Englishmen and Scotsmen were given office in connection with the government of Ireland—I never admitted it was a sufficient answer—that those in authority found it impossible to find men in Ireland qualified to fill those offices. In every walk of life Ireland has suffered from this want of University education. Now, Sir, this Bill undoubtedly affords a remedy. There have been many schemes proposed, and many advocated. There has been a good deal of difference among competent men as to what is the best scheme. We have various ideals: I do not say that I myself personally think this an ideal scheme. If I personally had the power to draft and carry a scheme it probably would be different in some essentials, perhaps in many, from this scheme, but let me point out how pathetic has been the attitude of the Catholics of Ireland upon this question. They have been willing all through the last thirty-five years to sink their individual preferences for this or that scheme. They have been willing to accept any scheme so long as it contained the vital essential principle of equality of treatment as between Catholics and Protestants in the matter of University education. I remember in 1889 when the Leader of the Opposition made his famous speech in which he said that the Catholics must give up all idea of a University; that they should be content to take a college and not a University; and then laid down three hard and fast conditions which he said the Catholics must accept before his Party would advocate that scheme. Well, Sir, the laity and clergy of Ireland accepted his conditions and agreed to his proposals, and then his proposals were dropped and never heard of after. Then in 1904 Lord Dunraven brought forward a scheme—nominally it was Lord Dunraven's scheme, but it was well known it was put forward on behalf of the Government of that day, and had the sanction and the approval of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover. Again conditions were formulated and the men who did not approve of that particular scheme were approached. Concessions again were made, and all men, whatever their ideas, recognising in this scheme something which approached equality of treatment, sank their differences and accepted it, clergy and laity alike; once again that scheme was dropped and never heard of again. Then Mr. Bryce proposed a scheme, and again there were differences of opinion as to whether it was the best or not, and again concessions were asked and again were made. Again men sank their differences of opinion, and all agreed—clergy and laity—to accept Mr. Bryce's scheme which we were told was the scheme of the Government. I think I am justified in saying on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland that, though there may be differences of opinion as to whether this is precisely the best and most ideal scheme or not, if they can recognise in it, and I believe they do, the beginning, at any rate, of a settlement of this University education question, and an element of equality, they will sink their differences and once again accept the scheme you propose. Is it to be conceived that under these circumstances any Members in this House, no matter how strong their views may be, will attempt to step in and after all these generations of young Irishmen have gone out into the world unequipped for the struggle of life, owing to the unsettlement of this question, take the responsibility of standing between Ireland and this boon, as I believe it will be? I said the details of the matter had better be left to the committee. There is one detail only that I will deal with, but it is a vital one. As I understand the finance of the Bill, no provision is made for the erection of a residential college. I speak my own view, and it is most strongly that that strikes at the very root of the matter. I take the view that the common life of the University which springs from residence is the most valuable part of University life. I confess I dread the idea of young men being brought up from all parts of Ireland to attend lectures in this new college and University, and instead of living in a residential college being scattered out in poor lodgings in back streets of the city. On this question I might also quote the authority of the Royal Commission. What will strike the imagination of the Irish people if there is no residential college? We are asking for equality. There in Trinity College, Dublin, before the eyes of the people, is the most magnificent residential college in the three Kingdoms. You propose to set up in Dublin a college without any residence whatever. Will that strike the people of Ireland as equality? The Royal Commission used these words—

> "Unless what is done is done on an adequate and impressive scale it need not be done at all. It is necessary that in the majority of the buildings, the emoluments of the teachers and the equipment of the establishment, the institution should command respect and inspire enthusiasm."

I most strongly urge upon the Government and upon those responsible in particular for the finance of this Bill that they should increase the finances so as to enable the building fund to include the building of residential quarters. Those who are interested in university education questions will remember Cardinal Newman's declaration upon this point. He went to the extreme of saying that he would rather have a University with residents and without teachers or lecturers or examiners at all, than the best teachers and lecturers and no University life. Let me read his words—they are very striking, and very short—

> "I protest to you, gentlemen, that if I had to choose between a so-called University which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professor or examiners at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, if I must determine which of the two courses was the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to the University which did nothing."

That is an extreme presentation of the view which I for one hold strongly, and which, I believe, is held strongly in Ireland, and I urge upon the Government in the interests of equality and in the interest of the success of their scheme to enlarge the building grants which are proposed, so as to enable them to build residential quarters. Let me say just one or two words now in answer to the two hon. Gentlemen who have spoken. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment described this as the erection of a frankly denominational University, and a frank endowment of a particular religion. I cannot for the life of me understand what he means. My hon. friend the Member for East Mayo asked him what he meant, but he did not give a very precise or intelligible answer. Is this a denominational University—a University where there is no test for anybody, students, Senate, governing body or teachers, which is open to all classes, where there is no inducement to one man more than another to enter? The hon. Gentleman failed altogether to substantiate his statement that you were holding out inducements to Catholics to go into the so-called Catholic College in Dublin — inducements which we are not to hold out to Protestants or members of any other creed—where there is no inducement to any particular student of a particular denomination to enter, where the governing body is elective, where there is no endowment whatever of any religious teaching, where the professors are freely chosen and elected by the Senate, and where, even in the case of dismissal there is a power of appeal to a board of visitors. On that point I ought to safeguard myself by saying I think the provision of the Bill on this matter is far too stringent and is most unsatisfactory. If I understood the hon. Gentleman rightly, what he meant by a denominational University was an institution in which the atmosphere was denominational. How is he going to get away from that? Is there any University which by that test is not a denominational University? According to that test Trinity College is a denominational University, and so are Queen's College, Belfast, the Scottish Universities, and Oxford and Cambridge. You established a University at Khartoum the other day. I am sure the majority of students attending it are Mohammedans, and it has a denominational atmosphere. I was amazed at reading a letter the other day from a very eminent Presbyterian, County Court Judge Shaw. Here is what he said, after having reminded the Presbyterians that they had been battling for half a century for an undenominational or non-sectarian system, and that they had got it embodied in the right hon. Gentleman's Bill—

> "The undenominational system is all right, it appears, as long as it is worked by a majority of Protestants, but all wrong when it is worked by a majority of Catholics."

In that sense this college in Dublin will have a denominational atmosphere. The majority of the students going there will be Catholics. You cannot help it. If the majority of the people in Ireland who are deprived of University facilities happened to be Mahomedans or Buddhists the institution would take their colour; but because the majority in Ireland happen to be Catholic, to say that you are in the name of undenominationalism to refuse to give an institution which has no tests, and which has the other characteristics that I have mentioned, seems to me an inconsistent and an unworthy attitude to take up. This scheme is not all that we have asked for. At one time or another the Catholics of Ireland have asked a good deal more than is contained in this Bill. In some respects I hope we shall be able to amend and enlarge it, but it will create a beginning. It will create a free University institution to which the Catholic youth of the country can freely go. It will open at last the gates of University education for the mass of common men in Ireland. Believing as I do that after freedom there is nothing more precious to a nation than enlightenment, my colleagues and I will accept the Bill, and after discussion in Committee upon these points, and other points of a similar character, will do all in our power to have it passed into law.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Haldane, Haddington): The hon. Gentleman the Member for Waterford has touched on several points on which I do not propose to follow him now, and on one point I am not sure that I quite share his view. I think he attaches undue importance to the point of a residential college with all that a residential college carries with it. The tendency of modern Universities has been to get away as rapidly as possible from bricks and mortar, and concentrate effort on lecture halls for teaching, and not to set up residential buildings. However, it is not necessary to to go into that question just now. I can point to illustrations. I can tell the hon. Member for Waterford that excepting Trinity College and Oxford and Cambridge, I know of no University at this time that has got colleges such as the hon. and learned Member seems to desire on behalf the new University. But hostels and places of residence may be a very different thing, something on a more modest scale, which gives the lodgings which may be required for the students. That question remains open for discussion, and I only wish to guard myself from being thought to accept the views attached, not only by the hon. and learned Member but by others, to the importance of the collegiate buildings of Universities such as this. But I do not rise to deal with any point of such secondary importance in this great matter. I want to state the case of the Government for this Bill, and it is a very simple case. We hold that justice and expedience alike call for the redress of the great wrong under which Ireland continues to suffer. We hold that as year succeeds year, and that as in other countries besides our own, the development of higher education reaches greater and greater degrees, it is wholly indefensible that Ireland should be left without any participation in the advance which higher education is meted out elsewhere. The scheme of this Bill is one which has been designed to meet the difficulties of the situation. I wholly differ from my hon. friend the Member for Morley in his view that this is the response to a Catholic demand. It is a response to nothing of the kind. It is a response to an educational claim, a claim which we maintain has been deferred so long that it is one of the duties of this vigorous Parliament, which in other matters has succeeded where other Parliaments have failed, to take it up and try to provide the remedy required.

Mr. HUTTON: Who has made that educational claim except on behalf of the Roman Catholics?

Mr. HALDANE: Of all the narrow questions I have heard put to this House I think the question of my hon. friend is one of the narrowest. Does he imagine that nobody in Ireland cares for higher education except the Roman Catholics? Has he ever been to Belfast and looked into the question, or does he say that Roman Catholics are not entitled to ask for higher education?

Is a man, because he happens to be of a kind of religion which is different from that of my hon. friend, to be penalised and denied the rights of a citizen? No such doctrine would be accepted by any large section of people at this hour of the day. What is the proposition in this Bill? It is to deal with a situation in which there is altogether inadequate provision for higher education in Ireland. Of course in doing that you have to deal with denominational difficulties, and the principle which underlies the Bill is this: We seek to put the educational case first, and then to reduce the denominational element to the very smallest we can possibly encompass. I venture to say that if this Bill passes, and if the system which it seeks to erect becomes a reality, then the case in Ireland will not be a case materially different from the case of those on this side of the Irish Channel. If my hon. friend will come to me and discuss the University question, I will take him into places where there is a denominational atmosphere pervading everything, but not in an offensive and mischievous way, and it will not prevail in an offensive or mischievous way if this Bill passes. I will show him that the whole atmosphere of the Scottish Universities is Presbyterian, and that the teaching of some of the professors is, and must be, based on Presbyterian lines. Yet I do not hear from my hon. friend any disposition to throw any difficulties in the way of those Universities. I can take him again to London University, with which is incorporated King's College, a denominational college, a college which justice demanded should be incorporated when we set up the new teaching University for London. I will take him to Oxford and to Cambridge, and in each the denominational atmosphere pervades everything. You cannot get rid of these things—you cannot eliminate them altogether. What you can do is to make sure that they do not interfere with education, and that they make no special demands on the funds of the State. Having defined in that way the purposes of the Bill, let us see what is the broad case on which it rests. In England we have within the last nine years created six new teaching Universities, and we now have ten of them. London University was called into existence some ten years ago, and since that Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and we hear talk to-day of Bristol, have teaching Universities. That is an analogy which you cannot leave out of account in a Parliament which is responsible for the well-being of Ireland. No wonder the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London, who leads the Opposition, stated in 1899 to his constituents at Manchester that it was a blot upon Unionism that this state of things should exist, and that Ireland should be left out in this fashion; and it would be a blot upon the records of this Parliament if we did not do our best to deal with this question. Take Scotland, which has a population very nearly the same as that of Ireland. She has four teaching Universities. What is the result? The highest education is within the reach of every young man and young woman. They have the means by which they can take an honourable part in the life of the State, and by which they can rise to almost every position. But in Ireland there is a wholly different condition of matters. The state of things which is produced is, I think, really lamentable. A young Irishman of talent, cut off from the highest education, is debarred from many things which are open, with great advantage, to the poorer classes in this country, with the result that offices in Ireland tend to become filled up by those who are of one religious opinion, and that in Ireland there is a condition of things which we could not tolerate if we had to be responsible for it here. I remember some time ago talking this over with one of the most eminent Unionists in Ireland, a man of great knowledge of the country, and he read some words to me containing the point of view of the Catholic hierarchy. I would like to read what he stated. He said—

> "The point of view of the hierarchy was to discourage young Catholics from passing from spheres of primary and intermediate education, which were in substance denominational, into the only higher sphere of University education which was at present open to them in Ireland."

That is the denominational sphere.

> "The concern of the bishops was not so much for denominational University teaching as lest under a mixed or undenominational system Catholic students should be exposed to agnostic influences, or influences positively hostile to Catholic doctrine. The result was that no really devout Catholic would go to any of the present teaching Universities or Colleges, with the exception of the one or two miserably equipped Catholic colleges, which, under the present system, struggled on unendowed.

> It followed that the larger number of the most intelligent students, who had been drawn by the intermediate education system from the lower order of the Roman Catholics, were thrown upon the world with an incomplete education, without the ability to see how little they really knew, and so spoilt by their success in their intermediate career that they had either lost or had not acquired the habit of self-control. These students found themselves with sufficient knowledge to be dissatisfied with the lot of their parents, but without sufficient education to fulfil their proper function of advancing through competitive examinations to the posts in the Civil Service, the Indian Service, etc., which, had they University education, many of them would have reached—they become an idle, discontented lot, picking up a precarious livelihood by occasional journalism, and, by their discontent, filling the Press with that underspirit of disloyalty and hatred of England which all self-respecting Irishmen deplored."

I am giving the Unionist view of the effect of the want of higher education in Ireland. The quotation goes on—

> "And I am certain it is true to this extent, that many positions in Ireland which could be filled honourably by Irishmen are not filled by Irishmen, or if they are they are positions filled by Protestant Irishmen, which ought to be filled in proportion to the opinions of the people."

The plan of the Bill is to avoid as far as possible the rocks on which Sir Robert Peel's Queen's College system and Mr. Gladstone's attempt failed. In those days the religious question preponderated over education. To-day in Ireland we have an indication that the educational question is preponderating over the religious question. There has been a disposition to give up extreme claims, which was noted in the speech of the hon. Member for Waterford, and to accept things which twenty-five years ago would not have been accepted. One of most notable advances is that upon which this Bill is very much based, the declaration by which the Catholic bishops at Maynooth, in June, 1899, laid down four things which were in fact the giving up of claims which had been made in days gone by, and which certainly would be made on behalf of strictly Catholic Universities. In the first place they said they were prepared to give up all claim to State funds for the teaching of religion. Secondly, they were prepared to accept the principle of the Test Act and to exclude all tests from their University. Thirdly, there was to be security of tenure to teachers. Fourthly, they were prepared to accept the principle, however reluctantly—though the time has come when they are ready to accept it for the great benefits of higher education to be given in the future for the people—that a majority of laymen should be on the governing body of the University, and that is a marked and a great advance. Then there was a marked advance in the Assembly at Belfast, a few months afterwards. The University question was discussed and the Committee on Higher Education made a recommendation to the Assembly which, so far as I know, and I have watched the records ever since, has not been changed, that there should be equal treatment on the footing of two open Universities, one for the north of Ireland and one for the south of Ireland.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) When was that?

MR. HALDANE: It was in 1898. It was the statement of the Committee on Higher Education, published to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, Dr. Leach, Moderator, on the 29th March, 1898. The proposition of it was that to this new northern University should be extended whatever independence or self-government may be accorded to the proposed Roman Catholic University. Then they went on to say that it was really a question of atmosphere. I want to come to what lies at the root of the whole matter. What is being asked for by the Catholics and Presbyterians in Ireland? What is it that they are desirous of having? They are anxious that the students who go to the University should not be exposed to influences which would directly militate against their religious faith; in other words, they do not want their religion taught there, they do not want State funds used for the setting up of denominational teaching, but what they want is some security against their young men having their minds influenced by teaching of a kind which is directly hostile to the religious teaching to which they have been brought up. We have heard of something of that kind in other Universities, but they ask for it in Ireland in a very moderate form. They are content that in the appointment of the governing body, which for the first five years is to be appointed by the Crown, care should be taken in the selection of that body, so as to see that, while those constituting it are laymen—and laymen of distinction in science and learning, and by their representation of great commercial interests in the country—they should be people who would be trusted to see that no attack was made upon the religious faith of the students. I think in a country like that that demand is a very reasonable one, and one that we should accede to, and it is the only touch of denominationalism that there is in this scheme. In Ireland the question arises in a particularly direct way. Four-fifths of the Irish people are Catholics. ["No."] Very nearly, but I will not dispute about decimals. But suppose it is two-thirds, or three-fourths, and, as regards the south, far more than four-fifths of the people who would go to the southern University are Catholics. What we want is to secure, not only to them, but in the northern University also, that the governing body shall be men who can be relied upon to exercise a just judgment in this matter, and who will not try to run particularly hostile influences against the teaching of the students. For instance, they would not like in Belfast that the governing body should consist entirely of Episcopalians, nor would my hon. friend from Yorkshire like the governing body of the institution with which he is associated to consist entirely of Episcopalians. He would say—and very fairly—that it should be representative of the feeling of the locality, and I think both my hon. friends the Member for Morley and the Member for West Bromwich would agree that it is perfectly reasonable in the North of England, where feeling runs high upon religious questions, that you should try to avoid having a governing body of an aggressive kind which should interfere with the teaching. In fact, something of that kind underlies the feeling against untested teachers coming into our elementary schools. That is the plan of the Bill—simply through care taken by the Government in the choice of the governing body to give this moderate amount of security. But the primary purpose in selecting the governing body is to select the men who are most eminent in education, most representative of great interests, and who can be most trusted to make things a reality. Now, I come to another point. The hon. Member for Morley said—

> "Oh, but your University is going to become denominational right through, because you have taken power to affiliate colleges, and these affiliated colleges will have all the privileges of the constituent bodies."

He has not read the Bill or, if he has, he has not read the Charter. I will tell him the origin of the doctrine of affiliated colleges in the Bill. When we reconstituted in this House the teaching University of London in 1898, not only had we to provide for teaching by University professors in what was only an examining University up to that time, but we had to provide for teaching by teachers in colleges which were colleges of the University, and of colleges which were not even colleges of the University. There were institutions like King's College and University College which were autonomous, which we could not interfere with, and we had to do the best we could in the way of recognising the teachers of those institutions. We said to them: "If you will lay out proper courses for students who want to take University degrees, and if you will appoint proper teachers or submit the names of existing teachers whom we consider and approve, then teaching under those recognised teachers shall be recognised as qualifying for the work of the University, and we shall recognise your institution as a school of the University." In that way King's College and University College became in the first instance schools of the University, and subsequently, by special statute, colleges of the University. But there are many other institutions which were then and have since remained schools of the University. Now, what is a school of the University? It is a place where the student goes and pursues his course of training under particular teachers who have been approved by the University itself, and, permeated by its atmosphere, goes up to the University to be examined for his degree. It often happens that the teachers themselves are associated with the primary examination; that may or may not be. Well, that is just the plan we have taken here. There are the constituent colleges, which are the main bodies, but there are also the schools of the University—which are those affiliated institutions which will only be affiliated if and when the governing body has considered the quality of the teaching and the general surroundings of the institutions, and has determined that a student can qualify himself, by attending the teaching there, to come up for examination at the school. It does not make the school a constituent college of the University, and it does not give it any voice in the management of the University. The head of the affiliated college does not come under the governing body of the new University. Now I come to the reasons why we have interfered with the old state of things. Complaint was made by the hon. Member for West Bromwich that we had given the go-by to the external system, under which the University was a mere examining University, like the Royal University of Ireland, and it is said it was a retrograde step to abolish the only Irish University which was free from everything denominational. Whether the Royal University was as free from denominationalism as my hon. friends think, I am not sure, and there are questions of its fellowships which I do not wish to enter upon now. But the system of a federal examining University stands condemned to-day by the very highest educational tribunal. In 1892, Liverpool sought to get a separate charter, and Manchester and Leeds demurred to the break-up of the Victoria University which that involved. They said that the federal system worked admirably, and that it was a good thing for those students to come up and be examined by a wholly independent body. Liverpool replied that you cannot make your degree of the highest educational value unless education and examination go together, and while the independent element is brought into the test, the teacher is still there to certify what the pupil is, and to assist in judging his capacity. That matter was referred to the strongest educational tribunal which, I think, has ever sat in this country—a Special Committee of the Privy Council, presided over by the late Duke of Devonshire, on which sat Lord Rosebery, Lord Balfour, Lord James of Hereford, and Sir Edward Fry. Some of us who were keen about it gave evidence and were severely cross-examined, and a long and searching inquiry ended in a pronouncement which was designed as a guidance for the Government of the day in the grant of these charters. Under that pronouncement the federal system—and the system of the examining University *a fortiori*—stood condemned, and the Government was recommended to concentrate itself upon the principle of the teaching University, with close association between the teacher and the examiner. That is the great objection to the system which existed in Ireland. There there is a comparatively small teaching University—the University of Dublin. For the rest, three colleges, one in Belfast, the students of which have to go up to Dublin to be examined, one in Cork, and one in Galway, both at a great distance. Thus you have complete divorce between the testing and the teaching. Besides that, there is the little University College in Dublin which has a most honourable record, and which has kept its standard high against great and almost overwhelming difficulties—the college over which Dr. Delany has presided with great ability; further, a certain amount of teaching at Maynooth and Blackrock, but very little else. You have none of those magnificent technical colleges such as we have in Scotland, like the West of Scotland, the Heriot-Watt, and the other great colleges in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and like those great institutions which are springing up at South Kensington, and are beginning to abound all over England. Ireland is deprived of the highest education, and the system is such as prevents the highest education growing up and exercising its influence on the moulding of the people. Is it tolerable that that condition of things should continue? I say that the time has come when it is an imperative duty on the part of this Government to take up the thing in the spirit in which it has been taken up here, where we are trying more and more to bring University education as close as possible to our doors, and to extend it to people who need it, if possible, more than it is needed here where there are other facilities for education open which are not available there. The case is one of a crying injustice, and when history comes to be written and this Bill has passed, the wonder will be, not that it passed, but that Parliament should have tolerated so long a refusal of this measure of justice. I have touched upon the main points with which we have to deal, and I have stated why we propose to deal with them in this fashion. I was astonished to hear my hon. friend the Member for West Bromwich speak well of Mr. Bryce's scheme. It was admirable in many respects, but in the forefront of it was a Catholic college alongside an Anglican college and a Presbyterian college. There was denominationalism writ large. My own view is that it is a mistake to meddle with existing institutions in Ireland. You want to add to them, not to destroy them. Trinity College has a great and honourable record, and it is one of the bodies most dangerous to meddle with. The English statesman who lays his hand on that Ark of the Covenant shall surely perish. It is better to look to two great independent teaching Universities of a democratic type to which students can go at no great expense, which shall draw on the whole of Ireland and have affiliated and constituent colleges, presenting avenues through which the young people of Ireland may get access to the higher education hitherto denied to them. As to the suggestion that Belfast is having a University foisted upon it against its will, let me remind the House of the splendid contributions made by the citizens of Belfast for the development of the Queen's College, and their demand that the case of Belfast should be recognised. [Cries of "Oh."] Is it not intolerable that hon. Members should demur to the proposition to recognise that this great city, with all its technical industries, should actually at this time of day in the year of grace 1908 come forward and say that a city like Belfast is to be denied the benefit of University education?

Mr. GORDON (Londonderry, S.): There was no suggestion of denial, but only that Belfast had not asked for it.

Mr. HALDANE: Then so much the worse for Belfast. But the hon. Member is somewhat slandering the reputation of Belfast, which has taken an active part in calling for this higher education. To-day the leading citizens insist that, owing to the *status* and growth of the city, it is imperatively necessary that higher education should be available. The case of Belfast is not weaker than that of the rest of Ireland, and could be argued on the same grounds of justice and expediency. I believe our plan is the best plan. But one question I will ask hon. Gentlemen opposite. What is it you propose? Is it to do nothing? Is it to leave the present grievances unredressed—to say that there is no case for higher education, and that Ireland is not to have the same proportion of Universities as the other parts of the kingdom? Or have you some other proposal to make? If you have, then I trust that we shall hear something more of it, for as one concerned with education, I feel that the debate would be most barren and most unsatisfactory if we cannot in the course of it induce hon. Members who are resisting this Bill to come out into the open and say what they propose. Is it to give no University to Ireland beyond what she has at present? There is silence, a silence that is eloquent. The Government's plan stands as a plan without a rival. In the name of education, of expediency, and of justice to Ireland I appeal to the House to give a vote in favour of this Bill which will mark without any possibility of ambiguity the determination of this progressive Parliament to redress a great wrong.

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL (Dublin University): The position of the Chief Secretary is not an easy one. For four years this country has been in the throes of educational controversy on the question of religious teaching in primary schools; and hon. Members opposite have declared their undying hostility to providing denominational teaching at the expense of the State. A few years ago the Chief Secretary was the champion of his Party in that respect. He was the great foe to clericalism in primary education. Every one thought that he and his friends believed in those imperishable principles, and, like the Pilgrim Fathers or the Covenanters, were ready to sacrifice everything for their undying hostility to clericalism and sectarianism in matters of education. What is the true position? Is it possible that these Gentlemen are now going to rivet the chains of clericalism, not upon young children, but on the rising manhood of Ireland? My hope for a solution of this question is of a totally different character. The hon. Member for West Bromwich twitted my right hon. friend and myself who represent the University of Dublin in this House, that we had lent our voices and aid to preventing the University of Dublin from accepting the possible position open to it as the great national University in Ireland. My withers are unwrung on this matter because I have on the public platform and on the platform of the College Historical Society declared that it is my hope and dream that Irishmen should refuse any solution which would shut students up in hostile sectarian camps; I had hoped that by contact and association the young men of different denominations would learn that toleration and respect without which progress is impossible, and the absence of which has destroyed every movement for the social regeneration of Ireland. The feeling is ripe for such a solution, and the means are at hand. Trinity College, by a toleration far in advance of its time, opened its doors to Catholics in 1793; and in 1873 abolished all religious tests. Every prize and every position of emolument has been open to all since 1873, without distinction of creed or class. But, though this is the solution I had hoped for, I found no suggestion of it in the scheme associated with Mr. Bryce's name. That scheme was denominationalism in its worst form, because it proposed not one great national University, but a separate and distinct college reserved exclusively for Roman Catholics, conducting its own examinations and conferring its own degrees. That would have been an intolerable position, which would have resulted in the degradation of Trinity College, and would not have advanced the interests of higher education in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman knows that if his assertions are worth anything, the proposition which I have suggested would never have been accepted by the Roman Catholic, hierarchy, and without their consent the whole scheme would have been abortive.

MR. HALDANE: Was the offer ever made?

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: The right hon. Gentleman ought to know the history of the matter. There have been repeated and progressive advances made by the governing body which the Roman Catholics have rejected with scorn at the very outset, because it was plain the thing would not be possible. The idea in my mind, which I have frequently expressed, is that while in that particular I differ from the views of my right hon. colleague in the representation of the University, at the same time, seeing the attitude that was being taken up by the Roman Catholic hierachy on this question, and having regard to the attitude of the majority of the hon. Members below the gangway, I came to the conclusion, and to that conclusion I adhere, that it was no right of mine to delay this matter of the grant of higher education to all my fellow-countrymen, or, at any rate, placing it within their grasp, and that my views should give way to that which apparently afforded the only possibility of a practical solution. Let me say also that I considered it an essential condition of any such scheme as that introduced by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the skeleton of which is contained in the Bill, that it should be conditional upon its being impossible, so far as human foresight could provide against it, that such an institution should respond to the claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to be the sole arbiters in matters of higher education in Ireland. Does the Bill comply with that condition? When we speak of a denominational University as applied to Ireland we are speaking of a matter capable of a double sense. A denominational University may be denominational and yet free from ecclesiastical control. It may be that in a University of this kind in Ireland it is almost inevitable that it must be mainly, if not altogether, frequented by sons of Roman Catholics, and in that sense it is denominational; but that is not what is in the minds of those who dread and fear that it will become in fact and reality a strictly denominational University. What they dread is that it will become a University subject to and under the control of ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic Church. What will be the result of that? The right hon. Gentleman in introducing the Bill claimed great credit for the provisions which, according to him, were to prevent the possibility of any religious inequality or religious injustice. I confess that I think the right hon. Gentleman would have contributed to the future successful passage of the Bill if he had been more frank with the House, and had told it plainly that this was at least, in the narrower sense I have mentioned, a denominational University, and is so intended to be. But, so far from making that claim for it, he rather took credit in the opposite direction, and he relied on Clause 3, as affording an almost impregnable guarantee against this University lapsing into strict denominationalism. What is Clause 3? The first five or six lines provide that there shall be no tests. Will anyone pretend that that is any protection? There are no tests, political or religious, in the Local Government Act, 1898, and we all know how that has been administered in different parts of Ireland. What security is it, in face of the fact which has been alleged by those who support the Bill, that the best justification for it is that you have in the University of Dublin a denominational University, although for forty years there have been no tests of any kind possible or permissible within the walls of the University? Therefore it is plain, and the framers of the Bill are perfectly well aware, that no provision as to tests will be worth the paper it is written on. The third section concludes—

> "Nor in connection with either of these Universities or any such constituent college shall any preference be given to or any advantage withheld from any person on the ground of his religious belief."

What does that mean? What is the sanction for it? Who is going to take care that that is enforced? You might as well let a cat loose in a room with a mouse and imagine there will be no undue interference with the liberty of the mouse. Let me test it. The remarkable thing about the Bill we are asked to discuss on Second Reading is that we have nothing but the skeleton in the Bill. The real substance is to be found in the Charters, which are not yet printed. Those Charters cannot be changed in Committee. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said that practically there is no provision for application in the Bill; it is all to be found in the Charter; and yet the House has no voice in the framing of the Charters. Just consider the efficacy or utility of Clause 3. Suppose the Senate were to appoint to some of the professorships persons of the Protestant creed. What would be the result? The very next day the Roman Catholic hierarchy would publish their ban and anathema against the University. And they are bound to do so, for this reason—because they have declared time after time, as a matter of conscience and of religious faith and belief, that higher education is a question of faith and morals, and that it would be a deadly danger to the faith and morals of any of the Roman Catholic youth of Ireland to have, under any conditions or any safeguards, their teaching entrusted to any persons but teachers of their own faith. They have never departed nor receded from that decision, and I challenge anyone to contradict me on that point.

**MR. GWYNN** (Galway): Since the hon. Member makes that challenge, I would point out that in the Catholic College conducted by the Jesuits at Dublin there are three Protestant professors.

**MR. JAMES CAMPBELL**: That is no answer. The hon. Member knows perfectly well what are the relations between the Roman Catholics and the Jesuits in the matter of teaching. I am speaking of the Roman Catholic bishops, not of Jesuits, and they have affirmed solemnly that under no conditions will they be any party to, nor can they as a question of religious conviction permit, the teaching of the Roman Catholic young men being entrusted to any except teachers of their own religious persuasion. So long as that is so it is perfectly ludicrous to talk about this abolition of any provision for tests as being a guarantee against its becoming a University of the strictest form. While I was perfectly willing to accept the principle of this Bill had I found in it a provision which would have prevented the possibility of such a danger, I can only say that when I come to call the attention of the House to a few of the more important provisions in it as supplemented by the Charter I shall demonstrate that it is not only a possibility, but almost a certainty, that it will ultimately become in the strictest ecclesiastical sense a denominational University. There were some precautions which the right hon. Gentleman might have taken to obviate such a result, but these he has deliberately thrown over. First of all, about the matter of affiliation. The right hon. Gentleman stated courageously and candidly on the First Reading of the Bill that he was quite certain that one of the things that ought to be done by the new Senate of the new University was to affiliate Maynooth. Let me tell the House that among the provisions of this Charter which you can neither alter nor amend——

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The right hon. Gentleman is referring to the Charter. He knows perfectly well that the Charter is a matter of Royal prerogative, and therefore strictly speaking there is no Charter in existence, but, feeling as I did that it would be impossible for the House to get any fair view of this question until we gave some indication of what in all probability would be in these Charters, I have circulated what I have called preliminary draft Charters.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: Of course that makes matters worse, because certain things are to be provided for in the Charters which do not yet exist, and over which this House will have no control whatever. In dealing with the question of affiliation under the provisions of the contemplated Charters it will be possible to affiliate Maynooth and for all its students to obtain the degrees of this University without ever spending an hour within its walls or attending a single lecture given by its professors and without passing a single examination conducted within it. That is the consummation which they wish for. What will be the effect? The result of that will be to turn this institution into a glorified seminary. There is absolutely no provision in the Bill, and there is nothing in the contemplated Charters, which would prevent the Senate from filling up every vacancy by the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop. When we come to look at the persons who have been nominated by the right hon. Gentleman for the Senate as the result of the information conveyed by what he called his theological scouts, the whole thing seems like a gigantic joke. There are, I admit, a few names of distinguished men among them, but they are merely purple patches on a motley garment. A large proportion of them are men who are not distinguished in education or in any ordinary walk of life. Twelve out of the thirty-five are medical doctors, six of them being professors of the St. Cecilia School of Medicine, and all of them probably candidates for professorships in the new University. But the right hon. Gentleman has thought it necessary to go to Belfast for two members of the Senate, and who do you think these are? One of them Thomas McGuire, who seems to have no qualification of any sort or kind. I never heard of him in connection with a University. But the mystery was solved on Saturday, when the *Irish Times* pointed out that he was a practising solicitor in Belfast who happens to be a member of the United Irish League. I have practised in Belfast for years, and while I have not a word to say against the respectability of this Thomas McGuire, he is by no means in the front rank of his profession. Then there is Mr. Alexander Dempsey; his only qualification is that he is a doctor, who has been brought in to make up the twelve doctors, except the other reason be that he also is a member of the United Irish League. Then we are told that there is a clerk in the Civil Service put on the Senate. I have the misfortune never to have heard of him before, but I find he owes his qualification, for he does not profess academic——

MR. BIRRELL: Who are you referring to?

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: Mr. MacNeill.

MR. BIRRELL: You are quite mistaken.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: Well, I never heard of him in connection with academic or educational matters, and the only qualification I can find that he possesses is that he is vice-president of the Gaelic League, which may be a very excellent qualification. But there is one other vital defect in connection with this Bill—the worst and the most serious blot of all—and that is the gross injustice it seeks to perpetrate on the School of Medicine in connection with the College of Surgeons in Dublin. I am convinced that when the right hon. Gentleman has the facts presented to him he will realise the injustice that he has unintentionally inflicted on this old institution. I do not for a moment suggest that the right hon. Gentleman seeks to weaken the safeguards in the Bill by which the youth of Ireland may be able to receive the benefits of a University education as far as possible free from ecclesiastical supervision or domination. In regard to this School of Medicine attached to the College of Surgeons in Dublin, let me state briefly what the position is. There are three Schools of Medicine in Dublin. Besides the Medical School attached to the College of Surgeons, there is Trinity College, in the University of Dublin, a school in which the students have to engage not merely in a long scientific medical training, but in an Arts course for the purpose of obtaining an Arts Degree. Its fees are comparatively high, and therefore it is not available to students whose means do not enable them to pay them, nor is it available to students who do not want to take out the Arts course, but want to curtail their training to acquiring the Medical Degree. Then there is St. Cecilia. As the right hon. Gentleman knows, this has been the medical faculty of the Catholic College, and, of course, it will become the medical school of this new University. That is, this school will be controlled by the Catholic bishops, who are governors of it, and are in possession of it. They run it; not only do they encourage it in every way in their power, but it is now notorious that in the south and west of Ireland no medical applicant for any post has any chance of appointment by local bodies unless he can show that he has a diploma of the St. Cecilia School. Therefore that school has a tremendous advantage as compared with the School of Medicine running in connection with the College of Surgeons. That school was established in 1734, and from that day to this it has been run most successfully. It has had no endowment from the State, and has lived on its own merits. I therefore commend these facts to hon. Gentlemen opposite who are interested in this matter of undenominational education, because it is a school that has had neither politics, nor particular religious views. It has been governed by gentlemen of all politics and creeds, and it has been gladly resorted to by many Roman Catholic students, who in a way disliked the atmosphere of St. Cecilia, while they were not prepared to enter the Trinity Medical School. This Medical School attached to the College of Surgeons has been, as I have said, a conspacious success. There are three thousand graduates from it scattered over Ireland and other parts of the world holding its diploma. What is to be their position under this University Bill? As I have said, the University when created under this Bill will at once adopt St Cecilia as its School of Medicine. It will have all the benefits of magnificent equipments and State money, of prizes, scholarships, bursaries, and professorships; and how then will it be possible for the School of Medicine attached to the College of Surgeons to compete with it? It will inevitably go under, and in the result you will have set up a denominational University in Dublin, and, in so far as in you lies, and you are able to accomplish it, every man who comes out of Dublin with a medical degree is to bear a religious brand upon him, because you will have killed the only undenominational School of Medicine that at present exists in Ireland. Why should that be done? If you are going to set up a richly-equipped and endowed School of Medicine in competition or rivalry with the Medical School of the College of Surgeons, how can you resist a demand which is consistent with ordinary justice, consistent with the practice of this House, in regard to an institution created by Charter, and carried on successfully, as this has been, for 150 years, and to the satisfaction of the public—which will enable this institution to compete with some degree of success with its endowed and dangerous rival? These are matters in which it seems to me this

Bill is deficient. I do not apologise for dwelling on these points now. They are not Committee points, the more especially when, owing to a system which is unavoidable—for these Charters we have not yet seen, or only imaginary or suggested drafts of them—it is absolutely necessary that we should discuss them to-night, or if not, never get another chance. This Bill is capable, I believe, of providing possibly the only solution of a settlement of this vexed question of higher education in Ireland. But it will be only possible if it does so on lines which will prevent the institution from falling into the hands and under the complete control and domination of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland and becoming a glorified seminary. We have advanced very far, I fear, in that direction when we have made it possible and almost certain, as the right hon. Gentleman himself admitted, that the first thing this new Senate will do will be to affiliate Maynooth, and enable this large body of ecclastical students, not merely in Maynooth, but in every other institution in Ireland—for the provision which enables affiliation actually extends not merely to Maynooth, but to every institution which provides teaching. It is a most extraordinarily wide clause, and runs—

> "Provided the University may accept the examinations and periods of study passed by students in the University or at other Universities or places of learning."

So that in order to be affiliated to this new University all that is required is a "place of learning." It may not be a college or a University, but only a "place of learning." I would like very much to know who is to limit that definition. What I say is that it is wide enough to include and contemplate the affiliation of Maynooth. I say that under it it will be possible to turn out, as graduates of this new University, hundreds of young clergymen with a University Degree in Arts who have never spent one hour in a class-room in a University, never listened to one lecture, and never passed through a curriculum which the University prescribes. I say, that as long as that is in this Bill, as long as the system of election of the Senate is such as it is, the measure will be objectionable, because the system proposed enables only six out of thirty-five members of the Senate to be directly elected by Convocation. The rest are elected by small governing bodies inside the University, and there are only these six who are to be elected directly by Convocation. I think that is a very grave mistake, and that it gets rid of the suggestion that these men are going to be academically elected men. [An Hon. Member: There are only five not six.] I overstate the case, and I hear there are only five out of thirty-five, so that I gather that there is only one-sixth or one-seventh of the governing body directly elected by the graduates themselves. I feel deeply interested in the medical school ttached to the College of Surgeons, although I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I hold no brief for them. On the contrary, their interests are contrary to those of Trinity College, Dublin, because they are rivals of the University of Dublin, though they are a considerable distance away. All that they ask is that they should be left alone, and not have a competitor, who up to the present has been on level terms with them and with whom they have been able to compete successfully, given the immeasurable advantage of being provided with State money, and enabled to obtain expensive equipments of the most modern and up-to-date kind, by means of which it will crush the School of Medicine by decreasing the number of students and the number of licentiates, and necessarily decreasing the number who apply for the Fellowship of the College of Surgeons. It will strangle the College if that is done; that will be inevitable under this Bill. Unless precautions are taken you will destroy the only extra-University qualification in the whole of Ireland. To show how that problem will work out, let me tell the House that in the year 1906 there were sixty-eight students who obtained the qualification of the College of Surgeons, and there were only forty who obtained the qualification of the University of Dublin and only fifty-eight who obtained the qualification of the Royal University, showing that that extra-University qualification is a most popular one among medical students in Ireland. What is the case in England in the same year, 1906? Why, the conjoint qualifications of the College of Surgeons and the College of Physicians was conferred on 390 students, the total number from all the Universities in England being only 184, so that there were 390 young men in England who preferred to take this conjoint qualification of the College of Surgeons and the College of Physicians, as against the qualification at the same time conferred by the Universities in England. I make a strong appeal that the right hon. Gentleman will do something in this matter. They do not want to have their industry cramped in any way; they wish to go on with the same establishment and the same efforts which they have hitherto been making. They have contracted obligations of a pecuniary character which will last for many years to come in regard to their professors and their staff. I think it is a cruel injustice on the part of the State, and one which I do not think this House will tolerate, that a competing school should be set up by the State to crush out for the benefit of a rival an institution established a century and a half ago. If this is done there will be no school left for those students who detest the religious atmosphere in connection with their professional studies and who would like still to be allowed the opportunity of going to a school in which they can obtain excellent medical teaching, and at the same time breathe the pure atmosphere of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. McKEAN (Monaghan, S.) thought the Chief Secretary was heartily to be congratulated upon the fact that the Amendment had been proposed and seconded and supported as it had been by the speeches to which they had listened. He would deal briefly with the speech of the last speaker. At first he thought from his action on the First Reading of the Bill that the right hon. Gentleman was in favour of the measure. Therefore, he did not pay particular attention to the early part of his speech, but as the right hon. Gentleman continued, he found he occupied the unique position of being both for and against the Bill at the same time.

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: If the hon. Member had taken the trouble to read the Votes he would have found that I did not vote for the Bill on its First Reading.

Mr. McKEAN: I did not state that the right hon. Gentleman had voted for it. I referred to the position he had taken up, which is a totally different thing.

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: What was the position?

Mr. McKEAN: You know your position. It is unnecessary for me to tell you what it was. Continuing the hon. Member repeated that the right hon. Gentleman occupied the remarkable position of being for and against the measure at the same time. One of the statements which the right hon. Gentleman made was that the bishops of Ireland would not allow a professor who was not a member of the Catholic faith to teach in any University institution there.

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: I must ask the hon. and learned Gentleman to do me the justice not to misrepresent what I said.

Mr. McKEAN: What did you say?

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: I did not say what you suggested. What I said was that the Roman Catholic bishops have time after time declared as a matter of faith and morals, that it is a religious duty to prevent the Roman Catholic youth of Ireland being taught by any teachers except those who belong to their creed.

Mr. McKEAN: Is not that the same thing put in circumlocutory language? The right hon. Gentleman had set aside, or was not aware of the fact that three of the professors of Catholic College were of the Protestant faith, and that college was approved by all the bishops of Ireland. It was not only owned, but approved by all the bishops of Ireland. That statement was a very fair specimen of the character of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. Another remark he made as showing the results of this Bill had reference to what had happened in consequence of the Local Government Act of 1898, all over Ireland. But what about Belfast? The right hon. Gentleman had told them that the appointments on these local councils were all going to Catholics. But again he asked, what about Belfast and the Unionist districts; they, of course, appointed Catholics. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to be briefed by the Royal College of Surgeons. [An HON. MEMBER: What about Belfast?] What he had asked was whether the corporation of Belfast employed Catholics. How many Catholics were in their employment, and what were the emoluments which they enjoyed? He ventured to say that in Belfast the Catholic employees did not receive one five-hundredth part of what the Protestants did. [An HON. MEMBER: Figures.] The hon. Member could give the figures; he made the statement.

MR. MOORE (Armagh, N.): Is the hon. Member aware that the county surveyor is a Roman Catholic?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

MR. MCKEAN, referring to the speech of the seconder, said that as the result of the culture which resulted from his University training the hon. Member had referred to a higgledy-piggledy lecture-room, and he hoped when the new University was started in Ireland it would cultivate more refined language than some of the English Universities. If it was the desire of the English people to have undenominational education it was the duty of the Government to satisfy the electorate. On the other hand, if the people of Ireland wanted denominationalism they had a constitutional right to it. They had to pay for it. The majority of the people of Ireland were Catholics, and they asked only that part of the money which they contributed to the Imperial Exchequer should be devoted to giving their children education such as they themselves wished for. In regard to tests for teachers he, as an Irish Catholic, objected entirely to the clause in the Bill which prohibited them. It would be an injustice to the teacher if he were shut out in this way from infusing into his teaching an element of religion, so far as he thought it right to do so. They knew that moral and religious principles were often much better infused in giving instruction than in a religious lecture. He objected in the strongest possible way to subsection 4 of Clause 7. He objected to anything which placed an official ban on religious teaching. The money of the State could be used for teaching geology or Sanscrit, or anything else. The one thing it could not be devoted to was teaching religion. Why should it not be devoted to teaching religion? They did not ask for English money, or for Protestant money. All they asked was that a certain portion of the money contributed by Roman Catholics should be devoted to teaching not only what they required in the way of secular instruction, but also religious teaching. He spoke for himself in this connection, and also he believed for a considerable section of educated public opinion in Ireland. The Government, with State money, maintained police and prisons for the detection and punishment of crime, but they refused to devote a cent to the propagation of that influence which was calculated to prevent crime—the greatest of all human influences—religion. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford had pointed to the one great blot of this Bill, namely, the utter inadequacy of its financial provisions. Having regard to the fact that according to the findings of the Financial Relations Committee of 1894, Ireland was being overtaxed to the extent of £1,750,000 at that time, and to the fact that she had been overtaxed ever since to the extent of over £2,000,000 annually, she was entitled to more generous treatment in this matter. His hon. friend had estimated that the amount of conscience money owed by this country to Ireland was some hundreds of millions of pounds sterling, and they had, therefore, a right to claim more generous treatment from the Government. It was a shocking and scandalous thing that a rich country like England should plunder Ireland in this way, and that when it attempted to do something for Ireland in the way of higher education it should come forward in such a niggardly fashion. Maynooth had been referred to, and they were told of the endowment that that college had. Yes, but what about Trinity College, with an endowment of over £90,000 ? Some of that came from the State, but the greater part came from Catholic monasteries and the property of Catholic noblemen and gentlemen confiscated centuries ago. Because Maynooth got an endowment grant at one time, and at another a lump sum, that was held up as a reason why this Catholic University could not be established at all, or, if it was, it should be inadequately provided for. The Bill failed in the point of equality. All they asked for was equality of endowment. In the Bill the Government provided only £32,000 for the new college in Dublin, which was supposed to meet the wants of the Catholics of Ireland. According to the figures given by one hon. Gentleman, Trinity College had an endowment of £68,000. But that figure was incorrect. The total income of Trinity College was £95,000 a year. He agreed with the previous speaker in a great deal of his criticism of the Senate. As usual the hierarchy of Ireland had been attacked for the action they had taken in connection with Catholic education in Ireland, and as usual they had been lectured by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Armagh—

> "This was a Bill for the bishops—a scheme to satisfy the bishops."

Had not the bishops of Ireland a right to their views and convictions ? Had they not a right to be heard ? The hon. and learned Gentleman would not be satisfied until he saw all their heads on spikes placed round the Tower of London.

MR. HALDANE: Was the offer ever made ?

MR. MOORE (Armagh, N.): I said the Roman Catholic bishops had a perfect right to their views and convictions, but they had no right to State money.

MR. MCKEAN: State money! What was State money ? Where did it come from ? Was "the State" superior to the people ? Was it not the people of Ireland who constituted the State of Ireland? Yet 3,300,000 people, who paid taxes far beyond their proper proportion were not to be allowed education such as they wanted. Such a thing was unconstitutional; it was unjust. The Bill, as the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had said, had the support, and all similar solutions had had, and would have, the support, of all the enlightened men in this House and the nation. When the Second Reading was taken, in one lobby would be found all the enlightenment of the House and in the other all the bigotry. There would be found supporting the Bill every man who was a true friend of Ireland and every true Imperialist, for this was a measure of Imperial importance. While he disagreed with the financial provisions, he believed that the Bill would conduce in some way to better education in Ireland, and believing the right hon. Gentleman would accept many Amendments in Committee he wished him and his Bill Godspeed through Committee.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said it was astonishing to him to see how the Government, which on the one hand was trying to undenominationalise education in England, was on the other trying to denominationalise public education in Ireland. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had said that every true friend of Ireland would be found in the lobby in favour of this Bill. He hoped the hon. Gentleman was not sincere in that remark, because many true friends of Ireland would be unable to vote for it. They could not lose sight of the facts, and the facts were simple. Belfast, he thought, did not ask for the Bill. Neither did he think Belfast wanted it at the price. And it could not be good for democracy that the youth of Ireland should be divided in this manner. They were going to make their protest, and to do the best they could to state their views impartially. The hierarchy in Ireland had been negotiating with the Chief Secretary, and he understood that the Presbyterian body, and all those directly concerned in the Bill, had been communicated with. But there was a body in Ireland of some real importance which had never been consulted one way or the other, and that was the Methodists, who were concerned, not so much about the Bill, as about the extern students, for a great many young men in Ireland would suffer from being isolated, because while using their spare time in trying to raise their standard of education they would be excluded from the facilities that they would otherwise have had at Trinity and Queen's Colleges. He did not think that was a thing which could be very well overlooked, though he supposed it was a matter for Committee. But how they were going to bring the young men of Ireland, who were indeed that country's hope for the future, to a better understanding of each other if they divided them up into sections, building ecclesiastical walls between them, was more than he could tell. Sectarian bitterness and bigotry would not be lessened by the Bill. They had in Belfast one of the finest technical institutions in the United Kingdom; but, even when that institution was built, and there was every facility given for technical instruction, the Roman Catholic bishop in the diocese of Belfast went to the corporation of that City and absolutely refused to allow Roman Catholic youths to go to that institute because the atmosphere was not a Roman Catholic one. The Protestant Corporation of Belfast, who were charged with bigotry, gave a special grant to the Roman Catholic body in Belfast for technical instruction of the Roman Catholic youth, and allowed the members of the Roman Catholic Church to ignore the facilities supplied in the ordinary course of events for Belfast. How were they going to get sectarian bitterness brought down if they allowed that sort of thing to go on? Trinity College was saved; the cry had been "Hands off our property." Trinity College and those associated with it, therefore, were quite prepared to support this measure, which was undoubtedly a denominational Bill. Of course there was to be no test; the University was to be open to everybody. But Episcopalians would be expected to go to Trinity College, and, in regard to the new University in Dublin, it was an understood thing, though it was not mentioned in the Bill, that in a short time the Roman Catholics would go there. Then as to the composition of the governing body, there was no getting away from the fact that it was ecclesiastical. He thought that they had in Ireland enough ecclesiastical law at the present time, and there was nothing democratic about this governing body.

Mr. DILLON: Everything about it is democratic. It is the most democratic University in the United Kingdom.

Mr. SLOAN: I fail to see anything democratic about the governing body; it is undoubtedly ecclesiastical.

Mr. DILLON: Nothing of the sort. The hon. Member cannot have read the Charter or the Bill. It is not ecclesiastical in the least degree. It is the least ecclesiastical in the United Kingdom, and entirely democratic.

Mr. SLOAN said that, if that was so, he accepted the statement of the hon. Gentleman; he certainly did not wish to dispute so high an authority. If he thought that the Senate was democratic, and that the extern students would have adequate facilities for home study, if he thought that it was a final settlement, and that it would remove a great injustice from the people of Ireland, he would not take up his present attitude towards the Bill. But he was not satisfied of that. He did not suppose that any man who wanted to see Ireland better than she was, who wanted to see the facilities for education better than what they were, would stand in the way of a just and reasonable reform for the betterment of the people. But it was because they were not satisfied that the Bill would effect those objects that they took up their present position. If they divided the youth of Ireland into sections how could they expect them to understand each other? There would be no social intercourse, and how could it be expected that they would understand what would be for the good and happiness of them all? If that could be brought about by the Chief Secretary and those who assisted him in introducing this Bill, he would be glad. But the Liberal Party would have to exercise a great deal of ingenuity to persuade the people of this country that their programme of denominational education for Ireland could be reconciled with their undenominational programme for England. He supported the education proposals of the Government in 1906 because he believed them to be sound, and because the teachers were free from the system of religious tests. He had also supported those proposals because he believed they would benefit elementary education in England, and he could not, in his conscience, vote for denominational education in Ireland coming from the same Party. He had listened to the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had moved the Amendment, and he thought that it must be the sound conviction of every true and conscientious Nonconformist in that House that if he supported the Government proposals for education in England, he could not conscientiously, or with any degree of satisfaction, support this proposal for the endowment of denominationalism in Ireland. The scheme of the Bill was very cleverly developed, but it was intended—no one denied it, even the hon. and learned Gentleman deliberately said it was so intended—for Roman Catholics. Why not call it a Roman Catholic University, and then they would know where they were? The Government had told them that this was not to be a State endowed Roman Catholic University, and in the next breath they were told that it might be so. If the Bill passed, as he supposed it would, he wanted to ask the Attorney-General for Ireland whether he would convey to the Chief Secretary this point. Under the Bill the national school teachers of Ireland had no opportunity either by their social position or by their means of getting a University training, and the question he wanted to put was whether those facilities which now existed would be given to them, whereby they might be able to do home study or to work in their spare time, and so equip themselves for a University degree without having to go to the University. There were serious obstacles in the way of national school teachers, and only some five or six of them had a University degree. The Government would do well to declare that this was a Roman Catholic Bill, or tell them what their object was. They all knew the Chief Secretary's courage and his troubles, and if he was going to sink with this Bill, he was afraid his sinking would not be a very honourable one. He was a man of strong educational views, and he believed he had good intentions towards Ireland, though sometimes he thought his judgment was carried away with his good intentions; but if he succeeded by this Bill in satisfying one Party it would be to the disagreement of another Party, which was the worst thing for Ireland. For that reason he opposed the Bill. It was opposed to and inconsistent with the Government's educational policy and with educational progress; it would separate more widely the youth of Ireland, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, and it would create a denominational atmosphere in University education not at all likely to be good for those for whom it was intended.

LORD EDMUND TALBOT (Sussex, Chichester): As an English Catholic I should like to say a few words in support of this Bill. During the First Reading debate my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition stated that in his opinion he doubted whether a better plan could be devised than the one contained in this Bill. I do not know that anyone could be very much surprised at that statement coming from him, considering that this Bill, unlike the Government plan of last year, is drawn very much on the lines the right hon. Gentleman advocated as a settlement of this question for a great many years. I should like to be allowed to make one or two criticisms in reference to this measure. The first is with regard to money. I very much doubt whether there is enough money so far as the college to be founded in Dublin is concerned. It seems to me that if a scheme of this kind is promoted at all, it is worth doing thoroughly well. Hon. Members must remember that the students who will take advantage of this new University scheme will not belong to the wealthy or leisured classes. I observed that the Chief Secretary in his speech on the First Reading suggested that, while he thought adequate financial provision was made in the Bill, money from private sources might, in future, be found for further endowments. Well, that is the first time that I have ever heard that those who are likely to frequent this College in Dublin are over-burdened with the good things of this world. I feel that it is of real importance that a college of this kind should be thoroughly equipped at first. It should be equipped absolutely up-to-date, so that the students taking advantage of it shall feel that they have a really good thing and start at once with a genuine pride, realising that it is their fault and theirs alone if they do not take full advantage of the educational facilities afforded them. I should like to criticise the non-residential character of the proposed college. I need not more than mention that, because that point has already been thoroughly well gone into by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Waterford, and I should like respectfully to associate myself and agree with everything he said on that point. There is a third point upon which I am not satisfied, and that is the affiliation question, and here, perhaps, I am in the somewhat dangerous company of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Morley who moved the Amendment this afternoon. Of course, I, like him, am thinking chiefly of Maynooth, but I remember in the evidence given by Dr. O'Dwyer, the Bishop of Limerick, before the Robertson Commission, a very striking passage indeed, in which he strongly advocated that in the Catholic University proposed at that time, the Maynooth students should come up to Dublin and take their two years' art course in Dublin and away from Maynooth. I venture to think that that would be a great advantage, both educationally and socially. Of course, I do not for a moment mean to suggest that these ecclesiastical students should lead a life not altogether in conformity with their position as ecclesiastical students, but I do mean that they should mix with the lay students in the lectures and in the classes, and I should hope, also in the games, and I believe that that would be a great advantage. Speaking of the Bishop of Limerick, I have observed in the Press that he has lately written an article; I have not seen or read the article myself, but I have seen comments in the Press on an article which he has written, severely criticising this Bill, and surprise seems to have been shown that he should have done so. I cannot say that it is any surprise to me at all, either that he or any other Catholic Bishop should severely criticise this Bill. This is no Bishop's Bill. Speaking for myself, and with all possible respect, and in so far as I am capable of forming an opinion, I should regret very much if the Catholic Bishops of Ireland did not accept this Bill, but to ask them to swallow it offhand is indeed asking a Catholic Bishop to partake of a very heavy and remarkably indigestible meal. It has been urged, I think by the Mover of the Amendment, or the Seconder, that University education of Catholics need not be given in Ireland, because English Catholics can go to the Universities in England—Oxford and Cambridge. But surely sentiment cannot altogether be disregarded in connection with this matter. It is quite true that Catholics in England can now go, and I am glad to say do go, to Oxford and Cambridge under certain definite conditions, but it must be remembered that we Catholics in England are in far too small a minority to have a University of our own, and therefore if proper conditions can be devised for us it is only natural and reasonable that we should be allowed to go to the Universities of this country. But the thing is entirely different in Ireland. There three-fourths of the population are Catholics, and there is literally no Catholic University teaching worthy of the name of which they can take advantage. Of course, I know perfectly well that Catholics do go and are admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, but Trinity College is a legitimate Protestant institution. That is to say, I do not know if I am quite orthodox in admitting that anything Protestant can be legitimate, but it was intended to be a Protestant institution, and it was founded as a Protestant institution. I rather expect it was also founded as a proselytising institution, but it happily has singularly failed in that. The real question that ought to be considered in regard to the point is surely this. If Trinity College, Dublin, was as Catholic as it now is Protestant, would genuine earnest-minded Protestants send their sons to that College? If they would not do that, and I do not believe they would, then I say, in common justice, the Catholics of Ireland ought to be given higher University education for themselves. I do not want to detain the House. I have always felt ever since I have been in this House, and ever since I have heard debates on this question both inside the House and outside, that on us Unionists a great responsibility rested in refusing a measure of this kind for the Catholics of Ireland. I do not believe that we can justify our opposition to Home Rule if we refuse University education to the Catholics who ask for it there; and I wish as an English Catholic to thank the Chief Secretary for having brought in this Bill and for having offered to my co-religionists in Ireland this boon of higher education. Of course it requires a very small elementary practical knowledge of politics to appreciate that there are in both Parties, and on both sides of the House, those who disagree with any proposition of this kind. It therefore is practically impossible for any Government to pass a Bill of this kind unless they have a large majority behind them, and I thank the Government, not only as a Catholic, but also as a Unionist, that they have seized this opportunity of giving to the Catholics of Ireland a boon which in my opinion has been too long deferred.

MR. KETTLE (Tyrone, E.) said the noble Lord had addressed himself to the Bill from the point of view of the English Catholic. He need hardly say that they welcomed his support. As to whether the establishment of two free Universities without tests would be a set-back to the cause of Home Rule, he was sure they might be allowed to form their own opinion, and his opinion, he must say, was not the noble Lord's. While he welcomed his support of the measure, the House would fully understand that between the Party on those benches, which represented a nation, and the noble Lord and his friends who represented a small section of opinion in this country, there was fixed a great and impassable gulf. Perhaps, therefore, it was all the more significant that those whom the noble Lord represented should join with the Nationalist Party in offering a cordial support to the measure introduced by the Chief Secretary. The position of the Nationalist Party had been made perfectly clear by the hon. Member for Waterford. They did not welcome this measure because they believed it to be an ideal Bill, or even the best Bill possible and practicable in the circumstances. He, for his part, welcomed it because, having had some experience of University institutions at present open to Catholics in Ireland, he felt that any Bill was infinitely better than no Bill. When they condemned the Royal University as the Robertson Commission had done, Parliament was bound in honour and conscience to face at last the duty it had avoided and shrunk from for three generations. Such points as he wished to submit to the House would be mainly of an academical character. He did not want to prolong a discussion inspired mainly by religious prejudices—in some respects, he might almost say, by religious fanaticism—but let them get perfectly clear about the question of tests. The hon. Member for Monaghan had made a speech which it seemed to him might fairly represent the demand that could be put forward by Catholics in a purely Catholic country. He had made a speech representing the demand that was actually put forward, and he did not see why anyone should seek to go back upon it. Since 1897 they had been committed to the acceptance of a University Bill, introduced by either Party, entirely devoid of religious tests. The Chief Secretary had introduced that Bill, and they accepted it. He thought the mover of the Amendment was right when he said his views were somewhat old-fashioned; still more were those expressed by the junior Member for Trinity College. The attitude of mind of gentlemen from a certain part of Ulster would be that of the Chief Justice who once declared that the law of Ireland was not cognisant of such a being as an Irish Papist. The Catholic demand was simply that they in Ireland should have an opportunity of getting higher education without ceasing to be Catholics. The hon. Member was not content with no tests. He had in Clause 3 a most definite statement that no appointment would be governed by questions of religion. What he really wanted was a University with a positive test against Catholicism. They supported this Bill because it set up a University, the majority of whose students would naturally be Catholics because the majority of the population were Catholics, whose doors, distinctions, and degrees would be absolutely open to persons of every creed or no creed. That was the position, he took it, so far as the purely religious question was concerned. They had been told that Belfast did not want a University. If he might contrast the position of Belfast with that of Cork it was a little strange that Belfast, in which some section of opinion had expressed itself opposed to the establishment of a University, should be given one, while Cork, which was entirely unanimous in favour of one, should be deprived of it. But they had the true explanation of the attitude of that section in Belfast given unconsciously by the hon. Member for South Belfast. It was that Belfast was not getting its price. Belfast had adopted this attitude in order to be in a better position to buy, and when the Chief Secretary pressed the measure on, and it became certain that it was passing into law, he would see that position drop away into nothingness. The demand which had led to the establishment of these Universities in Ireland was not specifically a Catholic or a religious demand. Their case had always been that they were stricken, not only in their consciences as Catholics, but in their right as citizens. They had asked for religious equality, and not for religious domination. Could anybody say, apart from the religious question, that the University equipment of Ireland was at present adequate? In the national University there was a steady decline in the number of students. In the Royal University, with all its defects, they had had a steady increase. The number passing through the Royal University had increased by 50 per cent. in seven years. It had sent through its hands more than 4,000 last year. There was a growing demand in Ireland for a University fully equipped which would turn forth men of disciplined and adventurous minds, develop the natural resources of Ireland, and substitute prosperity for its present wretchedness. If there were no religious questions in Ireland and no differences of religion, some such measure as this would be imperatively called for by purely educational needs. They were told by the junior Member for Trinity College that it was his hope and dream that all Irish University students should meet together in one institution. If that was good for Ireland why did they not apply it to England and Scotland? Why did they not have a Bill amalgamating the four Scottish Universities? He saw no reason why University students in Ireland should be mashed together in one academic tub more than University students anywhere else. To allow each province and each section of opinion to have its own characteristic mark or University institution was a thing to be welcomed and not deplored. These various Universities in Ireland would effect a real unification of feeling, first, by rivalry, and secondly, by good fellowship. He believed that in establishing these various Universities the Chief Secretary would contribute more to the unification of feeling in Ireland than if he were to secure any artificial and superficial unity by pressing all sections of opinion together within the walls of one University institution. Public opinion in Ireland regarded the constitution given to the University and the three colleges as on the whole satisfactory. When the hon. Member for South Belfast rose to oppose the Bill, though if he had not definitely said so he would have thought his speech was in support of it, the hon. Member for Mayo pointed out to him that it was the most democratic and self-governed University in the kingdom. He agreed that there were far too many doctors nominated to the Senate. That might perhaps be a new step in the campaign against consumption inaugurated by Lady Aberdeen. They all knew that the medical profession exercised a great and secret influence, and it could cause an extraordinary dislocation of society if it chose, by the simple but brutal expedient of sending in its bills. He owed a great deal too much to the medical profession to use any hard words about it. They were all very nice people. He knew most of them personally, but there were a great deal too many. There was a real danger that ought to be guarded against, that this new University institution in Dublin might become not in the least a glorified seminary but a glorified medical school. He was certain that nobody wanted to inflict any injury on the College of Surgeons. It obviously had a case, but when they analysed the speech of the right hon. Member for Trinity College they recognised the old wail of the threatened vested interest. But he would be glad to lend his personal support to the right hon. Gentleman in the one object in which all Irish parties agreed, that they ought to get some more money out of the pockets of the British Treasury. On the question of finance the hon. Member for Waterford had drawn attention to the inadequacy of the amount provided; £150,000, the sum given for the building fund of the new Dublin Colleges, did not seem to him a proposal that could be treated seriously, and he could not conceive that it was put forward seriously. He could not understand how the Treasury, which only a couple of years ago were content to give £200,000 for the building of the new College of Science in Dublin, which was at best a technological institute representing one faculty, tried to pretend that the demands of this new college could be met by a building fund of £150,000. He thought the objection to the establishment of a residential University, an objection which, though he was in a small minority on those benches, he entirely shared, was not put forward on academic grounds or any grounds of any respectable character at all. It was put forward in order that the Treasury might be able to cut the building grant smaller. The Secretary of State for War had thrown out one suggestion which might meet the needs of the situation—the establishment of hostels and not, properly speaking, of halls of residence in connection with the new University. The idea of a residential University was, after all, almost purely an English one. It did not exist in Continental Universities, and he thought the experience of history was that in proportion as it was more English it was less likely to be successful in Ireland. To pass from the building grant to the annual endowment of the new college—£32,000—anybody who had attempted to work out in detail the allowance to the various faculties and the salaries to professors must admit that that was a mean and beggarly sum on which to endeavour to get the college run satisfactorily. The college would make its mark mainly, if at all, in economics and in physical science. In physical science it would have to enter into very vigorous competition with the new English Universities. The professor of physics would be under continual temptation to go to Liverpool, Manchester, or somewhere else where the Chair carried a heavier salary. Unless they gave the Dublin College a fair start—or equal start in respect of money endowment—they could not hope that it would run satisfactorily. He wished to draw attention to what in his mind was a radical, though a very easily curable defect in the Bill. They had heard a good deal about external examiners. Article 19 provided that in every examination in the new University the papers should be set and the examination conducted by an external examiner who was not in any way associated or connected with the University itself. That seemed to him to have a little too much of the spirit of the Irish Council Bill. Were they going to build a University on a foundation of distrust of their own professors? It was quite true that the professors themselves were definitely placed in a subordinate position to the external examiners. The external examiner was to be appointed first and then to be associated with professors of the University itself to help. He protested most strongly against that. He held that Article 19 of Clause 1 bore out his contention in regard to the external examiners. The provision to be made with respect to them seemed to him to strike at the very root of academic automony. It was inspired with a spirit of absolute distrust of the men who were to be charged with the conduct of the new institutions. Were they going to perpetuate the old system which had ruined the Royal University? Were they going to compel men to teach a subject, not as they thought it ought to be taught, but as somebody else thought it ought to be taught? If that interpretation of the position of the external examiners were accurate, it went to the very foundation on which a University institution ought to be based. He thought they were all agreed that some provision must be made in regard to external students. A clear distinction must be made between the man who had both attended regular lectures and examinations, and the man who had simply read up and passed examinations. As to the position of women in the new University, if the Chief Secretary would examine that part of the Charter of the new Dublin College which dealt with women he would see that as it stood it would exclude from membership of the new Dublin college far the greater part of the women graduates of the Royal University, Dublin. He did not think that that was the intention, but certainly it would be the effect. Believing that that did not carry the approval of anybody, he asked that this particular part of the college Charter should be examined and amended. Provision was made that the appointments to the professorial chairs should be for six years only. That, he supposed, was because these appointments were to be filled up by the statutory Commissioners. There was nothing in the Bill or the Charter to show whether these appointments were to be renewed or new men placed in the positions—whether the professors who held for terms of six years were to have fixity of tenure. Unless they gave the men who occupied the professorial chairs fixity of tenure during good conduct they would perpetuate another vice the existence of which everybody admitted in connection with the Royal University. If the men only held their chairs for the brief period of six years, all the inducements would be to keep quiet and say nothing which might give offence. It seemed to him that when they had professors duly elected by these bodies they must give them an *ad vitem aut culpam* tenure. He was glad to gather that that was the opinion of the Chief Secretary, and he hoped it would be made more explicit in the Bill than it was now. He thought that the provision which placed the examinations entirely in the hands of external examiners would, if persisted in, bring on the measure in actual working the most complete disaster. He hoped that the generous spirit in which the Chief Secretary had approached the question of University education in Ireland would be seen in the details of the measure. Every measure passed through this House founded upon trust in the Irish principle had been a success, and every measure founded upon distrust had been a dismal and melancholy failure.

*MR. C. J. O'DONNELL (Newington, Walworth) said that like most of the speakers who had taken part in the debate he approached the question from a strictly academic point of view. He wished to say something regarding what seemed to him would be the effect of the Bill on existing University systems in Ireland. The first result of the measure would be the destruction of the Royal University. He had not much affection for the Royal, because it displaced the Queen's University, of whch he was a graduate. The argument always had been that the Queen's University was a failure. It had been said that it was condemned by the Catholic Church, and that Catholics refused to attend it. There were few statements more inaccurate. Considering the poverty of the Irish people the attendance was fairly large. The main point about the Queen's was the intrinsic excellence of its education, although in the matter of scholarship endowment it was starved. The scholarships provided in that University were of the most pitiable kind. There were only ten of £24 each in each college. That was a beggarly allowance, and he attributed the relative failure in the numbers attending Queen's College to that cause alone. He had never met any young Catholic who failed to go to Queen's University because he was prevented by his Catholic clergy. The Catholic did not want to be coddled in his religion. As a Catholic himself he did not see why the Catholics in Ireland should receive this special treatment. The Catholics in Ireland were 3,250,000 and in England there were about 2,500,000, but in England there was a very much larger class of men who were fitted for University education. If there could be a reasonable demand for a special Catholic University within the United Kingdom it would be in England, but when Cardinal Manning attempted to establish a Catholic University at Kensington he could only get seventeen students. Although the Catholic hierarchy in this country issued in 1873 a synodical letter warning Catholic parents that they could not send their sons to the national Universities without the peril of their losing either their faith or their morals, and that the sending them would be a grave sin, the reverend gentlemen who laid that down were wrong. The educated Catholics of England would not put up with that penal law. For twenty years they carried on an agitation, and in 1894 they submitted a Memorandum, signed by the Duke of Norfolk, the noble Lord the Member for Chichester, Lord Llandaff, and dozens of distinguished English Catholics, setting forth that if this principle of segregation was to be carried out it might be applied to Sandhurst, to the Inns of Court, and to other places where young Catholics came into contact with those of other religions. Those arguments were carried to Rome, and Rome was wise in giving full consent to Catholics sending their sons to Oxford and Cambridge. Their faith, instead of suffering, had been strengthened. A few days ago he received a letter from an English Catholic in which he said—

> "English Catholics take the unassailable position that, whilst it is the parent's right to have his children thoroughly trained at school in his religion, its dogma, and its principles of conduct, it is absolutely necessary to give young men of ability, the future leaders of the community, the broadest and best education in the great National Universities. No sheep pens!"

Now, that was the real view of the Catholics of England, which he had tried to put into the Motion which he had placed on the Paper. He found that it was not only in England that this state of things obtained. Catholics of position and wealth everywhere insisted that their sons, while educated in the Catholic schools, should after that go into public Universities like other youths and join in the sports of the cricket field as well as in education. He did not like to say a hard word, but it was to his mind horrible to think of young Catholics being brought up to the age of twenty-two in sheep pens, and absolutely kept away from their brother Protestants in Ireland. Turn to Germany; there was not a more cultivated and distinguished body of Catholics anywhere than in Germany. They numbered close on 20,000,000; every man of them educated in a lay University; not only laymen, but also priests of the Catholic Church; and they took their degrees in a lay University. What was the result? There was no more manly and virile race in the world than the Catholics of Germany.

*MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Were they excluded from professorships?

*MR. C. J. O'DONNELL: No they were not, and when Bismarck tried to oppress them he was soon driven to Canossa. Compare them with the Catholic aristocracy of France, and the way in which these were brought up! When persecution fell on them they took refuge in Monte Carlo and the *Folies Bergères.* As to the question of tests, it was perfectly true that there were to be no tests for professors, but there were tests for the Senates. There was to be only one Catholic on the Senate of the University of Belfast. That was a test. In the same way, there was to be only seven Protestants on the Senate of the University of Dublin; and that again was a religious test. The graduates of the Royal University of Ireland had drawn particular attention to this question, and said that the pledge which professors had to give that they would not make any statement derogatory to religion had been the main protection to the minority, but that protection was going to be knocked on the head. What about the minority in Cork? Was there to be no protection to Protestants there or to Catholics in Belfast? He did not propose to support the Amendment; it was just as sectarian as the Bill. Nonconformists on his side of the House had taken the opportunity of this Bill to hang on to it a general attack on denominational education in every branch of teaching. He would have nothing to do with it. In conclusion, he regarded the matter both from its educational standpoint and also from the Nationalist point of view. As hon. Gentlemen opposite knew, he had been a Nationalist all the days of his life, and had always hoped in the development of the Irish race. The only possible hope of Home Rule and of that development was in the union of Catholics and Protestants, the union of the Orange and the Green. Would they get that ideal advanced, would they get nearer to Home Rule by bringing up the young manhood of Ireland in three sectarian camps? He had always voted for Home Rule, but he would spare himself the trouble in future if this Bill became law. A nation which refused a national system of education was not worthy of self-government.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The hon. Member for Morley, who moved this Amendment grounded his attack upon the Bill upon the statement that the Universities which the Bill proposed to set up were frankly and purely denominational. I took the liberty of interrupting him and asking him to give us a definition of the term "denominational institution" which he had used in the course of his speech, and I believe I shall carry the opinion of the House when I say that the hon. Member failed to meet that request. His attempt to define a denominational institution was, I think, a dismal failure. What did he say? He said that a denominational institution was to his mind a University where the great majority who attended it and the great majority of the professors also belonged to one religious persuasion, and where inducements were given, he went on to say, to one particular religious persuasion to attend that University. I venture to say as regards the first assertion, that it applies to every University in the United Kingdom, and as regards the second, that it does not apply to those Universities which this Bill, if it passes, undertakes to set up. According to the hon. Member for Morley, so great is his intellectual prejudice on this question, if a University is attended by a preponderance of men and professors of one particular religious creed, it is a denominational institution. What University in England will escape from that definition? Does it not apply to Oxford and Cambridge, to the University of London, and to every University in Scotland? Did we not hear the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge declare the other day—I confess it amused me—that not only are the members of these Universities in enormous preponderance members of one religion, but that when he was called to be a professor in the Edinburgh University, he was required to make a declaration that he would teach nothing which would interfere with the Westminster Confession. But has the indignation of the hon. Members opposite who moved and seconded the Amendment been roused by that declaration in favour of particular religious teaching? Why should the Catholics of Ireland be taken under the protection of this definition, and the Presbyterians of Scotland not? I say that the definition given by the hon. Member for Morley applies to every University in the United Kingdom; and what shall we say when we come to Ireland? Why has the indignation of the hon. Member slept so long in the case of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Queen's College, Belfast? Is Trinity College not attended by a vast preponderance of students of one denomination? In that College, where there are 100 Catholic students, making one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the whole, for 100 years there have been only two Catholic Fellows—one of whom was the most bitter anti-Catholic I have ever known—and, with one exception, there has never been a Provost who was not a clergyman of the Anglican Church, until the present Provost, Dr. Traill, was appointed. He was the first lay Protestant Provost for 100 years. And yet we are told that that is not a denominational institution! Take the Queen's College in Belfast. And here let me say that Presbyterians of Belfast have the sublime audacity by a deputation which, I understand, waited on hon. Members in this House to-day, to appeal against the institution of denominational education in Ireland as set up by this Bill. What is the history of the Queen's College in Belfast? Our opponents are proud to boast that the Queen's College, Belfast, has been an undenominational institution for forty or fifty years. A few Catholics have attended it, but the vast preponderence of students have been Presbyterians. But when I come to the professoriat, I find that when Queen's College was established, two Catholic professors were appointed, and from that day to this there has been only one Catholic and no head of the College who was not a Presbyterian clergyman. That is undenominational. Now, contrast that with the denominational institutions which the right hon. Gentleman is going to start for Catholics in Ireland. The hon. Members who moved and seconded the Amendment had evidently never read the Charters of these Universities, nor had the hon. Member for South Belfast, who abused measures which he had evidently entirely misconceived. What does the hon. Gentleman say for Cork, Galway, and Belfast, places where the population is not divided between Catholics and Protestants? Under this Bill it is proposed to establish colleges possibly to be used by Catholics. But do we propose to close the doors to Protestants in Dublin, Cork, and Belfast? In the new Dublin University one-fourth of the Senate will be Protestant. In the college in Galway, in a district where the Protestants do not number 5 per cent. of the population, one-third of the Senate are to be Protestant. In the college at Cork, where the Protestants are in a smaller proportion, the Protestant Bishop of Cork has been invited to join the governing body, a large proportion of which will be Protestants. That is an undenominational institution, where the vast majority of the population are Catholics; but in Belfast where you have a purely Presbyterian institution, where a Roman Catholic is not allowed to put his nose in, it is entirely undenominational because it is purely Presbyterian. That gives you an illustration of the fair-play which is given. We are charged with being advocates of clericalism and the slaves of the Bishops of Rome. Let us contrast these new institutions with the others. Trinity College for hundreds of years allowed no man to be Provost of the college except a Protestant. It was purely undenominational, because it was purely Protestant. Queen's College, Belfast, set up a claim that no man should be allowed to be head of the college unless he was a Protestant clergyman. In these new institutions it is proposed that a layman shall be at their head, and because it is proposed that they shall be open to all Irishmen, including the Catholics of Ireland, it is said they are denominational. The truth of the case is that in these matters there is a great deal of hypocrisy. It is not true that these new institutions are denominational; they are institutions which will give an opportunity to the majority of the population of Ireland to obtain a University education without submitting themselves to an atmosphere of ascendancy which is intolerable to the Catholics of Ireland. The only argument which has been used on the opposite side with more or less weight and efficacy, and which, I admit, has considerable force, is the action of the Catholic bishops of this country when they banned Oxford and Cambridge and then removed the ban. I am thankful that we have emancipated the Catholics in this country in spite of themselves, and maintained the cause when they turned tail, but it is particularly painful to us to know that the action of the English Catholic bishops is the single argument against us. But everyone knows that the argument, though superficially of some weight, has no reality. I have always maintained that in a country where any religious creed forms a small minority, the members of that creed must make the best of their evil case, and they must be content to avail themselves of the institutions of the country in which they live; but that is no reason why in a country and a nation like Ireland, where the Catholics form the vast majority, they should be compelled to enter into institutions which are dominated, and must for years and years to come be dominated by their bitter enemies, and by men of other creeds. I say that the case of the Catholics of Ireland rests upon an entirely different basis, because what was proposed to us was that our children should be sent into institutions where they would be exposed to the influence of a hostile atmosphere, which we have learned from bitter experience is most prejudicial to them. It is not as a concession, or as a favour that we demand University education suitable for the Catholics of Ireland. We demand it as a right, because in the unfortunate historic past the entire provision for higher education in Ireland has been placed in the hands of a small intolerant and domineering minority of that country. Let me go to another point, to which I attach enormous importance. Some of the hon. Members who have opposed this Bill have opposed it on the ground of freedom of teaching. They say, "We want institutions in which we shall get freedom of teaching," and then, by a most extraordinary mental aberration, they proceed to complain of the action of the Chief Secretary in proposing to do away with the declarations now made by the Professors of the Queen's Colleges. Is not that a move in the direction of freedom of teaching? That declaration is to the following effect—

> "I will carefully abstain from teaching or defending any doctrine or making any statement derogatory to the truths of revealed religion and disrespectful or injurious to the religion of any portion of my class."

I think that that is one of the most extraordinary declarations ever placed upon any body of teachers in the world. Of course, it is impossible to enforce that, and there is a denomination in the north of Ireland, which is well-known, who hold firmly and teach this view, that all the world goes to hell, without the smallest hope of redemption, except themselves, viz., the Covenanters, and this declaration, if it were strictly enforced, would place anybody under a ban who said anything calculated to advance the view that anyone may be saved hereafter who is not a Covenanter, because that would be calculated to be disrespectful to the religious creed of a portion of the class. The very men who complain of the Chief Secretary for interfering with freedom of teaching blame him for abolishing that declaration. I attach very little importance to it, and, in my opinion, none of these declarations amount to anything. The hon. Member for Cambridge, I have no doubt, made a declaration that he would not teach anything but the Westminster Confession, but I do not think he thought of that until he had made his speech, and we are making a concession to those who wish for freedom of teaching when we consent to the sweeping away of this declaration. I have examined into the case of my own college, formerly Dr. Newman's, now the college of Dr. Delany, and what do I find? At that college, which is governed by Jesuits, no declaration of any sort or kind is required. What the Catholics in Ireland want and do not hesitate to say they want is a college which their sons can attend without being subjected to an atmosphere which, at every turn, will be hostile to the faith in which they have been brought up and to the national creed which is the creed of their fathers. This is not a Catholic but a national claim. We are asking for perfect freedom of teaching. It is not to be found in the Queen's Colleges or in Trinity College, but I believe it will be found in the system the right hon. Gentleman proposes. There has been criticism of the governing body of the college and the Senate, but that is only a temporary body. What I look to is the future, and I say that these institutions are democratic and mainly elected institutions, and that the governing bodies of the future will be moulded by the sons of the people who enter them. I have no hesitation in adopting what has been said by the chairman of our Party and our leader. So far as the principles of this Bill are concerned, we, who are entitled to speak for the general body of Catholics in Ireland, accept them and thank the right hon. Gentleman for having proposed them. In the hope of giving him courage to persevere with his Bill, I say that, if the right hon. Gentleman succeeds in turning it into an Act, he will render one of the greatest services to the Irish nation which it has ever been given to an English statesman to render.

MR. GORDON said he had had frequently to speak on the question of education in this House, and everyone knew that he was most anxious that education in Ireland should be placed on the soundest possible basis. Irishmen, whether they called themselves Nationalists or Unionists, were all agreed, not only that it was highly desirable that the best possible University system of education should exist in Ireland, but at the same time that it was desirable and essential that any system to be instituted should be instituted on lines which would not be injurious to the country. Several hon. Gentlemen had referred to the injury which would be inflicted upon the country if the young people of the country were segregated into different premises according to their religious views, and that was in accordance with what one of the greatest educationists in Ireland (Dr. Starkie) said, as a part of his Report on the University question in Ireland. It was most desirable, necessary, and essential to the welfare of Ireland that the young men of Ireland should be brought into contact with each other in their early life. It would be the grossest injustice, not only to those whom he represented, but also to those represented by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, to say that their young men could not live together in one college. But that was what was going to be said by this Bill. The hon. Member for East Mayo had asked what was a denominational University. The House must remember that the very first thing they had to deal with in this matter was that they had two new Universities. There was already existing a University which Nationalist Members had always asserted was purely Protestant and Episcopalian. That was to remain and to carry on its work in that atmosphere of which they had heard so much. The Government were now creating two new Universities. If they were not to be denominational, why should there be two? Belfast was as near Dublin as Galway, and nearer than Cork. Was it not simply and solely because they must have a denominational University for one religious body, the Roman Catholics, in Ireland? He ventured to interrupt the Secretary of State for War when the right hon. Gentleman said they objected to any benefit being conferred on Belfast. Belfast did not ask for this University. He denied that the professors of Belfast Queen's College expressed the will of the people of Ireland in this matter. Those who were best able to express the views of the people of Belfast on the subject had spoken in no doubtful terms of this University. Because the right hon. Gentleman was driven to solve in some way this most difficult problem, in order to meet the requirements of one particular denomination in Ireland, he had to create two new Universities. One of them did not wish to be sectarian or denominational. Belfast University would try and avoid being so if it could, but the other could not help being so in every sense of the word. How was it that the Queen's Colleges, which were founded on lines similar to those on which the right hon. Gentleman had said he intended to found these new Universities, were not accepted by the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland? They were non-sectarian. The religion of every student attending them was securely safeguarded. There were no tests and no trace of denominationalism in them. But the Roman Catholic hierarchy would have none of them, and they banned and destroyed the University. The Government said they were not going to have a denominational University for the Roman Catholics of Ireland. He would call attention to the statement of the rev. Prelate, Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, given in evidence before the Commission appointed to inquire into the question of Universities in Ireland in 1901, in which that gentleman said they could not have education divorced from religion. Was this Bill, therefore, likely to satisfy the requirements of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, unless, as he believed it would be, it was truly denominational in its character, however it might be described in an Act of Parliament. If it were not to be, why was the test of religion to be applied to the selection of the governing bodies? In Dublin there was to be a governing body of thirty-five, five of whom were to be Protestants. Why did the Government, at the very outset, begin by applying a religious list for Belfast if it was not to be a denominational institution. In Belfast, they had on the governing body, one Roman Catholic to thirty-four or thirty-five Protestants. Was it not a farce? Was it not because they knew that nothing would satisfy the Roman Catholics of Ireland in the shape of a University unless it was denominational? They would have this freedom from tests which would enable the professors to teach anything they pleased. The question of whether a University was denominational or not did not depend on the students who attended it. It depended upon what was the real tone and atmosphere that existed in it, and if they started by creating a particular atmosphere in these Universities that atmosphere would never be got rid of. The only thing that would make a University acceptable to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, was that it should have that atmosphere of which they had heard so much since 1902. Everyone knew what the Government had said and done with regard to it since they came into office, and also when they were in opposition. On every occasion when the question had arisen in respect to the schools in England right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite had said that when the State gave money they wanted it to be quite clear that there should be no denominational teaching supported by that money; that it was not enough to say that nothing was to be given for the purpose of denominational teaching in England. They would not tolerate it for a moment. But in this Bill they were appointing a governing body, which would appoint the professors of the Universities, and appointing that body with a preponderance of one denomination for the University in the South, and a preponderance of another denomination for the University in the North of Ireland. He would certainly be surprised to see hon. Members who had voted so long against denominationalism in England now apply a different rule, when it was a question of the education of Ireland and show that they were perfectly satisfied with denominationalism. He did not want to go into the matter at that late hour in any great detail, but there were one or two things that ought to be remembered in connection with the two Universities they were going to found. There were, he thought, 350 students in Belfast, 500 students in the three colleges at Cork, Galway, and the University College at Dublin, which they wanted to make constituent colleges. The chief body of the students who came up for examination in the Royal University were outside these colleges altogether. There were about 950 students who came from other institutions. About 280 students were taught privately. They wanted to provide University degrees and education for all the people in Ireland who were willing to accept them; but were these students to be excluded? How were they going to deal with them? The Secretary of State for War objected that the claim did not come from the Roman Catholics; but, in truth, did it not? He did not blame them. They were quite right, if they thought they had a grievance, to make their claim; but, if they wanted Ireland to have a better education without having denominational control, which any person could see, on the face of it, was given by this Bill, then why did not they come forward and say: "Let us have a system like the old Queen's University?" Everybody in Ireland, outside the Roman Catholics, would be satisfied with it. He could not conceive why the Roman Catholic Church would not accept it, except that they were never satisfied because they did not control that institution, and they would never be satisfied unless they controlled this University. The right hon. Gentleman, he thought, knew that as well as he did. The hon. Member for East Mayo had spoken of the whole of education in Ireland falling into the hands of a small, narrow, and intolerant minority. Any man who knew anything about education in Ireland knew that that was inaccurate. In the Royal University absolute equality was preserved upon the Senate by the Government of the day, so that no Party had any control whatever. The Dublin University had been open to Catholics for over a hundred years and many had availed themselves of it; all its emoluments and positions of trust had been absolutely open to everyone for thirty-five years. Surely, under those circumstances, it was idle to say that higher education—University education—was under the control of a small, narrow, or any one body in Ireland. Those whom he and his friends represented thought that if they passed the Bill they would inflict upon Ireland a gross injustice. They would put University education in a position which existed in no other country in the world; they would injure education of the people; and the three Universities would lead to a state of affairs in Ireland which would be very much worse than anything which existed at the present moment and which the Government said they were seeking to remedy. He thought the House ought to be slow before it assented to anything of the kind. Universities could not be pulled up by the roots every year; they were of slow growth; and, when they set about to establish a new University, it required care and thoughtfulness to see they were not establishing something destructive of education. He asked the House not to inflict upon Ireland the injustice of having what would be to all interests and purposes three sectarian and denominational Universities.

SIR E. CARSON (Dublin University): I only rise to occupy the attention of the House for a very few minutes, because I think that the debate should not close without some speech being made different in tone from that which was delivered by my right hon. colleague representing the Dublin University. I say that for this reason: the House ought to recollect that this Bill has the support of the Leader of the Opposition, and whatever the responsibility of producing it may be, and whatever the effect in the country, I am sure that if he were here he would be the last to shirk the responsibility of supporting it. So far as I am concerned, I have supported the principle for many years, and intend to do so to-night and at the subsequent stages of the Bill. When we are granting this Bill to Ireland and are putting forward this measure of University reform, for heaven's sake let us do it in a spirit of generosity. I have heard a great deal said as to whether this is a denominational or undenominational Bill. I care not what you call it: I think it ought to be a Bill to satisfy the aspirations of those for the remedy of whose grievances it is put forward. We are told it is a denominational Bill. I have always said that Trinity College, which I represent, was not a denominational University because there are no tests; any student of any creed is welcomed there, and every position in the University is open to him. I understand that that is the principle of the Bill before the House, and I do not see how I could consistently say that Trinity College is undenominational and at the same time deny the same description to the Bill now before the House. When we talk of denominational and undenominational the question of atmosphere must always be considered. That may be difficult to explain, but I will say this, that if Trinity College was as Roman Catholic in its atmosphere as it is undoubtedly Protestant, would I, as an Irish Protestant, think of sending my son there? I have no hesitation in saying I would not. Then what right have I to go to my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen and say to them: "You make a mistake in not sending your sons to Trinity College; I can assure you there is nothing in the Protestant atmosphere of which they need be afraid?" That may be true, but I should be giving advice which I should not be prepared to accept. We are told that the setting up of these Universities is a retrograde movement. It will entirely depend on themselves as to whether they are a success or not. If, whether Roman Catholic or Presbyterian, they proceed to conduct their business and frame their curriculum on any narrow basis of sectarian differences they will be absolute failures. On the other hand, if they manage their business on the broad basis of liberty, which can alone gain success in education in any country, they will take their places as great Universities among those of the United Kingdom. I may hold views that do not entirely commend themselves even to many of those who think with me in Ireland; but I look forward to the day when these great, successful, Liberal seats of learning, having made their way and formed their constituencies, showing themselves worthy in the great race of science and art, will come forward and say, as I hope Trinity College will: "Let us join together and make one great national University." I believe it is the duty of every Irishman, of whatever creed or politics, to wish God-speed to these Universities, and to do his best in a spirit of noble generosity to make them a great success; and I hope that the bringing of them into existence may be a step forward in the union of all classes and religions in Ireland for the progress of our country and its education.

MR. BIRRELL: The remarkable and striking speech to which we have just listened has made me, I am willing to confess, a happy man. I own that during the years I have been a member of this Government I have too often been disposed to exclaim with the sad prophet Jeremiah: "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast born me a man of strife and contention." The right hon. Gentleman opposite and I prefer the paths of peace; and, having spent a pleasant and agreeable evening, and having just listened to the speech from the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Trinity College, Dublin, I really feel that there is very little for me to say. And yet, Mr. Speaker, it should be a source of pride and satisfaction to all of us that upon this subject—which has long been considered one of the thorniest and most controversial that could ever stand in the way of any Government—we have, although many people's theories and hopes have not altogether been realised, been able to introduce to this House a measure which, I think now we may safely say, is certain to pass—a measure which will, at all events, provide for a large section of the Irish people that higher education which, admittedly, they need; that, therefore, this difficult question has at last been solved, and that we are to-day taking part in what I hope will be the successful inauguration of Liberal seats of learning in Ireland. I listened to the excellent speeches of my hon. friends behind me, but none of them approached this subject from the point of view that Ireland stands grievously in need of, and is entitled to have, immediately, a large measure of higher education. They ignored all these things. They spoke of what I might do were I at liberty to approach this question *de novo.* I am at liberty to approach no question *de novo.* What I should do under those singular circumstances I hardly know; I am sure it would be destructive to a great many gentlemen who have seats in this House. Happily for them, and happily for myself, I can do nothing of the kind. A certain amount of criticism has been passed with regard to why we have thought fit to establish a University in Belfast. Certain representatives of Ulster have assured me that Belfast does not want a University, that it stands in no need of a University, that no Member for Belfast or no member of the civic society of Belfast, has ever asked for a University, that I have, evidently, gone altogether out of my way to give them this boon, as many people consider it, as my own constituents in Bristol consider it, of a University; and that I have given it to them simply and solely for the purpose of setting up a Roman Catholic University in Dublin—that if it had not been for that it would never have occurred to anybody that Belfast should have had a University. That is not true at all.

I cannot say that the whole of Ulster have come into Old Queen Street demanding and beseeching a University; but this I can say, that for many months past I have been in communication with many persons in Ulster who I consider are better qualified to represent the wishes of that community for a seat of learning than certain other persons, and they, one and all, agreed that they really want a University, that Belfast is suited to a University, that Queen's College in Belfast has already produced men of the utmost distinction, that the studies in chemistry and other sciences are carried on to the admiration of the world, and that there is in the province of Ulster, and in that part of Ireland generally, a quite sufficient area to support a University just as there is in my own constituency of Bristol. Such, at all events, is what I have been assured. But I can tell the House that the weakness of this proposal, which has been objected to, in associating Cork and Galway as constituent colleges, is because it is a federated University. I wish to heaven Cork and Galway were strong enough to support Universities of their own. If they had been it would have made my task in the preparing of the Bill and in the drafting of these Charters much easier, and I should have escaped many of the criticisms to which I have been exposed. As it is, being obliged to deal with Cork and Galway as constituent colleges of Dublin, the difficulties necessarily arose, and, as a University man, I was very glad to get Belfast out of the way, and, as a University man, I did rejoice that the academic body of Belfast, distinguished professors, were deeply anxious there should be a University in Belfast. What is the good of saying that only the academic body, the president and the professors, wanted a University? Surely that is a considerable admission to make when you are dealing with academic subjects. Then I also found there was a strong demand on the part of the young people of Ulster who had distinguished themselves highly in Arts and particularly in science. Here am I who have been accused of speaking disrespectfully of Ulster—which I never did and never shall—advocating the claim of Belfast to be on an equality with Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, even of Bristol, in having a University of its own. I hope hon. Members have read the letter which appears in *The Times* of to-day from Dr. Dill, a most distinguished member of a most distinguished academic body, an Irishman by birth and partly by education, who was a distinguished tutor at Corpus Christi, Oxford, and is author of a book the perusal of which has done much to mitigate my hard lot during the last eighteen months, a book on Roman society during the first four or five centuries. Dr. Dill has a letter in *The Times* of to-day, and I do not hesitate to say that in that letter alone the case for a University in Belfast is made out. I am not going to engage in the rather nice inquiry as to what constitutes a denominational University; all I can say is I have done my best to make this University undenominational. I have put in Clause 3—hon. Gentlemen have read it from beginning to end—in which I have done my utmost so far as words to make a law can go; I have taken every step I could take in the endeavour that the Universities in Dublin and Belfast shall be undenominational. Then I am told that all these provisions, all the protection in the clause, are not worth the paper they are written on; that whatever I do the Universities must become denominational. Very well, if that be so you must have a denominational University or none at all. I cannot do more than take every step open to a man to secure that these Universities shall not be denominational. We know that in old days Oxford and Cambridge were directly denominational; they were intended only for members of the Church of England as by law established; you could not gain access to them unless you produced your certificate of baptism in the Established Church and were prepared to sign the Thirty-nine Articles. Then, after a time, you were allowed to enter as an undergraduate and to take a preliminary degree. But you were not allowed to become a Master of Arts, you could not become a fellow, or a member of the governing body of a college, or the head of a college. That was what we used to think was meant by the expression "denominational University." It meant a University confined by law to the members of a particular denomination. Nothing of that sort happens here. Anybody can go, and I am perfectly confident a great number of persons will go, to both these new Universities who do not belong either to the Presbyterian or to the Roman Catholic Church. We have done our best to secure that nobody shall be excluded from going, that every scholarship and every fellowship shall be open to everybody irrespective of religious opinions. We have done more than that, we have secured that the governing bodies of these Universities for all time, after you have got rid of the first five years, shall be composed of elected members, elected by the graduates, elected by the professors. Never mind the precise details, these are open to consideration; but what is not open to consideration is the perfectly free constitution of these governing bodies; they will be democratic bodies. It is said: "Oh, what does that matter? Universities have to be governed by a Senate." Well, we secure that the Senate shall be freely elected. What more can we do? Some people push it even further. They say: "That is no good. Senates are composed of men and women, and men and women all of them in Ireland belong to one religious faith or another." You proceed to inquire to what religious faith they belong, and then you discover that you have set up a University in a province where most of the people are of one way of religious thinking; consequently the graduates are for the most part of one way of religious thinking; they elect the Senate, and freely choose the men they want, and then it turns out that in the north these men are mostly Presbyterians and in the south they are mostly Roman Catholics. How can I help that? If you push this matter home you will come to this—that everybody who objects to Universities constituted like this, because they will give predominance in certain parts of the country to persons of a certain way of religious thinking, thinks that these kind of persons ought not to have Universities at all. I challenge anybody, the most confirmed and determined Nonconformist in this House, to pursue this matter home, to push it to its final and *ultima ratio*; and he will find that if he objects to a University simply because it is set up in a country where most of the people belong to one way of religious faith, and as a consequence that religious faith is freely represented on the governing body if he objects to that, his objection is not to my scheme, but to the religion of these people. I cannot pretend to say what the future of these Universities may be, but really some people talk as if Roman Catholics had nothing to do with learning; as if a learned Roman Catholic hardly ever existed. I read in *The Times* to-day the obituary notice of a most distinguished Roman Catholic Jesuit priest who for forty long years played a great and distinguished part in the education of our fellow-subjects in India and whose studies were not directed to the humanities, which some people think are ghastly studies—I entirely differ from them—but to those exact, precise, scientific studies upon which so many people nowadays, and rightly I daresay, set so much account. Here was a most distinguished man, a doctor of science, a learned man, and some members who do not know an acid from an alkali talk in this way about Roman Catholic governing bodies. We Protestants, who have succeeded to Roman Catholic institutions and enjoyed our education in colleges founded by Williams of Wykeham and Lady Margarets and other devout Roman Catholic persons, have banged the doors of these institutions for centuries in the faces of people belonging to the same faith as their founders. We who have benefited by their education, enjoyed their literature, been brought up many of us in some places still under their influence, have the audacity to pretend that a University will be endangered and not be a true seat of learning because it may well be that Roman Catholics may have a predominant influence in it. I repudiate that from the bottom of my heart. Then we are told about those bishops who are going to destroy everything. The bishops in this matter have behaved with great generosity. They have withdrawn from their *de jure* representation, and have been content to rely so far as they need rely upon the free votes which those of them who wish to serve on governing bodies may openly obtain from Roman Catholic graduates. Those bishops who care for education, and many of the existing bishops are authorities on that subject, will have no difficulty. They will remain for all time—unless persuaded, as some people seem to fear, to abandon their religion and adopt ours—which will be a long process—these Roman Catholic bishops will remain responsible members of the hierarchy and will have no difficulty—those who are educationally equipped and educationally minded—in playing as spirited and distinguished a part in the conduct of their Irish Universities as English clergy still maintain in our old Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Many subjects of detail have been referred to. I need not enter into them. There is only one other question about which I want to say a word—the subject of affiliation. Every University must have the right and has the right under certain conditions which it imposes itself and makes itself of affiliating institutions in the educational qualities of whose teaching it has confidence. The right of affiliation of institutions capable of giving University training cannot be denied. Every University must possess it. I hope they will always exercise it with profound caution. We are founding an institution that may last for 500 or 1,000 years, and what colleges may be affiliated in time to come I do not know. I hope they will start with a very high ideal and with a conviction of the necessity of not frittering away their revenues upon a number of colleges distributed over the country where the members of these colleges cannot possibly get the full benefit of University education and breathe a University atmosphere.

There is every indication that they will be very chary in granting their affiliation rights. Something has been said about external people who do not belong to the University, who read their text books at home and go to crammers and private institutions, whose object is to get letters after their name. In this matter of externals, although diplomas or anything else may be given to people who satisfy the examiners, I hope these Senates will be strenuous in their determination to secure that anybody who is a graduate of Dublin or Belfast is really a Dublin or a Belfast man. That will be the spirit in which we shall approach this question in Committee. In conclusion, I will only say that I am deeply grateful to the House for the kindly consideration given to this measure and to the right hon. Gentleman the senior member for Dublin University for predicting for this great institution a glorious and a long future.

**Mr. MOORE** wished to protest against the manner in which this Bill was being rushed through. It had been condemned by every Protestant Church in Ireland. It had been condemned by Methodists and Presbyterians, and their deputations were coming over to protest, but the Bill had been put down because of the advice of Dr. Delany, who had been the Chief Secretary's adviser throughout. ["Oh."]

**Mr. BIRRELL:** On behalf of Dr. Delany I beg to say no such communication has passed. [Ministerial cries of "Withdraw, withdraw."]

**Mr. MOORE:** Then it was the one solitary occasion upon which Dr. Delany's advice had not been taken. Although the Government had no time to receive deputations from the Presbyterians or the Methodists, or from the Royal University, they found time last week to receive a deputation from the Irish pawnbrokers. Before the measure was rushed through the House and sent to a Committee upstairs, where its crude nature would not be brought to the minds of the English people, he wished to quote the opinion of one of their own leaders, uttered not so very long ago. This right hon. Gentleman, when in Opposition, said—

> "The setting up of a University which is Catholic in tone, which is Catholic in atmosphere, which is really Catholic in every respect, is a thing which the vast majority of Members on this side of the House, who represent Nonconformist constituencies, will oppose. I have the greatest doubt about our own leaders. . . . We are rather afraid that our leaders will commit themselves to a proposal of this character which, if carried, will simply wreck the Party . . . . I sincerely trust our leaders will do nothing of the kind."

Those were the words of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a leader himself now. Was he going to follow his own brave words of ten years ago, or was he going meekly into the lobby to vote with the Irish Nationalists, who on behalf of the Roman Catholic bishops had accepted this scheme? Were the great Liberal Party prepared to swallow these brave words? In this Bill they were making a deal with clericalism, which the right hon. Gentlemen said was the enemy. The only difference was that it was Roman Catholic clericalism and not the clericalism of the Established Church of England. In two or three years they would find the clerical authority in Ireland moving to dispense with their restrictions, and this Bill would become waste paper, and the man who had led them into that morass would be the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Question put.

The House divided: —Ayes, 352; Noes, 38. (Division List No. 86.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baldwin, Stanley
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Baring, Capt. Hn. G (Winchester
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn. Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Bull, Sir William James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chance, Frederick William
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clive, Percy Archer
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Compton-Rickett, Sir J.
Cooper, G. J.
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalmeny, Lord
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fell, Arthur
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guinness, Walter Edward
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hart-Davies, T.
Harwood, George
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, James Fitzalan (Sheffield)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Joynson-Hicks, William
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kettle, Thomas Michael
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.

M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Micking, Major G.
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan,Francis E.(Leitrim,N.)
Meehan,Patrick A.(Queen's Co.
Menzies, Walter
Middlebrook, William
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nicholson, Wm. G.(Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John(Norfolk,E.)
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Albert (Staffs, N.W.)
Starkey, John R.
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant,Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph
Ward,W. Dudley(Southampt'n
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J.W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

## NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn.Sir Alex.F
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Clough, William
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cory, Sir Clifford John
Cox, Harold
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Cross, Alexander
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hedges, A. Paget
Houston, Robert Paterson
Lockwood, Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col.A.R.
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Moore, William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
O'Neill Hon. Robert Torrens
Pirie, Duncan V.
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Ridsdale, E. A.
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Seaverns, J. H.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Alfred Hutton and Dr. Hazel.

Main Question again proposed.

And, it being after Eleven of the clock, and objection being taken to further Proceeding, Mr. Speaker proceeded to interrupt the Business.

Whereupon Mr. Asquith rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 328; Noes, 49. (Division List No. 87.)

### AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Ambrose, Robert
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, Sir J H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Compton-Rickett, Sir J.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalmeny, Lord
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.)
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Rt. Hn. Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harwood, George
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kettle, Thomas Michael
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas

Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Meehan, Patrick A. (Queen's Co.)
Menzies, Walter
Middlebrook, William
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts., Bassetlaw)
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.)
Priestley, W. E. B. (Bradford, E.)
Radford, G. H.
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n)
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G Scott (Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scott, A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Albert (Staffs, N. W.)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H (Somerset, E
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

## NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Baring, Capt. Hn. G (Winchester
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Clive, Percy Archer
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Alexander
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Arthur Philip
Fell, Arthur
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Guinness, Walter Edward
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Joynson-Hicks, William
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renton, Leslie
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sloan, Thomas Henry

Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Captain Craig.

Question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 344 ; Noes, 31. (Division List No. 88.)

## AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baldwin, Stanley
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Baring, Capt. Hn. G (Winchester
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chance, Frederick William
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clive, Percy Archer
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Compton-Rickett, Sir J.
Cooper, G. J.
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalmeny, Lord
Davies, David (Montgomery Co,
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar. Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fell, Arthur
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Guinness, Walter Edward
Gurdon, Rt Hn. Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hart-Davies, T.
Harwood, George
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, James Fitzalan (Sheffield)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Joynson-Hicks, William
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kettle, Thomas Michael
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.

MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Micking, Major G.
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan,Francis E.(Leitrim,N.)
Meehan,Patrick A.(Queen's Co.
Menzies, Walter
Middlebrook, William
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E .(Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, RobertJohn(Norfolk,E.)
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick,B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Albert (Staffs, N. W.)
Starkey, John R.
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph
Ward,W. Dudley(Southampt'n
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J.W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

## NOES.

Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cory, Sir Clifford John
Cox, Harold
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Cross, Alexander
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hedges, A. Paget
Houston, Robert Paterson
Lamb, Edmund G.(Leominster
Lockwood, Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col.A.R
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Moore, William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Ridsdale, E. A.
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Seaverns, J. H.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Captain Craig.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House."—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 50; Noes 311. (Division List No. 89.)

## AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Baldwin, Stanley
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Clive, Percy Archer
Cory, Sir Clifford John
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Cross, Alexander
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Arthur Philip
Fell, Arthur
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Gretton, John
Guinness, Walter Edward
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Joynson-Hicks, William
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renton, Leslie
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thornton, Percy M.
Walrond, Hon. Lionel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

## NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Ambrose, Robert
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Bowerman, C. W.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brodie, H. C.
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Chance, Frederick William
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Compton-Rickett, Sir J.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalmeny, Lord
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Govan
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harwood, George
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.

Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon.,S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope,W.Bateman (Somerset,N
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kettle, Thomas Michael
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever,A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald,J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh,Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan,Francis E. (Leitrim, N
Meehan,Patrick A. (Queen's Co
Menzies, Walter
Middlebrook, William
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Murphy, N. J. (Kilkenny, S.)
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James (Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price,Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards,T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G Scott(Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann,Sir C. E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Albert (Staffs, N. W.)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas,Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W. H (Somerset,E
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph
Ward,W.Dudley (Southampt'n
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason,John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Bill committed to a Standing Committee.

And, it being after half-past Eleven of the Clock, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at seven minutes befor
Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Tuesday, 12th May, 1908.*

### VISCOUNT GORMANSTON.

Petition of Jenico Edward Joseph, Viscount Gormanston in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Dundalk Urban District Council; Knott End Railway; Swinton and Mexborough Gas.

Also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Conway and Colwyn Bay Joint Water Board Bill.—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The Orders made on the 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Great Western Railway (Superannuation Scheme) Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^{a}$, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Dublin and South Eastern Railway Bill; City of Glasgow Bill.—Read $3^{a}$, and passed.

Huddersfield Water Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Edinburgh Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill (No. 62); Leith Harbour and Docks Order Confirmation Bill (No. 63).—Brought from the Commons and read $1^{a}$; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899), deemed to have been read $2^{a}$ (The Lord Herschell), and reported from the Committee.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [H.L.].—Read $2^{a}$ (according to order).

Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read $3^{a}$ to-morrow.

Hurly's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read $3^{a}$ To-morrow.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### EDUCATION BILL, 1908.

Statement illustrating Memorandum [Cd. 3945] on the financial proposals in connection with the Education Bill, 1908.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1907–1908, with Appendix.

### TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3989. Greece (The Morea and Provinces of Aetolia and Heamania).

No. 3990. Greece (The Cyclades).

No. 3991. Netherlands (Java).

### COMMERCIAL, No. 3 (1908).

Report of the British delegate to the International Sugar Commission upon a special session called to consider an application from the Italian Government on 26th March, 1908.

### CONGESTION IN IRELAND (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Eleventh Report of the Commissioners, with appendix (minutes of evidence taken in London, 22nd to 24th January, 1908), and documents relating thereto.

### IRELAND DEVELOPMENT GRANT ACT, 1903.

Report of the Lord-Lieutenant of all his proceedings under the Act, for the financial year ended 31st March, 1908.

### CONGESTED DISTRICT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1897.

Tenth Annual Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board to the Secretary for Scotland.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

### NAVAL AND MARINE PAY AND PENSIONS ACT, 1865.

Order in Council, dated 5th May, 1908, approving a memorial of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty praying sanction to the payment of an allowance to assistant printers employed in the office of any Commander-in-Chief.

### POST OFFICE (KIAUTSCHOU PROTECTORATE).

The Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 18) Warrant, 1908, dated 11th April, 1908.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

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### SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment: The Report of the Amendment made in Committee of the Whole House to be received To-morrow.

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### EDUCATION (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE) BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: My Lords, in moving the Second Reading of this Bill, of which I gave long notice in order that nobody might be taken by surprise, I submit that it is a Bill for which, in my belief, public opinion is quite ripe. Its object is to raise the minimum age of exemption from attendance at school to thirteen. It will be within the recollection of your Lordships that in 1890 an International Conference was held at Berlin, at which child employment and similar questions were discussed, and at that Conference there was practically unanimous agreement on the part of the Powers of Europe that the age of children for half-time employment should be raised to twelve years. After some years this country increased the age to that minimum in what was known as Mr. Robson's Bill, which became law in 1899. When that Bill was under discussion in your Lordships' House, the late Lord Kimberley stated that even at the time of the Conference at Berlin, it was the policy of the British Government to make thirteen the minimum age for half-timers. Proposals for the minimum age of thirteen and other ages were submitted at the Conference, and the German Government stated at the time, what was perfectly true, that they were not very much concerned as a nation in these proposals, because, as a matter of fact, they already had no employment of children under fourteen. The German Government stipulated that, whatever was fixed as the minimum age from the point of view of the health and the welfare of the child, any legislation should have regard to the obligation of school attendance; and Germany at that time required school attendance up to the age of fourteen.

If it is thought that there is a danger to our industries through raising the minimum age of half-timers, I would mention the fact that neither Germany nor Switzerland, both very active industrial countries, permit the employment of children under the age of fourteen. In the Act of 1899 a clause was inserted to conciliate those interested in agriculture. Whereas there was a general obligation that there should be no half-time employment under twelve years of age, a provision was inserted empowering local authorities to make bye-laws regulating the attendance at school of children employed in agriculture. One ought more properly, in speaking of these children, to use the technical phrase "partial employment" rather than the term "half-time," because half-time only describes a certain portion of the exemptions from full school attendance. At that time it was enacted that the local authorities might, if they thought fit, make bye-laws whereby children to whom the bye-laws were applicable should be entirely exempted from attendance at school from 1st May to 1st October, a substantial part of which period fell in the summer holidays, provided they made 250 attendances in the remaining seven months of the year. Whether that was a prudent enactment or not, from the point of view of agriculture, I will not discuss. What is interesting is that this provision has hardly been taken advantage of at all. If you will examine the figures contained in the last Report of the Board of Education, you will see that nearly all the half-time employment is in factories, especially those connected with the textile industries, and almost entirely in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, and in the adjoining districts of Cheshire and Derbyshire. It is a very remarkable fact that not more than about 9,000 children in the whole of the counties of England are enjoying partial exemption.

I was anxious to find out to what extent this partial exemption grew out of the agricultural bye-law, and I applied to the clerk of the county authority of Kent, pre-eminently a county to which the agricultural bye-law would be suitable, and, in reply, I obtained some very interesting figures. I found that, out of about 1,000 children in Kent, who were enjoying partial exemption, only about 190 were doing so under the agricultural bye-law; and, curiously enough, of that number again, 160 were from one district of Kent. The county council of Kent have mapped out their area into about twenty subordinate districts for the purpose of bye-laws, and it was in only one of those districts that the bye-law had been largely taken advantage of. As an illustration of the fact that this power is not very much valued I might mention that the county authority of Kent, feeling that this agricultural bye-law was undesirable, were inclined to abrogate it, but in order not to hurry public opinion in the county they determined to leave to the discretion of each of the subordinate authorities whether or not the bye-law should be put in force; and up to two or three months ago, a large number of the subordinate districts in Kent had recommended that the bye-law should be adopted. I may further add that the partial-exemption bye-laws outside the industrial districts, are very much more used in seaside towns and places of summer resort, where boys are employed driving donkeys, blacking the boots of visitors at the boarding houses, and doing other work of this kind, than for purposes of agriculture.

I should be very glad to get further evidence from local authorities as to the extent to which they believe this bye-law is in any demand. As far as I can ascertain from the figures, the bye-law has become utterly unimportant. There is not a single half-timer in the counties of Berkshire, Cumberland, Devon, Essex, Isle of Wight, Northumberland, Oxford, East and West Suffolk, Surrey, and Durham. Throughout those widely-spread counties there is not one half-timer; and in Cambridge, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Kent, and the East Riding of Yorkshire there are only 738 children enjoying partial exemption, and these are the counties where, excluding Lancashire and the West Riding, there is the largest amount of partial exemption. Taken as a whole, agricultural partial exemption is not used and is not demanded. The fact is that half-time is now, as it always has been, to be found in the textile districts, and mainly in the cotton districts, though to some extent, in the West Riding, in the woollen districts. Outside the textile districts there is practically no half-time at all; and the figures rather go to support the view that where it exists it may have become a custom, but is not a necessary condition of industry, even in the textile trades. There is no reason, for instance, why there should be a difference between the conditions of Huddersfield and Halifax; yet Halifax contains a large number of half-timers, while in Huddersfield there is not a single child employed half-time. Half-time employment is, therefore, not essential even in the textile trades.

From the point of view of education every one knows the confusion and inconvenience caused in a school by having half-timers side by side with full-timers. The half-timers are backward and disturb the class, and are altogether a nuisance. But the number of half-timers has so diminished of late years that it has not answered the purpose of local education authorities to set up separate half-time classes; and, generally speaking, I think most people would say that when half-time sets in, the intelligence and brightness of the scholar fades away.

But the question must also be looked at carefully from the standpoint of the health and physique of the children. It is not by any means a satisfactory state of things to have a child going to work at a mill at six o'clock in the morning, then rushing home at mid-day, eating a hurried meal, and going to school in the afternoon. Controversies have taken place upon the system under which children are certified as fit to work in the mill. Naturally, the doctors who certify them declare that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, but I do not think any one who has examined the information we have received in connection with the medical inspection of schools—I refer to the reports as to eyesight and general condition of the children—can feel that certification which does not reject more than about 1 per cent. of the children can be quite satisfactory. I hope, apart from this Bill, that the medical inspection of children at school will grow and will be followed by medical assistance, and that in two or three years we may be able to rely more upon the machinery provided in conection with our schools for ascertaining the physical fitness of the children and less upon the certificates of doctors.

I have pointed out that, as to what may be called foreign competition, our most energetic competitiors are able to do without this child labour. I have pointed out that in the case of those who earn the lowest wages and who in some ways may be considered to have the hardest lot—namely, the agricultural population—the half-time system has not been demanded and is not used. It is not in the poorest parts of the community, but in the well-paid textile industries where this labour most exists. There is weighty support given to the principle of this Bill, and resolutions in favour of it have been passed by the trades councils of many of our large towns, including Oldham, Burnley, Rochdale, Stockport, Accrington, Leigh, Keighley, and Glossop; and it is in these towns that the practice largely exists at which I am by this Bill striking a blow. I do not gather that employers clamour for the child labour.

Having regard to the state of public business, no reasonable man can contemplate that this Bill will be able to be passed into law this year; and I do not wish to carry the Bill through unless I can get such a body of evidence in its favour as would satisfy the average fair mind. What, therefore, I would suggest to your Lordships is that you should give the Bill a Second Reading to-day, and that it should then be referred to a Select Committee. I should be glad to have evidence from the representatives of the county councils in rural districts as to the extent to which they think the agricultural kind of bye-law necessary, and why it has not been taken advantage of hitherto. I should like, also, to have evidence from employers of labour in textile industries as to whether, in their opinion, trade would be injured by the Bill; and I should like evidence, if we could have it from some persons connected with the medical side, as to what in their judgment has been the effect upon the stamina of the children of the last reform raising the minimum age to twelve. I think if that were done we should secure evidence which would make it easier to carry effective legislation in a future year. I beg to move.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

*VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD: My Lords, as one who has taken great interest in this subject perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words, I think I may almost say, in support of the Second Reading, considering the last observation of the noble Lord that he does not propose to carry the Bill any further but to refer it to a Committee for a full inquiry. That is a course which I should have ventured to suggest as the full importance of the proposed change should be carefully tested. In 1885–86 the question of the extension of the age from ten to eleven came before Lord Cranbrook, the then Lord President, and myself, as Vice-President of the Council, but we found the opposition from the agricultural and manufacturing districts so great that there was no fair prospect of passing a Bill then. But in 1891 a Bill was introduced raising the age from ten to eleven, and I gave the Bill my strongest support. Later on I had the satisfaction, in 1899, of passing through your Lordships' House the Act to which reference has been made, by which the age was raised from eleven to twelve.

But the point I wish to bring before your Lordships is this—Should the Act of 1899 be totally repealed, as is proposed by this Bill? Your Lordships may be aware that when that Act was passing through the House of Commons it was very strongly opposed by all the members, numbering fifty-nine I think, who represented agricultural constituencies, and that the opponents were only satisfied by the insertion of the proviso referred to. That proviso is by this Bill repealed. In effect the proviso enacted that if the local authority in their discretion chose to raise the age of exemption to thirteen, then an arrangement might be made by which the children could work in summer in the fields, and complete the number of their attendances at school in the winter. They had longer time given them to be at school, because the age was advanced from eleven to thirteen, but their attendance was so arranged that the farmers could get the advantage of their work during the summer. That followed a system which had been adopted with very good results both in Germany and in Switzerland.

The noble Lord has stated that this proviso has not been largely acted upon. Whether or not that has been due to the local authorities not desiring to exercise their option, I am unable to say. At all events, I should like to quote the opinions of both the late Duke of Devonshire, who was Lord President of the Council in 1899, and the late Lord Kimberley—opinions which the House will admit to be of very great value. After pointing out the great difference of the needs of agricultural employers from those of manufacturing employers, the late Duke of Devonshire said—

> "I believe that this proviso has removed most of the objections felt by the representatives of agricultural constituencies, and that the proposal which has been made will make it possible for a child to remain longer at school, but during the last two years of school life he will have holidays which will enable him to work during the summer and attend school during the winter."

And the late Lord Kimberley said of this proviso—

> "I have no doubt it is well adapted to meet the case of children in agricultural districts."

This Bill raises the age to thirteen compulsorily, and I think it is a very grave question whether the proviso should be repealed altogether, or whether, if it be repealed, some new arrangement should not be made to meet the special needs of agricultural districts. I do not desire to detain the House longer as it is proposed to refer the matter to a Committee, before whom the views of those interested in agriculture can be stated; but I wished to explain the view I take, and to say that in my opinion the question whether the proviso in question should be repealed, requires further consideration.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I am very grateful to the noble Viscount who has just spoken for calling attention to the obscurity which seems to prevail concerning the application or non-application of the particular rule to which he has just referred. I have found it very difficult to ascertain what are the facts as to the operation of the proviso which allows children to do more hours' outdoor work in summer and more hours' school work in winter. If that matter could be further inquired into and we could learn what number of areas were practically using the proviso we should be in a better position to form a definite opinion. I believe I am right in saying that about 100 educational authorities in rural areas have issued such a bye-law, but how far the bye-law is taken advantage of is another question, and it is obviously the question of real importance.

Speaking generally, I wish to give whole-hearted and ungrudging approval to the Bill introduced by Lord Stanley of Alderley, who is able to speak with such a wealth of knowledge on this as on all other educational subjects. I entirely agree with him in thinking that public opinion, if not already ripe, is rapidly becoming ripe for such an advance upon previous regulations as to the age-limit of compulsory schooling. We have gone steadily forward. In 1870 the age was fixed at ten; it was raised in 1893 to eleven, and in 1899, as we have been reminded by the noble Viscount, to twelve. I believe the time has come when we might most advantageously make it thirteen. The matter concerns to a very large degree the great industrial centres, especially in the textile trades; but about those I have no personal knowledge, and I do not desire to say anything upon it beyond referring your Lordships to the debate which took place on the subject in 1899 when Sir William (then Mr.) Robson brought out the actual facts respecting the misuse of the half-time system in some of the great regions in which textile fabrics are made and advocated the change that he was then suggesting from eleven to twelve, but hinted, not obscurely, his desire that it should subsequently go further.

I desire to say a few words about the agricultural areas in the South of England I am quite certain that some such change is educationally, and, I venture to say, morally also, greatly needed there. I perfectly understand the objections which are felt to it on the part of those who are striving to make the best of a depressed agricultural industry, but I believe that in the long run, looking to the larger policy of the well-being of the whole, there can be no question at all that a change like this is exceedingly desirable. One county parson after another who is keen on educational matters has lamented to me the extraordinary contrast between the bright boys who leave school at the age of twelve and the same boys a little later when they have become mere dullards from whom at the age of fifteen or sixteen the brightness has passed away. I think that if we look into it a little the change is not so difficult to account for as it seems. We hear it sometimes argued that the later years in an elementary school are occupied in the kind of instruction which will be practically of little use to an agricultural labourer in after-life. It is said that it is much better to allow the child to leave school at eleven or twelve and apply himself to obtaining the elements of technical instruction in the handicraft in which he is afterwards to get his living. If he really were getting a technical education in the higher and more skilled sort of work which he will afterwards have to do, I should feel that there was something at all events to be said for that argument. But in agricultural districts is the boy who leaves school at twelve put ordinarily to the kind of work that evokes the intelligence his teachers had tried to quicken in his school days? Is it not the case that he is put to work which leads to his forgetting and not using the education that he has so far obtained? A few sporadic efforts are made to give technical knowledge here and there under county council teachers, but is it not true that we are hearing from every side complaints that the old agricultural craft is dying out; that for thatching, hedging, and hurdle-making you have to go to men who were educated forty or fifty years ago? These things are not taught to young boys now as they were formerly. If we can so recast our educational system that boys whose lives are to be passed in rural areas can receive such technical instruction, say from eleven to fourteen or fifteen, as will afterwards enable them to become skilled handicraftsmen in work capable of a very high application of skill, I shall be glad to help in making that applicable to our elementary education system. But, as a matter of fact, that is not what has happened. There are a few districts in which the gardening side of agriculture is being taught; but not very extensively, and not to a very great number of boys. So far as that goes it is all to the good.

What we are waiting for at this moment is some pioneer or prophet who will show us how to make the education of lads in agricultural areas of the kind which will be of real use to them, both intellectually and in the way of handicraft, in their later years. At present we are nonplussed in endeavouring to do that. The pioneer or prophet is not forthcoming, and we are thrown back upon a condition of things that it is exceedingly difficult to justify, or, perhaps, even to account for. The Board of Education, their inspectors, and a great many local educationists have tried their hands at it, but at present there has not been any result at all commensurate with the labour bestowed. The question referred to by Lord Knutsford, as to how far the proviso in the Act of 1899 for giving boys a longer time for agricultural work in the summer has been profitably used, is one of the things I should like to see inquired into. But until we have so rearranged our education system as to bring out the higher, brighter, and better side of these lads after their school days are over, I am afraid we must make the best use we can of the higher instruction in what are popularly called the three R's, in order to fit them for whatever work may lie before them in life.

It is said that a boy who has learned all that is now taught in the elementary schools has practically laid a sound basis for any course of life he may choose to follow. That in one sense is true. But if a boy is to make use of what he has acquired in his early school life, he must not be taken away just when he is beginning to think for himself and take an interest in things, he must remain under educational guidance a little longer. Do we realise that we are taking away from school the children of the poorer and the less cultured class at the very age when our own sons are beginning their education?

The result is that the boy who has learned up to ten or eleven in the elementary schools the three R's and what belongs to them, has no opportunity of practising that which he has acquired, and he therefore loses it almost immediately. Look, my Lords, to your own past experience. You may learn a foreign language, but unless, after having first acquired it, you begin for a little time to use it, the knowledge you have obtained of it will pass very quickly away. The practice of that which has been acquired makes all the difference in the world.

One of the most prominent and capable of His Majesty's inspectors, writing on this subject a few years ago, said—

> "We lose the advantage of a great part of our expenditure because, just at the period when education in the proper sense begins, the children are withdrawn from it. When they turn up at continuation schools many of them have forgotten all they have learned."

If that kind of criticism is true of England as a whole, in the agricultural districts we find this condition of things at its worst. Some of your Lordships may remember an interesting investigation that was made into this matter in the eastern counties some ten or twelve years ago. The gentleman who was at the head of a labour bureau at Ipswich determined to make an investigation as to how far the boys who had left school intelligently educated at the age of eleven or twelve, had a few years later retained anything of that which they had learned. He asked all those lads who applied for employment between the ages of sixteen and eighteen to fill up a simple form in their own handwriting, stating their age, what it was they wanted to do, and what standard they had reached in school. And on the back of that paper they were asked to do one or two perfectly simple sums, and to copy in their own handwriting a few sentences of print. We are told that—

> "The result of this investigation was that, of the boys between sixteen and eighteen years of age who applied for employment, one-fourth could write fairly, one quarter could write moderately, and quite one-half could only write in the most disgraceful manner, both as to penmanship and spelling. As to arithmetic, 10 per cent. answered the questions, 15 per cent. were able to do one of the sums set, and 75 per cent. could not answer a single one of the questions. And yet many of these boys had, a few years before, been in village schools, and some of them had attained as high as the sixth standard."

Statistics of that kind prove beyond dispute that there is something amiss.

I believe, therefore, that the principle embodied in this Bill of slightly raising everywhere the age at which children leave school is a change which England is ready to accept and practically is bound to accept now. There is already some little improvement, for I observe that out of every 10,000 children attending school the number who remained after the age of twelve in 1901 was 4,900, while in 1906 it was 5,900; that is about 20 per cent. more, and the increase is slightly greater among the boys than among the girls. In other countries with which we are constantly told that we have to compete not only is this obligatory rule found to be not unbearable, but it is being adopted practically unanimously, and, until we rise to that level, we have no right to expect to be able to compete with those countries when the time for competition arises. In short, every argument that springs to the mind converges in favour of this proposal, and I regret that Lord Stanley of Alderley has not been able to be a little more sanguine about the prospects of passing the Bill at an early date. I earnestly hope, at least, that the principle will be affirmed to-day.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, the noble Lord who initiated this debate is, if I may say so, saturated with education, and all through his life he has rendered great service to education generally. He may, I am afraid, think me a little presumptuous if I do not see eye to eye with him in regard to this Bill. With much that he has said I thoroughly agree. Our first object in considering this question should be to care for the children who are going to be educated. So far as it affects the employers of labour I think the matter is comparatively not an important one, and I believe those employers would find a way of getting over any difficulty of finding labour if it were necessary. Whilst not pretending to speak with any great knowledge of this subject, I have endeavoured to go as closely as I could into what has taken place in recent years with regard to the question of age; and I may say at once that I entirely agree that it is very desirable to raise the age up to which compulsory education is enforced, but I believe that if we do raise it we must allow partial exemption.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Hear, hear.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I do not think it would be fair to raise the age greatly if you do not allow a certain amount of latitude to individuals according to circumstances. That has been the view of this country now for a great many years. I have been to the different Departments which are interested in this subject, and on the whole they think that a sudden change in the law would cause a very considerable amount of inconvenience especially to the agricultural interest, to the cotton interest, and, to some extent, to the woollen interest. Those Departments—the Board of Agriculture, the Board of Education, and the Home Office—all think that to enter hurriedly into such a change as is proposed in this Bill would not be a desirable thing. If you are going to make a change you ought to make sure that it will prove a good change, and one that will be permanently of advantage to the country. After the Berlin Conference of 1890, which recommended an age-limit of twelve years, a Committee was appointed in 1901, consisting of representatives of the Home Office, the Board of Education, and the Board of Trade, which considered this subject, and in their Report they stated—

> "It has been urged that children ought not to be permitted to do any work at all. We cannot accept this view. The strongest evidence has been given us by the most earnest advocates of the regulation of child labour, tending to show that moderate work under healthy conditions may be, and in most cases will be, a benefit."

They added that quite irrespective of anything the lad may earn it was better for him, mentally, morally, and physically, to be engaged a few of his spare hours each day in labour rather than to spend the whole of his leisure in the public thoroughfares or in the dull rooms of crowded tenements. I rather agree with that pronouncement, and I think it is a matter we ought always to remember when we are dealing with this subject. The conclusion arrived at by the Committee was as follows—

> "We have come, therefore, to the conclusion that what is required is not the total prohibition of school child labour, but its regulation, and in this we are in substantial accord with all the witnesses who gave evidence. Even the two or three witnesses who deprecated any labour being done by children of school age admitted that their view was rather ideal than practicable. We, however, do not believe that the true ideal is mere school education up to fourteen and then a full day's manual work. We think that the training for manual work should begin before fourteen, just as we hold that school education should continue beyond fourteen."

Personally I agree with all that the most rev. Primate said, but I think the House should give the matter very careful consideration before they adopt the Second Reading of this Bill. The object of the Bill is an admirable one, and one for which I have the utmost sympathy; but I do not think we ought rashly to rush into a scheme which is not certain of being a success.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, I endorse all that has fallen from the Lord President of the Council with regard to the expert knowledge on educational matters possessed by my noble friend who has introduced this Bill. Perhaps I can speak with more experience than the Lord President, for I was privileged to be Chairman of the London School Board when my noble friend Lord Stanley of Alderley led the Progressive Party on that body, and I can confidentially say that I doubt whether any Member of your Lordships' House has devoted himself so thoroughly to educational questions as the noble Lord. That is one of the reasons why I rise to say a few words on this occasion, because I think it would be disrespectful to him if no one on this bench spoke upon the Bill.

As the noble Viscount, Lord Knutsford, pointed out, this Bill alters very radically the Act passed by the Unionist Government in 1899, for it proposes to raise the age from twelve to thirteen. I will not enter into the various steps which led to the increase of the age from ten to eleven, and subsequently from eleven to twelve; but, as the most rev. Primate said, we have been going forward. From an educational point of view, no doubt, the arguments of the noble Lord in favour of keeping children longer at school are very strong. But there is another point of view. We have to consider how far it would be prudent in the interest of certain classes in the community to abolish the half-time system. As Lord Stanley observed, the half-time privilege has not been taken great advantage of in the country except in regard to two industries—the Lancashire cotton-spinning industry and the agricultural industry. The advantages given to these industries by the half-time system have been considerable; and I cannot but think that in the cotton-spinning industry any sudden alteration would very much disorganise the system now working satisfactorily in accordance with the rules laid down in 1899, and might be extremely unfair to parents of children and to employers.

It is impossible really to say how the Bill would affect the two industries I have mentioned, because there are no *data* to proceed upon. I was very glad to read a statement made by the present Minister for Education in the House of Commons a short time ago, to the effect that he would lay on the Table a Memorandum giving particulars of exemption from school attendance in certain counties; and he added that the half-time system did not appear to exist elsewhere than in this country. The statement was interesting in itself. Further, it seems to show that it would be well to have an inquiry into more recent facts before coming to any determination upon the Bill. Undoubtedly the agricultural interest opposed the extension of school age in 1899, because parents considered that their children's time would be more usefully spent than at school; and their opposition was only met by the proviso as to agriculture and partial employment which was put into the Act of 1899.

The most rev. Primate stated, in the course of his remarks, that he did not think sufficient attention was given by the Board of Education to instruction in agricultural matters. The most rev. Primate said something of that kind, but I am most anxious not to misquote him. I should like to say that when I had the privilege of being President of the Board of Education I did my utmost to secure that the wants and requirements of the districts in which they lived should be inculcated into the minds of the children, so that if possible they should be induced to take an interest in agricultural matters and remain upon the soil; and Lord Onslow, who was then President of the Board of Agriculture, placed a gentleman at my disposal to educate the children in questions of afforestation and such matters. At the present moment the county councils are doing their utmost, by means of the evening continuation schools, to give facilities to children after they have left the elementary school to obtain knowledge in agricultural matters. I have only to say, in conclusion, that I cordially agree with what has fallen from Lord Stanley. This is a very important question. It is far too important to be rushed through. I hope, therefore, that His Majesty's Government will see their way to appoint a strong Committee to inquire into all the facts of the case, and the possibility of combining increased school attendance with knowledge of agricultural pursuits. At the present time the House has no certain *data* upon which to proceed.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, I need hardly say that it is with a real pang that we have found ourselves, as the House will have seen from the speech of the Lord President, not in absolute agreement with my noble friend behind me on an education question. What the noble Marquess who has just sat down said of the noble Lord's qualification to speak on these subjects is only the bare truth, and I am in most cordial agreement with everything that fell from him on that point. As my noble friend the Lord President has pointed out, we are not prepared to proceed with the Bill as it stands.

My noble friend Lord Stanley dealt in a very interesting way, by facts and figures, with the singularly partial application of the half-time system in different parts of England. That is an interesting fact, but it cuts both ways. It might be taken to mean that this, being, of course, an optional measure, was used in those districts where it was required, and not used in districts where it did not meet a want; and, so far, I do not know that that could be said to involve any particular charge against it. Then my noble friend took it as generally agreed that the half-time system was, in itself, bad in all respects. I think he understated the difference of opinion that exists on that point. I do not think it is generally admitted, even from the pro-educational point of view, that the half-time system is in all cases, and necessarily, bad. I have seen evidence which bears exactly in the contrary direction. People have been found to say that in some districts the half-time children show a distinctly higher average of intelligence than other children of the same age. Then, again, from the medical point of view, if it could be shown that the half-time system had invariably, or even generally, had a bad effect on the children's health, that would be the most severe indictment that could be brought against it.

My noble friend mentioned medical inspection. That, as we know, is a new and, I hope, very fruitful project; but it seems to me in this case to offer a further reason for not attempting to proceed too fast. When medical inspection becomes, as we hope it will, general, it will throw a very distinct light upon this half-time question, among a great many other questions; and if it is proved that the half-time system has the bad physical effects which my noble friend seems to think necessarily go with it, that will no doubt be a very large nail driven into its coffin. My noble friend proposes to repeal altogether the Act of 1899. It is perfectly true that the use that has been made of that Act has been, from the point of view of those who favour it, a somewhat disappointing one. It is, I think, remarkable that in the purely agricultural districts a larger use has not been made of its facilities, and I do not profess to be prepared with any reason why that is the case. It is, of course, the fact that we move slowly, especially in the agricultural districts, and it may be that in some parts of England parents have not grasped such advantages as may accrue to them without damage to the children from the possibility of the winter schooling and the long summer vacation for the purpose of agricultural work. But that is a matter on which I cannot profess to give any kind of competent opinion.

Then the most rev. Primate in, if he will allow me to say so, a very interesting speech, dealt with a somewhat different aspect of the question. The speech was so thoroughly to my point of view and I found myself in such complete agreement with it that it is with regret that I point out that it did not seem to me to be entirely relevant to this particular Bill. What the most rev. Primate pointed out with unanswerable force was the existence of what is known in education as a gap—a gap which I am afraid is sometimes never filled up at the other end—between elementary and higher education. All that he argued would have been most conclusive if directed to increasing the term of elementary schooling altogether or the establishment of continuation schools for those districts; but it is not easy to see how it exactly bore on the question of half-time schooling and half-time employment.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I did not intend it so to bear. The Bill only incidentally touches on the question of half-time. It is a simple proposal that all children should remain in school till they are thirteen years old.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I will not labour that point further. The point we have to consider is what the House desires to do with the Bill. There has been a general expression of opinion from the noble Viscount, from the most rev. Primate, and from the noble Marquess opposite that it would be desirable to have a Committee on this subject, and that, of course, is also the desire of my noble friend who moved the Second Reading. In expressing that desire, my noble friend engaged in the last kind of transaction with which I would naturally connect him—something of a gamble—because if the Report of a Committee of this kind should be adverse to the proposals of this Bill I fear it would mean that these proposals would be shelved for some little time to come, whereas if he were not to proceed with the Bill it would be within his power, and within the power of those who agree with him, to go on pressing their point in the hope of changing public opinion.

Still I feel that in view of what appears to be the general sense of the House we cannot resist a proposal of that kind; but we think that it would probably be more in agreement with what has been expressed in debate if this Bill were not read a second time, but if the whole subject were inquired into by a Committee which we think ought to be a Joint Committee of both Houses. If the noble Lord would agree to withdraw the Bill we would be willing to set up a Committee of that kind, which during the present summer, I have no doubt, would be able to make full inquiry into questions which the debate shows are questions of considerable dispute even upon matters of fact.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: My Lords, being entitled to a reply, I should like to say that I am a little surprised at the extreme conservatism and cautiousness of the Front Ministerial Bench. Their extreme anxiety not to go too fast is to me a novel, and not quite refreshing, experience. The noble Lord the Lord President of the Council, who speaks in this House on behalf of the Board of Education, read from a document drawn up by five gentlemen in the employ of the Government, who spoke about the expediency of having wholesome employment to a moderate extent combined with education. If I thought factory employment as it exists in Lancashire could be called moderate employment, helpful to the child and likely to improve his education, I should not be so much opposed to it. The noble Marquess opposite stated that half-timers had been of great advantage to, and had been largely adopted by, two industries—the textile industry and the agricultural industry. I thought I made it perfectly clear that if there was any class which had not taken advantage of the half-time system it was agriculturists. I very much doubt whether there are 5,000 children throughout the whole of the country who enjoy partial exemption under the agricultural bye-law; yet in the agricultural districts of England the school children number something like 1,500,000, and of those probably nearly 400,000 are of the requisite age from eleven to fourteen. I am thankful to the noble Marquess opposite who was the first in this debate to recognise that there ought to be some Committee to go through the facts. The douche of cold water poured upon me by the President of the Council did not give me any hint of encouragement, though the noble Earl who leads the House has offered me a crumb—I cannot even call it half a loaf. I should have thought it better to have a Select Committee after assent had been given to the principle of the Bill, especially as I was supported by the opinion of an eminent former Leader of the House, Lord Kimberley, who declared that nearly twenty years ago it was the intention of the Government to raise the age to thirteen. I do not see that this *festina lente* in which the adverb so much overcomes the verb is suitable to the present day. One statement by the noble Earl the Leader of the House surprised me, that in his experience he had reason to believe that half-timers showed more intelligence.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Not in my experience. I said there were people who made that assertion.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: There are some people who will say anything. I am glad there is nobody in this House who will make that statement on his own responsibility. The Government should extend to England some of the benefits which they are so ready, as proved by the Bill now before the House of Commons, to extend to Scotland, where they are proposing to extend compulsory school attendance to the age of seventeen. I shall divide the House on my Bill to see how many noble Lords there are who advocate this policy of miserable inaction. It seems to me to be too pusillanimous to say in this matter, "do not be in a hurry," when we have been already pledged for twenty years to make an advance.

On Question, That the Bill be now read $2^a$.

Their Lordships divided. Contents, 7; Non-Contents, 41.

CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Abp.

Lytton, E.

Bangor, L. Bp.
Bristol, L. Bp.

Reay, L.

Ribblesdale, L. [*Teller.*]
Stanley of Alderley, L. [*Teller.*]

NOT-CONTENTS.

Loreburn, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)
Tweedmouth, L. (*L. President.*)

Bath, M.
Bristol, M.
Lansdowne, M.
Salisbury, M.

Carrington, E.
Chichester, E.
Crewe, E.
Harrington, E.
Vane, E. (*M. Londonderry.*)
Waldegrave, E.

Althorp, V. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
Cross, V.
Knutsford, V.
St. Aldwyn, V.
Wolverhampton, V.

Airedale, L.
Allendale, L.
Armitstead, L.
Belhaven and Stenton, L.
Belper, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Calthorpe, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Colchester, L.

Denman, L. [*Teller.*]
Fitzmaurice, L.
Glantawe, L.
Hamilton of Dalzell, L. [*Teller.*]
Hemphill, L.
Heneage, L.
Herschell, L.
Joicey, L.
Leith of Fyvie, L.
Northbourne, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Pirrie, L.
Ravensworth, L.
Swaythling, L.
Wolverton, L.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

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# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Tuesday*, 12*th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed.

Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order Bill. "To confirm a Scheme under the Metropolitan Commons Acts, 1866 to 1898, relating to Malden Green, in the county of Surrey," presented by Sir Edward Strachey; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 223.]

### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act for transferring to the University of London the powers and duties of King's College, London, in relation to instruction of a University standard in subjects comprised within the faculities in the University other than the faculty of theology; and for other matters connected therewith." [King's College, London (Transfer) Bill [Lords.]

King's College, London (Transfer) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

## *PETITIONS.*

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Brighton; Edmonton; Govan; and Lowestoft (five); to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Alma; Avon Great Western Railway; Britannic; East Cannock; Farnworth; Lower Deep Pit; Waen Nantyglo and Blanant and West Cannock (No. 1); to lie upon the Table.

### DAIRIES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Renfrewshire, against; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petition from Salisbury, against; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Kegworth; Ledbury; Presteign; and Wells; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions for alteration: From Brighton; Haywick; Ipswich; and Lowestoft (five); to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour: From Abercynon; Abernethy; Abersychan; Airdrie; Ashford; Atherton; Barrow-in-Furness; Bassaleg; Bath (two); Caefaria; Chigwell Row; Christow; Cowden-beath; Croesyceliog; Cullompton (two); Culm Vale; Cumnock; Cwm; Dunfermline (two); Edmonton; Fraserburgh; Fyvie; Galashiels (three); Glasbur-on-Wye; Glasgow; Goldthorpe; Hampton; Haverfordwest; Hawick (four); Hebden Bridge; Hesketh Bank; Horden; Hornsforth; Hundon; King's Cliffe; Kingcussie; Llandilo; Merse; Monmouth; Newbridge; Old Basford; Oldham; Pembroke Dock; Peneader; Portsmouth; Pudsey; Risca; Rothesay; Selly Oak; Senghenydd; Silverton; Slamannan; Stafford; Stowmarket; Stubbins; Summerseat; Tarbolton; Tiverton (four); Todmorden; Topsham (two); Torquay; Tredegar; Trevor; Tunstall; Turiff; Ullesthorpe; Uxbridge; Withington; Whetstone; Whitby; and Ynysddu; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Coatbridge; Cowdenbeath; Dornoch; Galashiels (two); Glasgow; Hawick; Leith; and Tillicoultry; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions against: From Aberdeenshire; and Buteshire; to lie upon the Table

### PUBLIC-HOUSES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Galashiels; and Hawick; to lie upon the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### RAILWAYS ABANDONMENT.

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade respecting the Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords], and the objects thereof [pursuant to Standing Order 158B]; referred to the Committee on the Bill.

### CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1897.

Copy presented, of Tenth Annual Report of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Board to the Secretary for Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, with Appendix, 1907–8 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### IRELAND DEVELOPMENT GRANT ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of Report of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of all his Proceedings under the Act, for the year ended 31st March, 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Copy presented, of Statement in illustration of the Memorandum on the Financial Proposals in connection with the Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### NAVAL AND MARINE PAY AND PENSIONS ACT, 1865.

Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 5th May, 1908, approving a memorial of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty praying sanction to the payment of an Allowance to Assistant Printers employed in the office of any Commander-in-Chief [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### CONGESTION IN IRELAND (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland, with Appendix (Minutes of Evidence taken in London, 22nd to 24th January, 1908) and Documents relating thereto [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1908–9).

Estimate presented, of the Further Amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1909, for Stationery and Printing [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 141.]

### INTERNATIONAL SUGAR COMMISSION (COMMERCIAL, No. 3, 1908),

Copy presented, of Report of the British Delegate to the International Sugar Commission upon a Special Session, called to consider an Application from the Italian Government on 26th March 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3989 to 3991 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

### Reserve of Acetone.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the necessity of having a large supply of acetone always available in the United Kingdom for the manufacture of cordite in the event of a great war, he will take into consideration the fact that there are no statistics available at the Board of Trade as to the imports of acetone and the dependence of this country on the United States and Germany; and whether he will give directions for the matter to be carefully watched so that exact statistics may be available at a future date.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) The necessity of securing a sufficient supply of raw material for the manufacture of cordite is a matter which concerns the War Office and the Admiralty, who are doubtless fully alive to the matter. The publication of the statistics to which the hon. Member refers would serve no useful purpose.

### Expenditure by Metropolitan Water Companies.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the expenditure of all the water companies absorbed by the Metropolitan Water Board during the last year of their separate existence, and the total expenditure of that Board during its last completed financial year.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I am informed that the accounts of the Metropolitan Water Board are not yet completed for the financial year 1907–8, but that their total expenditure for 1906–7 amounted to £3,233,042, including £391,454 in respect of capital expenditure. The corresponding expenditure of the water companies absorbed by the Water Board for the last available complete year of their separate existence amounted to £3,496,347, including capital expenditure amounting to £827,045.

### Cost of Living in Provincial Towns.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): To ask the Postmaster-General what is the cost of living index number in the towns of Newmarket, Ramsgate, Rhyl, Sevenoaks, Sutton, Twickenham, Worthing, and Ryde.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have not yet received information from the Board of Trade relating to the cost of living in these towns.

### Bideford Post Office Work.

MR. SOARES: To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in estimating the units of work for the Bideford Post Office, he has taken into account the telephone transactions and the Torrington sub-office.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Both the telephone transactions and the Torrington sub-office will be taken into account in the Returns of work at Bideford which are now being prepared.

### Unemployment Statistics.

Mr. GOULDING (Worcester): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state, with regard to the table at the foot of the employment chart on the first page of the March issue of the *Labour Gazette*, what was the number returned as out of work in each of the trades there mentioned.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The following table gives the information asked for by the hon. Member—

| Group of Trades. | Membership included in Returns. | Number unemployed according to Returns. |
|---|---|---|
| Building - - - - - | 60,854 | 6,185 |
| Coal mining - - - - - | 127,725 | 1,195 |
| Engineering - - - - - | 154,017 | 9,156 |
| Shipbuilding - - - - - | 55,197 | 11,056 |
| Other Metal - - - - - | 32,092 | 1,439 |
| Textiles - - - - - | 95,783 | 4,960 |
| Printing and bookbinding - - | 56,371 | 2,753 |
| Woodworking and furnishing - | 35,278 | 2,922 |
| Miscellaneous - - - - - | 21,756 | 1,234 |
| Total - - - - | 639,073 | 40,900 |

### Immigration Boards.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the members of the immigration boards are appointed permanently to their office or are removable at the Secretary of State's pleasure; in the latter case, whether any have been removed, or if it is his intention to remove present members in order to make room for such future members as he may appoint, in accordance with his reply to the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews; what is the present proportion of Jews and non-Jews on the panel of the immigration boards at London and Grimsby; what order is followed in summoning members of the panel to form the acting board; and whether he contemplates permitting such a board at any time to contain a majority of Jewish members.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The appointment of members of immigration boards stands for as long as the persons appointed are willing and able to afford their services in that capacity. Any members whom I may appoint on suggestions coming from the Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, or from any other source, will be in addition to existing members. Six of the twenty-six members on the list for London are Jews; there are no Jews on the list for Grimsby. For the summoning and composition of the boards I may refer the hon. Member to No. 15 of the rules made under the Act, which appears to me to deal properly and adequately with the point. It provides that the clerk shall, so far as practicable, summon every member of the list in turn, provided that where possible a magistrate shall always be a member of the board. As regards the last part of the Question, the contingency suggested might possibly arise at a particular sitting. I see no need for altering the rules in this connection.

### Scottish Sheriffs over Seventy years of age.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): To ask the Lord Advocate how many Sheriffs and Sheriffs-Substitute there are in Scotland at present administering justice who are over seventy years of age, and how many over seventy-five years.

(*Answered by Mr. Thomas Shaw.*) I have no official information which would enable me to answer this Question, and no official title, so far as I am aware, to require those concerned to make such a return.

### Sheriff Clerks in Scotland.

MR. WATT: To ask the Lord Advocate if he will say how many sheriff clerks there are in Scotland who are engaged in pursuits other than that of solicitor; how many of them are secretary, treasurer, or other paid official of local trading companies; how many of them are auditors either of trading companies' accounts or of public accounts; and how many of them are local agents of banking companies.

(*Answered by Mr. Thomas Shaw.*) I have really nothing to add to the Answer given to my hon. friend on 30th March last, when I stated that I should be glad to be furnished with particulars of the specific instances on which his question was based. If my hon. friend will supply me with this information I will be in a better position to consider the desirability of making further inquiries in the direction he desires.

### Army Service Counting for Civil Service Pensions.

MR. WILES (Islington, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state what would be the approximate annual cost to the Treasury if the time ex-naval and military Civil servants served with the colours were allowed to be counted for their Civil Service pension, as recommended in Paragraph 43 of the Report of Sir Edward's Committee.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) As has already been stated on several occasions during the session, the Treasury has no information on this subject.

### Reward for Finding Torpedoes.

MR. R. L. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that a torpedo recently was recovered from the sea near Wester, Whaligoe, Caithness, by some local fishermen; and if he proposes to reward the finders of the same.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, the question of payment of rewards for the recovery of the torpedo will be dealt with in the usual course, namely, through the Commander-in-Chief.

### Report of Royal Commission on Care of Feeble-Minded.

SIR W. J. COLLINS (St. Pancras, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when the Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded will be published.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I understand that the Royal Commission hope to have their Report ready for submission to the King by the end of next month.

### Portadown Technical School.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proposal to close the Portadown Technical School on the ground of the smallness of the attendance at the various classes; whether he is aware that this condition of affairs is due to the apathy of the committee; and whether he will advise the Local Government Board to take action with a view to preventing the closing of the school.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) The Department of Agriculture are not aware of any proposal to close the Portadown Technical School, which is well attended and doing excellent work. The committee have under consideration the question of discontinuing the day trades preparatory schools, which is a section of the technical school more recently organised, but no decision has been come to. The question of continuing or discontinuing the school is one for the Department and not for the Local Government Board, and the matter has not yet been brought before the Department.

### Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Margaret Windle.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have yet taken any action in the case of Mrs. Margaret Windle, evicted tenant on the O'Grady Delmege estate, at Glensharrold, in the County of Limerick; and, if so, with what result.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners will provide Mrs. Windle with a holding if one can be found in the neighbourhood for her. The case has been referred to an inspector with that object.

### Purchase of Untenanted Land in County Limerick.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have purchased any untenanted lands in the County of Limerick for those evicted tenants there who are still unprovided for and who cannot get back their original holdings.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have completed the purchase of about 1,500 acres of untenanted land in County Limerick for the purposes of enlarging existing holdings and providing new holdings, and the purchase of additional land for these purposes is under consideration.

### Holding for the Cowhey Family.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have yet decided to give one of the members of the Cowhey family a holding as an equivalent to the farm which was surrendered by their father, Maurice Cowhey, deceased, of Ballinaguile, Croagh, in the County of Limerick for a rack-rent.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Having regard to the circumstances under which the applicant's father surrendered his farm, and to the fact that he accepted £100 compensation from the owner for houses on the farm, and that the applicant's family at present holds a farm of 100 acres, the Estates Commissioners do not consider that Maurice Cowhey's case is one requiring to be specially dealt with. The Commissioners, however, are negotiating for the purchase of the estate of the trustees of Elizabeth Dickson, and, if they acquire it, they will reconsider Cowhey's case in connection with the distribution of the untenanted land on the property.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Thomas Bridgeman.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have yet acquired a holding for Thomas Bridgeman, of Cunigar, Askeaton, in the County of Limerick, in lieu of his uncle's (Patrick Noonan, deceased); and is he aware that Noonan, before his death, bequeathed to him his interest in a holding to which, as an evicted tenant, he was entitled under the Irish Land Act, 1903, and which was actually marked out for him at Mount Shannon, in the said county, by an inspector of the Estates Commissioners.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have recently received an application from Thomas Bridgeman, who claims as nephew of Patrick Noonan, and they will consider it when applications of an earlier date have been disposed of. It is the fact that the Commissioners proposed to allot to Noonan a parcel of land on the Mount Shannon estate, but he died without coming into possession of it.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mary Dalton.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether an inspector of the Estates Commissioners considered the case of Mary Dalton, of Castletown, the daughter and sole representative of Michael Dalton, deceased, who was evicted from his holding at Castletown, Pallaskenry, in the County of Limerick, by the Rev. J. T. Waller of Castletown; and, if so, can he say how soon she will be reinstated.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I refer the hon. Member to my Answer to his Question of yesterday relative to evicted tenants on the Waller estate. That Answer applies equally to the present Question.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Mary O'Dea.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have yet considered the case of Mrs. Mary O'Dea, of Tarbert Island, who, with five children, was evicted by Captain Fitzgerald from their holding at River View, Ballydonohue, in the County of Limerick, in the year 1899; and, if so, with what result.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners decided to take no action in this case, for the reasons of which I fully informed the hon. Member in my reply to his Question of 12th June last.

### Royal Irish Constabulary—Promised Legislation.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the promised legislation on behalf of the Royal Irish Constabulary will be introduced this session.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Answer is in the affirmative.

### Restoration of John M'Quade on the Irvine Estate.

Mr. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the present tenant of the evicted farm formerly held by John M'Quade, on the Irvine estate, near Ederney, County Fermanagh, has expressed his willingness to accept the amount offered by the Estates Commissioners as compensation for his interest in the holding; and whether the landlord has refused to sell to the Commissioners, and, if so, do they intend to take steps to acquire compulsorily the holding, with the view to the restoration of M'Quade, who was listed over three years ago by the Estates Commissioners as a proper person to be restored to his farm.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The present occupier has expressed his willingness to accept the amount offered by the Estates Commissioners as compensation for surrendering the holding, but the landlord has refused the price offered by the Commissioners. The matter is still under the Commissioners' consideration.

### Pension of Sergeant James M'Ewan.

Mr. WATT: To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the case of Sergeant James M'Ewan, late of the 1st West Yorkshire regiment, who served five years, including the Mutiny Campaign, in the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, took his discharge from that regiment and entered civil life, afterwards re-enlisted in the 1st West Yorkshire, in which he served twenty-one years, thus earning a pension of 1s. 5d. per day in respect of that second service; whether he is aware that M'Ewan, having attained the age of seventy years and being in possession of the war medal, has become entitled to an additional pension of 1s. a day in respect of the Indian Mutiny service, but that the authorities in granting this second pension have reduced it to 5d. a day instead of 1s., making 1s. 10d. a day in all; and if he will explain the reason of this deduction.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This man is not entitled to an additional pension of 1s. for his Mutiny service. If my hon. friend will refer to Article 1092 (f) of the Pay Warrant he will find that old soldiers in necessitous circumstances who are seventy years of age must be in receipt of a pension of less than 1s. a day to entitle them to an increase up to the rate of 1s. a day. Further, M'Ewan's service in the European Bengal Fusiliers did not reckon for Army pension, as he took his discharge therefrom at his own request. As a special case, however, he has been granted an increase to his Imperial pension of 5d. a day, making his total pension 1s. 10d. a day, the rate to which he would have been entitled had his service in the Bengal Fusiliers reckoned towards pension.

## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### Naval Courts Martial.

Mr. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, in the impending courts martial for recent collisions, he will follow the precedent of the "Cobra" court martial of 1901 by so extending the power of the court as to enable them to blame the Admiralty if in their opinion the fault lies with a system rather than with the officers concerned.

The FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.): My hon. friend is in error in his interpretation of the circumstances connected with the "Cobra" court martial. The Admiralty has no power to limit or extend the powers of a court martial, which are strictly defined by the Naval Discipline Act. That Act confers no power on a court martial to praise or blame the Admiralty, who, not being one of the persons mentioned in Sections 87, 88, or 89 of that Act, are not amenable to the jurisdiction of a naval court martial.

Mr. BELLAIRS: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that the "Cobra" court martial brought in a verdict blaming the Admiralty for buying vessels into the service? Will he concede similar powers to these other courts martial? And is he prepared to order an inquiry into the whole question of nucleus crews?

Mr. McKENNA: No, Sir. My hon. friend is mistaken. The Admiralty allowed no extension to the "Cobra" court martial of the ordinary rules and it had no power to do so. Powers of courts martial are defined by statute.

Mr. BELLAIRS: But did not the "Cobra" court martial bring in a verdict blaming the Government?

Mr. McKENNA: If it did it exceeded its powers.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Could not this question be settled by appointing a Lord High Admiral?

Mr. McKENNA: No, Sir.

### H.M.S. "Charybdis."

Mr. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the cruiser "Charybdis," of 4,360 tons, belonging to the Nore Division of the Home Fleet, is on a cruise with other ships and carrying out gunnery practice with only a nucleus crew on board; whether she has only the captain and two lieutenants to do the executive, navigating, watch-keeping, and gunnery duties of the ship, including station-keeping when at sea with the other ships; and whether the Board intend to permit this ship and other ships of her type to go to sea without increase of complement.

Mr. McKENNA: The reply to the first part of the Hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative, and to the second part in the negative. An additional lieutenant has been allowed in the complement of this class of ship for the nucleus crews.

Mr. BELLAIRS: Has the additional lieutenant been appointed since I put the Question down?

Mr. McKENNA: My hon. friend is mistaken in supposing that his Question had any influence whatever on the action of the Admiralty.

Mr. BELLAIRS: But until this additional lieutenant was appointed within the last few days, has not this vessel been cruising with only two lieutenants? What was the date when this lieutenant was appointed?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Manning of the Navy.

Viscount CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Thirsk Division of Yorkshire, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty how many men are there in the active service of the Navy; how many of these are in fully-manned sea-going warships; how many in nucleus crews; and whether it may be assumed that the whole of the remainder are in shore and training establishments?

MR. McKENNA: The number of men in the active service of the Navy at the present time is approximately 127,463; of these 69,104 are serving in fully-manned sea-going warships, and 16,659 are in nucleus crew ships. There are 11,650 awaiting draft, on leave, &c. The remainder are under training and in home establishments, except 3,750 in the coastguard.

*CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): Is it the practice for officers and crews to be transferred at very short notice from one ship to another for the sake of practising manœuvres?

MR. McKENNA: I do not think it is the general practice, but I will inquire.

### Naval Officers.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: On behalf of the noble Lord the Member for the Thirsk Division of Yorkshire I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty how many officers of the executive branch of sub-lieutenant's rank and above are now serving in the Navy, and how many of them are in fully-manned seagoing warships.

MR. McKENNA: There are 2,949 officers of the executive branch of sub-lieutenant's rank and above, now serving in His Majesty's Navy. Of these, 1,245 are serving in fully-manned sea-going warships. But the noble Lord will permit me to explain that the form of expression he has chosen in his Question deprives these figures of any particular value, as will be seen when I add that it necessitates the exclusion of all fully-manned torpedo boats, torpedo boat destroyers, and submarine depot ships, surveying ships, cadet training ships, Royal and other yachts, ships attached to the gunnery and navigation schools and to Osborne College, repair ships, besides all depot ships and ships of the Home Fleet, &c., that are not in full commission.

### H.M.S. "Tiger."

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what provision has been or is likely to be made for the widows and orphans of the officers and men who lost their lives by the accident to H.M.S. "Tiger"; and whether he is yet in a position to state what was the cause of the accident.

MR. McKENNA: Pensions or allowances have been awarded to all widows and dependent children of officers and men lost in that accident, excepting some children of one of the officers whose existence has only just been reported, and whose case is now being investigated with a view to an award. The Admiralty have nothing to add to the account of the accident given in the finding of the court martial held at Portsmouth, which was published in the London Press on the 11th and 13th April.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham) asked whether similar provision would be made in the case of the dependants of the officers and men lost in the other two recent naval accidents.

MR. McKENNA said that if on inquiry it was found that the cases were similar, similar provision would be made.

### Pacific Seal Fisheries.

MR. HAROLD COX (Preston): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that a considerable number of the persons engaged in the Pacific seal fisheries are of Canadian origin and domicile; whether the Canadian Government has at any time offered to make, or been asked to make, a contribution towards the cost of maintaining H.M.S. "Shearwater," which is engaged in patrolling these fisheries; and, if not, whether he will suggest to the Canadian Government the desirability of either making such contribution, or of maintaining as a reciprocal service to the United Kingdom a Canadian vessel for the protection of Scottish fisheries.

MR. McKENNA: The Answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative. The Canadian Government have not been asked to contribute towards the cost of the patrol, which, as I have already informed my hon. friend, is of an international character. It is not contemplated to make the proposal indicated in the last part of the Question; the Scottish fisheries are not international.

MR. HAROLD COX: Are they not sometimes invaded by foreigners?

[No Answer was returned.]

### H.M.S. "Berwick."

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if H.M.S. "Berwick" was manœuvring at the time of her collision with only half her proper complement of officers and three-quarters only of her crew; and, if so, why she was sent to sea so short-handed.

MR. McKENNA: The exact numbers of the officers and men on board the "Berwick" at the time of the collision was stated in reply to a Question from the hon. Member to the Andover division on the 5th May, and I beg to refer the hon. Member to the Answer then given. The hon. Member is mistaken in suggesting that the ship was short-handed for navigation. A nucleus crew ship is not short-handed except for fighting: for navigation the nucleus crew provides for more than an ample margin.

MR. FELL: Is it not the fact that the officers were less than one-half the proper complement of that ship when she was engaged in night manœuvres?

MR. McKENNA: The figures were given to the House the other day. I must ask for notice of any Question in regard to them.

### Woolwich Arsenal Pier.

MR. HUDSON (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the difficulties of discharging coal from the steamers at the Woolwich Arsenal pier; whether it is the intention of his Department to adopt new machinery and methods at this pier in the near future; and whether, in the meantime, demurrage charges will be reduced or abolished until the work of improvement is completed.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): Attention has been drawn to this matter, and the Question is receiving consideration. There is no intention of reducing or abolishing the charges for demurrage, which during the last few years have been inappreciable.

### Ardagh Pensioner.

MR. J. PHILLIPS (Longford, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will consider the case of Edward Burns, of Lisduff, Ardagh, county Longford, Ireland, a private (No. 881) in the 21st Fusiliers, 4th Company, commanded by Colonel Dale; whether he is aware that Burns, who served four years and 332 days, and was stationed at Kurrachee, India, in 1868, was discharged in September, 1870, on a pension of seven pence a day, which was withdrawn after four years and seven months; and whether, seeing that Burns is now a very old man, helpless and extremely poor, he will restore his pension.

MR. HALDANE: This man was given a temporary pension for four years and seven months. He will now be medically re-examined with a view to considering whether he has any claim to further pension under Article 1,089 of the Pay Warrant. My hon. friend will be duly informed of the result of the inquiry.

### Indian Excise Administration.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the reply of the Government of India to the statement relative to excise administration in India, submitted to him on the 17th October last, and forwarded for consideration and report to the Government of India, has been received; and whether, when the correspondence is complete, he will lay Papers upon the Table of the House.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BUCHANAN, Perthshire, E.): The reply has not yet been received. The Government of India hope to submit it before the end of next month. The Secretary of State for India will decide the question of laying Papers when he has received and considered the Report.

### Lahore Public Meeting.

MR. O'GRADY (Leeds, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for

India whether he is aware that, in consequence of a literary society in Lahore announcing a lecture on Man, the index of creation, twenty-five armed constables were sent to the lecture hall, which only holds fifty people; and whether, in view of this act on the part of the authorities, steps will be taken so that in future the people attending such meetings shall not be irritated by the presence of armed force.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: The Secretary of State has no information as to the meeting in Question. If the hon. Member can give me fuller details, he will consider whether any action is desirable.

### Education in Tea Planting Districts.

**Mr. O'GRADY**: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether in view of the lack of facilities for the vernacular education of the children employed in the planting districts, in Assam alone there being facilities only for 600 out of 250,000 children employed, recommendations will be made to the Government of India to take, as soon as practicable, steps to provide adequate facilities to meet the need.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: I would refer the hon. Member to the Report on the condition of Education in Tea Estates, by Captain Kennedy, a copy of which was placed in the library in March. The statistics there given show that the proportion of children of school-going age who already attend school is not so low as the hon. Member's figures suggest. The Local Government are providing additional Government schools for tea-garden children, and the system of grants-in-aid is also being extended so as to encourage the establishment of more aided schools on estates.

### Indian Legislative Council.

**Mr. O'GRADY**: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India are aware of the feeling of irritation and disappointment general in India at the schemes for enlarging the Legislative Council by the admission of non-representative members, with a preponderance of the official element, and the forming of a council of notables, now under the consideration of the Secretary of State; and whether in view of the opposition, of even the Moderates, to such proposals, he can assure this House that opportunity for discussing the proposals will be afforded prior to their being put into operation.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: The Government of India have taken steps to acquaint themselves fully with the general opinion on the proposals published in August last. The matter is still under the consideration of that Government, and until the Secretary of State in Council has come to a decision on their recommendations, when submitted to him, my hon. friend will agree that it is not possible at this stage to give the assurance he asks for.

### Indian Disturbances—Cost of Punitive Police.

**Mr. O'GRADY**: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the statement of Mr. Lyon, Chief Secretary of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Legislative Council, admitting the cost of quartering punitive police at different places in the Province on those responsible for the recent disturbances; and whether, in view of the fact that such disturbances were connected with a peaceful movement known as the Swadeshi movement, and that the disturbances arose through an attack engineered and carried into effect by those opposed to Swadeshi, steps will be taken in future to allocate the blame and costs for the quartering of punitive police to that section of the community responsible for such attacks and disturbances.

**Mr. BUCHANAN**: I have seen a newspaper report of the statement to which I understand the hon. Member to refer. The Secretary of State has no reason to suppose that the cost of the punitive police has been apportioned otherwise than in accordance with the principle suggested in the last sentence of the Question.

### British Indian Subjects in Canada.

**Mr. O'GRADY**: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether an agreement has been made between the Canadian Government and the Home Government respecting the immigration of British-Indian subjects into Canada; and, if so, is he in a position to state to the House the nature of such agreement.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel SEELY, Liverpool, Abercromby): My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question. I am afraid I cannot do more than refer the hon. Member to my reply to the Question on this subject put by the hon. Member for the Montgomery Boroughs on Thursday last. We are awaiting the receipt of copies of Mr. Mackenzie King's report to the Canadian Government.

### British East African Council.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps have been taken to fill up the vacancies in the Council of British East Africa, which have been brought about by the recent disagreement between the Governor and several members of the Council.

COLONEL SEELY: The question of filling the vacancies to which the hon. Member refers is still under the consideration of the Secretary of State and no steps have yet been taken by him.

MR. ASHLEY: Is it likely that the two Members who resigned will be reinstated?

COLONEL SEELY: I cannot say as yet. Perhaps the hon. Member will put down a Question a week or two hence.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Have you received the full account of the proceedings?

COLONEL SEELY: Not yet.

MR. CATHCART WASON: When it arrives will it be laid on the Table?

COLONEL SEELY: I must see it before I can answer that Question. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will put a Question as to that in a fortnight's time.

SIR GEORGE SCOTT ROBERTSON (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies is he aware that the recent incident in the Council of the Governor of British East Africa seems to have been due to the demand by the two suspended unofficial members for the supply of forced black labour; has he any official information that the supply of forced black labour is a matter of vital importance to that part of the white taxpaying community which those two gentlemen may be held to represent; and will he give the proportion which the white taxpayers bear to the rest of the taxpayers of the Protectorate.

COLONEL SEELY: Papers will shortly be laid which will afford information as to the causes of the recent incidents at Nairobi. The ratio of white taxpayers to other taxpayers in the Protectorate is, approximately, one to 276.

SIR GEORGE SCOTT ROBERTSON: Was not a despatch received a week or ten days ago?

COLONEL SEELY: I do not know to what despatch the hon. Member refers.

MR. ASHLEY: I suppose the hon. Gentleman knows that newspapers giving a full account have arrived?

COLONEL SEELY said that, of course, newspaper accounts of the matter had been received in this country, but he desired to be in possession of full information before making a statement on the subject.

SIR GEORGE SCOTT ROBERTSON: Was not a despatch received from the Governor this week?

COLONEL SEELY: There are many despatches received, but we have not yet sufficiently full information to make a statement.

### Mails for Tristan D'Acunha.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, seeing that the ship that sailed recently from Capetown for Tristan D'Acunha left without the mails from England, he will make arrangements for a mail at stated times to be made up *via* Capetown; and whether he can state when the said ship is expected to return.

COLONEL SEELY: It is not possible to arrange for the despatch of a mail at stated times without incurring considerable expense which would not be justified. I cannot say when the ship which recently sailed will return. I must remind the hon. and gallant Member that the population is very small, in fact in 1901 it only numbered seventy-four.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY asked whether it was not a fact that the vessel left Capetown on 29th February, and that inquiry was made in January with regard to this ship, and that information was not received in time for the despatch of the mails from this country. Would it not be possible to prevent the recurrence of such an event?

COLONEL SEELY: We will do our best in the matter; but it is very difficult to arrange it.

### Armorial Bearings for the Australian Commonwealth.

*MR. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if the proposed design for the heraldic bearings of the Commonwealth of Australia will be submitted to the various heralds of the United Kingdom before final adoption, and if assurance will be given that, if the cross of St. George be embodied therein, the saltires of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, as representing Scotland and Ireland in the Empire, will not be omitted.

COLONEL SEELY: The design for armorial bearings for the Commonwealth of Australia was settled in consultation with the Commonwealth Government and their representative in this country; it was also submitted to Garter King-at-Arms and has already received His Majesty's approval.

*MR. R. DUNCAN asked whether Lyon King-at-Arms had been consulted.

COLONEL SEELY said he did not know whether Lyon King-at-Arms or Ulster King-at-Arms had been consulted, but as the design had been submitted to and approved by Garter King-at-Arms he supposed in heraldic language that it was "all proper."

*MR. R. DUNCAN: Is it not the case that a recent legal decision has established the position of Lyon King-at-Arms?

COLONEL SEELY: I am not very cognisant of these matters. As it has been approved by Garter King-at-Arms, I should suppose it is in heraldic language "all proper."

*MR. R. DUNCAN: Is the design open for the inspection of Members of the House either in colours or in black and white?

COLONEL SEELY: I will see what can be done. At any rate, I shall be glad to show the design to the hon. Member. We have a copy.

### Zulus and their Lands.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any reply has now been received containing the observations of the Governor of Natal on a question asked as to the Report published in the Natal Government Gazette of 21st January by the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs on behalf of the Colonial Secretary of Natal, dealing with the unanimous finding of the Native Affairs Commission; and, if so, whether he can inform the House of the view taken by the Governor as to continuous breaches of faith with the Zulus in regard to their land situate in Zululand.

COLONEL SEELY: The Governor's reply on the legal point has been received and points out that the Under-Secretary's view as to the legislative authority of the Governor is not correct. No reply on the broader issue has yet been received.

### Basutoland.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it is shown in the Reports of the Government Secretary of Basutoland, and of a resident commissioner, that there is need for the protection of the interests of Basutoland subjects in the Courts of the Orange River Colony; whether natives have to sue through agents with the result that the amount of deposit demanded in advance is found prohibitive of access to justice; whether Orange River Colony subjects obtain a ready hearing in the Basutoland Courts, while Basutoland Natives closely related to those across the border have frequently to forego just claims, for example, in matters of inheritance; if the attention of the Colonial Office has been directed to the correspondence between the authorities of Basutoland and of the Orange River Colony as to the liability of Basutoland Natives to pay poll tax in the Colony and to the cumbersome procedure of refund; and if the opportunity of coming negotiations in reference to changes in the system of government in South Africa can be taken to place such questions, as affecting Crown Colonies and Protectorates, upon a better footing.

*COLONEL SEELY: The last Blue-book Report for Basutoland contains the statements quoted by my right hon. friend. I am glad to say that the Orange River Colony officials have so far shown a disposition to co-operate with the Basutoland Government. With regard to any general negotiations it is too early yet to speak. The High Commissioner is being asked for a Report on the subject.

### Hong Kong Opium Revenue.

MR. VILLIERS (Brighton): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the revenue of Hong Kong derived, either directly or indirectly, from the sale of opium; and what is the revenue of Hong Kong derived from sources other than the sale of opium.

COLONEL SEELY: The figures for 1907 are as follows:—Revenue derived from opium, $1,551,930; revenue from all other sources, $5,050,350.

### Irish Trade Statistics.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that, according to the latest available figures, about 320 Irish firms are now using the Irish trade mark; and whether, in view of the fact that the trade mark is being used by linen and other manufacturers in Belfast and other districts who have direct trade relations with Canada, he will represent to the Canadian authorities that the extra facilities thereby given will render the collection of Irish trade statistics a comparatively simple process.

I beg also to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the United States Government has now agreed to keep a separate record of the statistics of Irish trade on and after 1st July, 1908; and whether, seeing that twenty-one foreign Powers have now expressed their willingness to co-operate with Ireland in obtaining an accurate record of her foreign trade, he will make further representations to the Canadian authorities with a view to securing similar co-operation on their part.

COLONEL SEELY: I understand that the Board of Trade have no exact figures in this matter, but they have no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the hon. Member's figures; and, indeed, in the case of the number of foreign Powers who have expressed their readiness to co-operate with Ireland, they believe it to be an understatement of the facts. The Secretary of State will be glad to bring the facts referred to to the notice of the Canadian Government.

### The Bombardment of Casablanca.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can hold out any hope that the British subjects who have suffered loss through the bombardment of Casablanca in August last will receive as much consideration as German subjects, who have been fully compensated.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The hon. Member is under a misapprehension in thinking that German subjects have already received full compensation. An International Commission will assemble shortly at Casablanca to investigate the losses incurred by foreign subjects, and to decide what amount of compensation shall be claimed from the Moorish Government. Pending the meeting of this Commission, the German Government have advanced a sum of £12,500, but I understand this only covers a quarter of the total amount claimed. It has never been the practice of His Majesty's Government to make such advances, nor do I believe that Parliament would agree to do it in one case without being prepared to do it in all similar cases in future, a policy which in view of the extent of British interests abroad would entail a new and very heavy liability.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Then British subjects in that country may hope to receive some compensation?

SIR EDWARD GREY: Their claims will be considered by the International Commission on the same footing as those of the subjects of other countries.

MR. ASHLEY: Where is the money to come from? Is it to be advanced by the Bank of Morocco?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I must await the report of the International Commission and see what amount is awarded before I attempt to answer that Question.

### Egyptian Civil Service.

MR. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is proposed to discontinue all recruitments in England for the Egyptian Civil Service.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have not heard of any such proposal.

### Russian Sugar Exports.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the proposal made by the Russian delegate to the Permanent Commission of the Sugar Convention, namely, that Russia should be allowed to augment her export to Europe of sugar free from excise tax whenever the price of sugar should rise to a very high figure, has been accepted by all or any of the contracting States; and whether, in view of the present high price of sugar in this country, he will make representations to the other Powers as early as possible with a view to securing the temporary relaxation of the provisions of the Protocol which prevent Russia from exporting to this country the large quantities of sugar which she has available for export.

SIR EDWARD GREY: So far as I am aware, Russia has not yet put forward any definite proposal since the meeting of the Permanent Commission of the Sugar Convention for augmenting her export during a period of high prices. The Protocol to which the hon. Member refers has not yet come into force and does not do so until the 1st September next. His Majesty's Government would of course be favourable to any modification of that particular provision of the Protocol which restricts the export of Russian sugar, but as we are not responsible either for the insertion of this provision or for its execution we can hardly initiate steps to alter it. I may point out that without any alteration of the Protocol, Russia may export 300,000 tons of sugar on September 1st next, and her average annual export to this country before there was a Convention did not exceed 40,000 tons. His Majesty's Government being freed from all restrictions upon importing sugar themselves, considered that the main object which they had in view was attained; and the particular arrrangement made between Russia and the other sugar producing countries was not dependent upon their consent and could have been made without it.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: May I ask my right hon. friend, if it is open to Germany to take the initiative in restricting exports of Russian sugar to this country, why does he maintain that it is not open to this country now to take the initiative in modifying the Protocol?

SIR EDWARD GREY: Because the arrangement was made between Russia and other sugar producing countries, and we are not responsible for it. We can, of course, use our influence to remodel arrangements for which we are responsible, but we have not the same means of bringing pressure to bear with regard to arrangements for which we are not responsible and in which we do not take part.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Seeing that Germany in common with ourselves signed the Act which was subsequently modified by the Protocol, to which again the signature of each country was appended, why is it not open to us to take initiative?

SIR EDWARD GREY: In the Sugar Convention, which we signed, we made a reservation with regard to this.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: I do not see any such reservation in the Protocol.

### Duty on Solicitors' Certificates.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the fact that on 19th May, 1865, the House of Commons agreed to a Resolution to the effect that the annual duty payable by solicitors for certificates to practice should be abolished; and whether, in view of that opinion, he will at least reduce the rate leviable on members of that profession?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): The fact is as stated by my hon. friend. The matter will receive my careful consideration, but it is of course impossible to consider this licence duty in isolation.

### Income-Tax Statistics.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY (Paddington, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state, for the financial year 1907–8, the number of income-tax payers who made declarations of their total individual incomes, and how many of these, and in respect of what amounts of aggregate income in each class, declared incomes exceeding £160 and not exceeding £400, exceeding £400 and not exceeding £500, exceeding £500 and not exceeding £600, exceeding £600 and not exceeding £700, exceeding £700 and not exceeding £2,000 respectively, and in each of these classes how many persons, and in respect of what amounts of aggregate income, declared wholly earned, wholly unearned, or partly earned and partly unearned incomes respectively.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: For the year which has just expired it is not possible to give the information which my hon. friend seeks. I will take an opportunity of considering, with reference to future years, how far it may be practicable to take steps in the direction indicated.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: How many persons claimed the 9d. rate under the clause referring to earned incomes?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I cannot say without notice.

### Old-age Pensions.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in view of the fact that an old-age pensions scheme is proposed at an estimated cost of £6,000,000 per annum, only £1,200,000 of which is provided for by this year's Budget Estimates, if he can state definitely whether it is the intention of the Government to provide the balance of £4,800,000 by new taxation or by reducing the annual appropriation of £28,000,000 which has been made since the financial year 1905–6 for the National Debt services.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I must refer my hon. friend to the speech of the Prime Minister on opening the Budget, which goes as far as it is possible to go at this stage towards anticipating the financial arrangements of future years.

### National Debt.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he is aware that, at the end of the financial year 1908–9, the total dead-weight Debt of the United Kingdom will amount to £696,000,000, or £68,000,000 more than at the close of the financial year 1898–9; and whether, in view of this fact, he can give a definite assurance that the present appropriation to the National Debt services of only £28,000,000 per annum will not be decreased in the immediate future.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I am acquainted with the facts, which were fully stated in the Budget speech of my right hon. friend on Thursday last. As regards the latter part of the Question, I can add nothing to what my right hon. friend said on that occasion.

### Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.

MR. GLOVER (St. Helens): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state the day when he will bring on the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill for Second Reading.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): As soon as the state of business admits. Perhaps the hon. Member will put a Question to the Prime Minister on Monday.

### Inspectors of Mines Report.

MR. GLOVER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state when the

Government Inspectors of Mines Report for 1907 will be ready.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Some of the Reports are on the point of being issued. The rest will, I expect, be issued in the course of the next few weeks.

### Treatment of Female Inebriates.

Mr. BRIGHT (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that at the county of London sessions, the magistrates have recently been compelled to discharge several female habitual drunkards who would have been committed to homes had there been any accommodation to receive them; whether this situation has arisen through the failure of the County Council to provide such accommodation; and whether he proposes to take any, and, if any, what, action in the matter.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am sorry to say that magistrates in London have recently had many such cases before them. In my Answer to a Question put to me by my hon. friend the Member for Lincoln, circulated with the Votes on the 18th February, I set out at some length the causes which have given rise to this situation. I have appointed a Committee, of which the hon. Baronet the Member for the Chippenham division is Chairman, "to inquire into the operation of the law relating to inebriates and to their detention in reformatories and retreats, and to report what amendments in the law and in its administration are desirable," and I hope the Committee will be able at an early date to suggest a solution of the difficulties which are rendering the Inebriates Act of 1898 practically inoperative so far as London women are concerned.

### Aliens.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if the new regulations to be issued relating to the introduction of aliens into this country are to be framed with the object of keeping them out or of facilitating their entrance.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I can only repeat that I have not in contemplation the issue of any new regulations under the Aliens Act. This was fully explained in the Answer given on my behalf on 30th April.

### Unemployment Returns.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): On behalf of the hon. Member for Worcester, I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will give a detailed list of the trade unions from whom returns were received relating to the numbers unemployed in March last.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Churchill, Dundee): All returns with regard to the state of employment made by employers and their organisation, and also by trade unions, are obtained on the understanding that individual returns shall not be disclosed. In these circumstances I regret that I am unable to give the information which the hon. Member seeks..

### Commercial Travellers—Claims under the Bankruptcy Acts.

Mr. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware of the disability, under the present Bankruptcy Acts, of commercial travellers who are paid by commission, and who, in the event of the bankruptcy of the firms employing them, are entitled to rank as ordinary creditors only and to receive for any moneys which may be due to them such dividend as the estate may realise, as against the commercial traveller who is paid a salary and ranks as a preferential creditor in the event of the bankruptcy of his firm; and, if so, is it his intention to promote such an amendment in the Bankruptcy Acts as will provide that all commercial travellers, whether paid by commission or salary, shall rank as preferential creditors.

Mr. CHURCHILL: I would refer the hon. Member to the printed replies given to similar Questions asked on 24th March and 1st April respectively by my hon. friends the Members for Christchurch and Montgomery District, of which for his convenience I am sending him copies.

### River Pollution in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Mr. CLOUGH (Yorkshire, W.R., Skipton): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that there are 2,000 manufacturers within the area administered by the West Riding Rivers Board, half of whom discharge their trade effluents into sewers and half of whom discharge them into streams, and that there are fifty cases of litigation pending, some of them being taken to the House of Lords, with regard to the discharge of trade effluents into public sewers; whether he is prepared to promote legislation dealing with the admission of trade effluents into public sewers, and the establishment of a central authority for dealing with questions of river pollution, and, if so, whether this legislation will be based on the Report of the Royal Commission on Sewage Disposal; and whether such a Bill will be introduced and proceeded with this session.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I am not able to say how far the precise figures mentioned in the Question are correct, but I am aware of the general circumstances of the area of the West Riding Rivers Board in relation to the matter referred to. I am desirous of introducing legislation to deal with the subject of trade effluents if possible this session; but I cannot state beforehand what would be the contents of the measure.

### Administration of Poor Law Relief in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

MR. HUDSON: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to the fact that at a recent meeting of the board of guardians of Newcastle-on-Tyne it was reported that an able-bodied man had been obliged to break up his home and take his wife and six children into the workhouse, at a cost of £3 per week to the ratepayers, while outdoor relief, and thus keeping the home together, would not have cost more than 10s. per week; and whether, during the present abnormal conditions of suffering in the district, it is his intention to make any special provision for dealing with such cases.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I understand that in the case referred to the man had a wife and three children, and that he applied for admission to the workhouse, partly because he had placed what furniture he had in the house of a neighbour to prevent its being seized for arrears of rent, and partly because his wife was near her confinement. She has since had a child in the workhouse. The guardians have now applied to me for the issue to them of what is called the modified workhouse test order, under which they could relieve the family of an able-bodied man outside the workhouse, whilst he himself was relieved in the workhouse. The application is receiving my attention.

### The Castle Street House Collapse.

LORD R. CECIL: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has any information as to the cause of the recent collapse of houses in Castle Street; whether there is any reason to suppose that a similar collapse might take place in other parts of the Metropolis; and whether it is proposed to hold any inquiry into the matter.

MR. JOHN BURNS: The jury at the coroner's inquest on the persons killed by the fall of these houses found that there was no evidence to show what caused the collapse. Investigations have been made with a view of ascertaining the cause by the department of the superintending architect of the London County Council in conjunction with the district surveyor. The latter thinks that leakage from the old drains in one of the houses must have saturated and softened the earth under the walls and angle chimney breast, and also to some extent rotted the lower portion of the same, and he has suggested that this may to some extent account for the disaster. He also thinks that a cesspool which was situate only a few inches from an old angle breast may also have contributed to it. Having regard to the number of houses in London, some of which are about the same age as those here in question, I cannot say that it is impossible that an accident might happen elsewhere under similar unforseen circumstances, but the district surveyors are continually on the look out for buildings which indicate signs of danger, and Part IX. of the London Building Act, 1894, contains provisions for dealing with such cases. As a matter of fact, accidents of this kind are of very rare occurrence. The matter is still being investigated by the superintendent architect of the County Council and the district surveyor and I do not think it necessary to direct an inquiry myself on the subject.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): What was the age of this house?

MR. JOHN BURNS: I believe about 100 years.

### Alnwick Post Office.

MR. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that in January of this year, at the request of the Post Office, the drains at the Alnwick Post Office were tested by the Alnwick Urban District Council, and were condemned by the inspector as in a wretched condition, and that up to the present time nothing has been done to the drains; and, if so, can he state what has been the cause of the delay, and also as to whether the matter will at once receive attention, especially in view of the fact that some thirty persons are employed in this small office.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Certain defects were discovered in the drains at the Alnwick Post Office, and steps are being taken to have them remedied, but part of the evil was found to arise from an escape of gas and not from the drains.

### Hong Kong Mail Contract.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the negotiations with the Canadian-Pacific Railway Company for the conveyance of mails to Hong Kong are yet complete; and whether any other railway or steamship company has been allowed to tender for this contract.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The negotiations with the Canadian-Pacific Railway Company for the conveyance of mails to Hong Kong are not yet completed. The contract will be laid before this House for confirmation. So far as I am aware, no other steamship or railway company is at present in a position to tender for an expeditious service to Hong Kong *via* North America at the present time.

### Canadian Mail Contract.

MR. McHUGH (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state approximately when the new contract for the carriage of mails across Canada will be submitted to the House for confirmation; and whether the Government will, before entering into an agreement with any Canadian railway company, give due consideration to the interests of Ireland in connection with this matter.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am unable to state at present when the new contract will be submitted to this House for confirmation. As regards the particular contract in question, it is a continuation for three years of an existing contract at a greatly reduced payment. If a route more advantageous than that of the Canadian-Pacific Railway Company should hereafter become available, its adoption will not be precluded by the proposed contract with that company.

### Teachers' Registration Council.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON (Oxford University): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education what steps, if any, have been taken towards the formation of a registration council in accordance with the provisions of 7 Edw. VII., cap. 43, sec. 16.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury): I regret I am at present unable to add anything to the Answer given by my predecessor on 25th March, to the Question by the hon. baronet, except to say that some of the representatives referred to in the concluding paragraph of that Question are coming to the Board of Education to-morrow, when I hope that further progress may be made with the matter.

### Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education how soon he will publish regulations for the training of teachers for secondary schools.

MR. RUNCIMAN: These regulations are in an advanced stage of preparation, and I hope that they may be issued at an early date.

### South Kensington Art Museum.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education what were the terms of reference under which the small temporary committee for the arrangement of the Art Museum at South Kensington was appointed; whether any executive powers were conferred upon the committee; whether the evidence given by the specialists called in to advise the committee will be made public; and whether experience in the arrangement of art museums and interest in art apart from industrial production were taken into account in the composition of the committee.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The committee was appointed to prepare "a scheme of arrangement for the whole of the art museum which will provide the greatest facilities for study primarily to those interested in the commercial manufacture of objects of the kinds represented in the collections, such as craftsmen, designers, manufacturers, and students; and, secondly, to those interested in art without regard to its relation to industrial productions, such as artists, students of art, of history, of manners and customs." No executive powers have been conferred on the committee. It is improbable that any formal evidence will be taken, but opinions expressed by the gentlemen who may be asked to help the committee will be recorded. The committee are able to avail themselves of the experience of the officers of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and are also investigating the most modern systems of arrangement adopted in the leading foreign museums. With regard to the composition of the committee, I may say that my predecessor considered, and I fully concur in his view, that for work of the kind entrusted to this committee it was important that the number of members should be small, and that interest in matters of art as well as practical experience of the advantage derived from the museum by manufacturers and craftsmen should be looked for in those asked to serve on the committee. The members of the committee, in my opinion, combine these qualifications in a high degree.

### Mr. Churchill's Pledges.

LORD R. CECIL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he can now indicate the amendments which will be proposed by the Government to the Education Bill in order to carry out the undertaking given to the electors of North-West Manchester by the President of the Board of Trade that special provision would be made for the case of the Roman Catholics and for that of the Jews.

MR. RUNCIMAN: If this aspect of the question requires further consideration, that consideration could most conveniently be given during the Committee stage of the Bill.

### Scottish Imports of Esparto Grass.

MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that on 24th April the Board issued without notice an order prohibiting the import into Scotland of esparto grass except under licence; if he will state the reasons for this order; whether it is now withdrawn; and whether he will take steps to prevent in future the issue of an order that causes annoyance and expense to importers and users of esparto grass.

THE TREASURER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Sir EDWARD STRACHEY, Somerset, S.): We have been in communication with the Customs on the subject to which my hon. friend refers. It appears that esparto grass is imported in the form of fibre for paper-making and other manufactures, and it is therefore not to be regarded as coming within the provisions of the Foreign Hay and Straw Order, 1908. Before the Board could arrive at a decision in the matter, it was necessary that full inquiry should be made. They regret that any inconvenience should have been caused to those concerned.

### Metropolitan Markets.

MR. SMEATON (Stirlingshire): On behalf of the hon. Member for Sutherland, I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether his attention has been called to the annual Report of the Central Markets Committee of the Corporation of the City of London, wherein it is shown that out of a total weight of produce passing through the markets in 1907, of which 89·3 per cent. was meat, only 20·5 per cent., as against 38·8 per cent. in 1902, was the produce of the United Kingdom, and the number of native cattle brought into the markets was 29·074 less in 1907 than in 1902; and whether he will take any steps to encourage British farmers to breed more animals for meat and prevent the supply of meat to the greatest market in the United Kingdom falling under the control of foreign, mostly North and South American, houses.

I beg also to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether his attention has been called to the annual Report of the Central Markets Committee of the Corporation of the City of London, in which it is stated that the supplies arriving at Smithfield Market raised and produced in the United Kingdom continue to diminish, and that the daily demands of the 6,000,000 consumers in greater London are supplied by oversea competitors to the extent of 4 out of every 5 tons of produce passing through the Central Markets; and whether he will take any steps to remedy this state of the food supplies of London.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: Our attention has been called to the Report to which the hon. Member refers. The figures given for the years 1902 and 1907 are not really comparable, and as a matter of fact the number of cattle in the United Kingdom in 1907 was greater by 251,597 than in 1902. The total supplies at Smithfield Market in 1907 were 4,870 tons less than in 1906. British and foreign produce decreased in about equal proportions, oversea supplies being in each year nearly 80 per cent. of the total. The Board are most anxious to do all that they can to encourage stock-breeding in this country and any practical suggestions in that direction will always be considered with sympathy.

### Assistant Clerk's Pay.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware that a memorial supported by the heads of Government Departments was forwarded to the Treasury in December last, asking for better pay and prospects for assistant clerks (new class), but that up to the present no reply has been received; and, in view of the fact that a petition signed by the majority of the Members of the House of Commons representing all shades of political belief, was presented to the late Prime Minister last year urging that a committee of inquiry into the pay and conditions of the service of this class of civil servant should be appointed, will he state what action has been taken on the memorial referred to, and when a reply may be expected.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): Memorials from assistant clerks in several public Departments are under consideration, and I hope that a decision may shortly be arrived at.

### Irish Trade Statistics.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether he can state, approximately, when the statistics of Irish Imports and Exports for 1906 will be published.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR IRELAND (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): The statistics of Irish imports and exports in 1906 are in the Press, and will be issued in the course of a few weeks.

### Horse Breeding in Ireland.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that it is proposed to give a Government grant of £10,000 to the English Board of Agriculture for the purpose of building up a breeding stud of mares to furnish remounts for the Army; whether it is proposed that the Government should own each mare, and let it out to the farmer to breed from and work on his farm, the farmer providing the stallion fee and mare's keep, and having the right to sell the foal to the highest bidder; and whether it is proposed to give a similar grant for similar purposes to the Irish Board of Agriculture.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: The Department of Agriculture are aware that communications have taken place between the War Office and the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries on the question of encouragement of the breeding of horses suitable for Army purposes. They are not aware that any definite scheme has yet been decided upon. The Department are themselves in communication with the War Office on the subject, so far as regards Ireland.

### Belfast Health Commission.

Mr. J. DEVLIN (Belfast. W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he could state the probable cost of the Belfast Health Commission; and whether the whole of the cost would have to be defrayed by the ratepayers.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.): The cost of the inquiry in question has not yet been ascertained. It has been arranged that £500 of the cost will be borne by the Exchequer; the remainder will fall upon the local rates.

### Congested Districts Commission Report.

Mr. J. DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now state when the Report of the Congested Districts Commission will be issued.

Mr. BIRRELL: I am informed that the Report was signed a week ago, but its presentation has been delayed at the instance of some of the Commissioners, who wished to put in supplementary notes. These have now been received, and the Report is accordingly being forwarded to my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department for presentation to Parliament.

### Kilcormac Evicted Tenant.

Mr. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what steps the Estates Commissioners have taken to reinstate Mr. Rody Dooley, of Broughal, Kilcormac, King's County, whose farm is in possession of the landlord, Mr. C. J. Banon, up to the present time.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have made an offer to purchase Dooley's former holding, but the landlord is not prepared to sell. The Commissioners are considering the question of providing Dooley with a holding on another estate in the same county, for the purchase of which they are negotiating.

Mr. REDDY: Have not the Commissioners power to take the holding compulsorily?

Mr. BIRRELL: They are using their discretion in the matter.

### Kenmare Evicted Tenants.

Mr. JOHN MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have to up the present taken any practical steps to reinstate the evicted tenants on the Kenmare estate, county Kerry; and if he will point out to the Commissioners that the delay in dealing with the cases of evicted tenants is causing widespread dissatisfaction.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estate Commissioners understand that, in addition to the reinstatements already effected, Lord Kenmare is about to reinstate practically every evicted tenant whose farm is unoccupied. The Commissioners will endeavour to bring about an arrangement in the cases of the evicted tenants whose holdings are occupied by new tenants.

Mr. JOHN MURPHY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Lord Kenmare has left the reinstatement to the Estates Commissioners, who have sent down two inspectors during the past two years, and have done nothing else whatever?

MR. BIRRELL: I know the matter is now approaching completion.

### Wicklow Evicted Tenants.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the number of evicted tenants in the county Wicklow; how many evicted tenants have applied for reinstatement since January, 1904; and how many of these have been restored to their holdings, and how many have been provided with alternative farms.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners are not able to state the number of evicted tenants in County Wicklow, but since the passing of the Act of 1903 applications for reinstatement have been received from 128 persons describing themselves as evicted tenants of holdings situate in that country. Of these applications, fifty-eight have been rejected by the Commissioners for various reasons, and forty-one applicants have been noted as suitable to be provided with holdings, of whom seven have been reinstated or provided with holdings, and the other cases are being dealt with as rapidly as possible. Twenty-nine applications remain to be considered by the Commissioners.

### Forestry in Ireland.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer when he will be in a position to state what he proposes to do to give effect to the unanimous Report recently issued by the Departmental Committee on Irish Forestry, having regard to the fact that that Committee expressed in the strongest way their sense of obligation which lies upon the State to act immediately in the matter in order to arrest the grievous mischief, loss, and waste which are going on and ought to be checked without delay, and to the fact that the Irish representatives in Parliament are unanimous in desiring that the moderate annual grant stated to be required should be provided at the earliest possible date.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The Report of the Committee is under the consideration of the Government, but I am afraid I cannot make any statement on the subject at present.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): When considering this matter, will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind the absolutely unanimous character of the Report and also the fact that really everybody in Ireland is anxious that this question of forestry—so long neglected—should now be attended to?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Yes, Sir.

### Wages for Unskilled Labour in Dublin.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): On behalf of the hon. Member for the College Green division of Dublin I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware that the unskilled labourers in the Army Ordnance Department at Island Bridge, Dublin, which is situate beside the wall of the Phœnix Park, are in receipt of 20s. a week wages; can he say with what class the comparison has been made as regards the wages of the Board of Works labourers in the Phœnix Park of 15s. or 16s. a week; and whether, in view of the amount required for the subsistence of a labourer in the city of Dublin, where the cost of living is only 6 per cent. below London according to the Board of Trade Report recently presented to Parliament, he will now have the case of the park labourers considered with a view to increase their pay.

MR. HOBHOUSE: My right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War informs me that the Answer to the first part of the Qestion is in the affirmative. I am informed by the Board of Works that the staff of labourers employed by them in the Phœnix Park consists partly of men engaged on garden and forestry work, who compare, as regards wages, with men engaged on similar duties in private gardens in the neighbourhood of Dublin. The remainder are ordinary labourers employed throughout the park on work of a general kind, and in their case comparison has been made with agricultural labourers in districts adjoining the park. In both cases the careful inquiry which I have caused to be made shows that the wages paid by the Board of Works, when allowance is made for the special privileges enjoyed by labourers in the Board's service, compare favourably with the rates current in the district.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: Having regard to the higher cost of living in Dublin, will the hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of increasing the pay to 20s. a week?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I quite agree that the rate appears low, but I do not think the Treasury can pay more than the rate current in the district.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: Should it not pay as much as the Army Ordnance Department for similar labour?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: They are different classes of work, and therefore we pay different rates of wages.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: But if both sets of labourers live in the city is not the cost of living the same in each case?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I do not know what the rates of pay are outside Government Departments, but I believe they are not as high as those paid by the Government.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: Can the hon. Gentleman hold out no hope that these workers will have their wages increased? Will he again consider the matter fully?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: Very careful inquiry has been made. These are the rates current in the district, and we cannot go beyond that.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): Will the hon. Gentleman hear an appeal from the Dublin Trade Union?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: Certainly.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): Is it not better that the Government should set a good example rather than take advantage of a bad one and pay just what other people in the district like to pay?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: The Treasury represent the general community, and I do not think it would be right in going beyond the rate of wages current in the district. These men have special privileges in the form of continuous employment, sick pay, public holidays, gratuities on retirement, all in excess of the rates current for similar labour in the district.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS: But in cases of this kind many co-operative societies set a good example. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of that? Surely the Government should not lag behind them?

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: Do the Treasury really consider that 15s. is a fair wage for a man who has to support a wife and family in the city of Dublin?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: The wage, I believe, is 16s., and that is the rate paid by private employers.

Mr. JOYCE (Limerick): Is the hon. Gentleman aware that elected public bodies in Dublin pay a far higher rate of wages? Why should not the Treasury bring their rate up to the same standard as that paid by these public bodies?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I am not aware that these public bodies do pay a higher rate than the Treasury.

Mr. JOYCE: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will inquire.

### Irish Rural Postman's Wage Grievance.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General can he state the number of years during which Nicholas Ryder of Baltinglass, county Wicklow, has discharged the duties of auxiliary postman; what wage did he receive for the first year of his appointment, and how much per week is he now paid; on how many occasions since his appointment has a vacancy for an established postman occurred in the Baltinglass postal district; and whether Ryder may entertain any hope of being promoted to an established postman's position.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: Ryder has been employed as an auxiliary postman for over nineteen years; he received

8s. a week for the first year, and he now receives 11s. a week. He is, of course, only employed part of his time. Only one vacancy for an established postman has occurred in the Baltinglass district since Ryder was first employed; and I fear that I can hold out no hope that it will be possible to promote Ryder to the establishment.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR: Is it by paying this starvation wage of 11s. that the Post Office makes its annual profit of four millions sterling?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: I do not think we make our profit in that way. This is not a full-time postman; he only works two or three hours daily.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR: Could the right hon. Gentleman walk sixteen Irish miles in two or three hours? Is he aware that this unfortunate man, with his 11s. a week, has a wife and seven children to maintain?

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: The man is paid the rate of wage current in the district. I am afraid I cannot go beyond that.

### Minister of Fine Arts.

Sir GEORGE SCOTT ROBERTSON (Bradford, Central): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he will consider the desirability of creating a Minister of Fine Arts, to be in charge either of a separate department with an expert advisory board or to hold the position in conjunction with other duties, such as those of the Chief Commissioner of Works.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.): I think that the duties to which my hon. friend refers, so far as the State can usefully undertake them, are adequately discharged by the First Commissioner of Works. The creation of a new office would, in my opinion, be of doubtful advantage, and would lead to an undoubted increase of expense.

### Home Office Vote.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he will be able to make arrangements for the discussion of the Vote for the Home Office on an early day.

Mr. ASQUITH: No, Sir, I am afraid it will not be possible to give an early day for the discussion of the Home Office Vote.

### Education Bill.

Mr. CLOUGH: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether the Second Reading of the Education (England and Wales) Bill will be taken before the Whitsuntide Recess; and, if so, whether he can state upon what day.

Mr. ASQUITH: On Monday, I hope.

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS (Kent, St. Augustine's) asked as to Thursday's business.

Mr. ASQUITH said that the Second Reading of the Education Bill would be taken on Monday. On Thursday Supply would be taken, a Supplementary Vote of £5 being put down in order to enable the House to discuss the Report of the Select Committee on Parliamentary Debates. There would also be several small Treasury Votes relating to rates on Government property, the Mint, the National Debt Office, miscellaneous expenses, the Civil Service Commission, and the Customs and Inland Revenue.

## *NEW BILL.*

### HOUSE LETTING (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend the Law as to the Letting and Rating of Houses in Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto," presented by Mr. Murray Macdonald; supported by Mr. Cross, Mr. Cleland, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Charles Price, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Watt, Mr. Smeaton, Mr. Younger, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and Mr. Robert Duncan; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 224.]

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, ETC., BILL).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the proceedings on the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Bill, if under discussion at Eleven o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 272; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 90.)

### AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Compton-Rickett, Sir J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Erskine, David C.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hart-Davies, T.
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kilbride, Denis
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Menzies, Walter
Middlebrook, William
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John (Kerry, East)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John

Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, W.E.B. (Bradford, E.)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E. (Manchester)
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Colonel
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J.W.H. (Somerset, E
Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

### NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clive, Percy Archer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Govan
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Guinness, Walter Edward
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hope, James Fitzalan (Sheffield)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morpeth, Viscount
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J.G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Winterton, Earl
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Viscount Valentia and Mr. Pike Pease.

## HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, ETC., BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): The pleasing task falls to my lot of moving the Government Housing and Town Planning Bill this afternoon, and in so doing I cordially commend to, and cheerfully expect, the generous support of Parliament for this useful, beneficent, and, I may add, universally welcomed measure. The topic of housing has always been congenial to the House of Commons, mainly because the House of Commons is recruited from the class of people who, in their own domestic environment, are more fortunately situated than the great bulk of their fellows, and not being "cribbed, cabined, confined" in their domestic environment, they have always shown great interest and sympathy in the housing of the working classes. In fact, at this moment, it is safe to say that some of the best advocates and pioneers of housing reform in any country in the world can be found within the walls of Parliament—in Members of this House itself, and to anyone who knows this subject I am perfectly justified in saying that in bringing this Bill to the House of Commons we are appealing to those who sympathise with the material matters embodied therein. The object of the Bill is to provide a domestic condition for the people in which their physical health, their morals, their character, and their whole social condition can be improved by what we hope to secure in this Bill. The Bill aims in broad outlines at, and hopes to secure, the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified, and the suburb salubrious. It seeks, and hopes to secure, more homes, better houses, prettier streets, so that the character of a great people, in towns and cities and in villages, can be still further improved and strengthened by the conditions under which they live, and I look to the hon. Baronet opposite to help me in that result. On its housing side the Bill seeks to abolish, reconstruct, and prevent the slum. It asks—at least, I do for it—the House of Commons to do something to efface the ghettos of meanness and the Alsatias of squalor that can be found in many parts of the United Kingdom. It hopes to take effective steps to put down many of the unpleasant features of our purely industrial towns. It hopes to render model dwellings similar to those that are so prevalent in Germany less frequent in the future than now. I believe that model dwellings, like model men, are too often jerry-built structures, unsuited to purely British conditions, and ought not to be extended or added to. The Bill seeks to diminish what have been called bye-law streets, with little law and much monotony. It hopes to get rid of the regulation roads that are so regular that they lack that line of beauty which Hogarth said was in a curve. It seeks to improve the health of the people by raising the character of the house and the home, and by extended inspection, supervision, direction, and guidance of central control to help local authorities to do more than they now do. The need for this Bill I must justify by a few facts and I trust not many figures. Increasingly the British people are becoming more and more a town people; what is more, they are becoming more and more a great town people. Thirty-five per cent. of our population live in towns of over 100,000 in size, and in the short space of sixty years — for sixty years is relatively a short space in the life of a nation—we have seen this, that where sixty years ago 75 per cent. of the people lived in rural areas, only 25 per cent. now so live, and 75 per cent. live in urban centres, as against 25 per cent. sixty years ago. Again, out of eighty-four county boroughs and urban districts of 50,000 and over, we see that this has resulted, that forty-two of those eighty-four have 5 per cent. of their population overcrowded, twenty have 10 per cent., fourteen have 10 to 15 per cent., one from 20 to 25 per cent., and five from 30 to 35 per cent., and we have this condition of overcrowding as a consequence of the growth of certain industries in certain areas—mainly in our mining centres. The county of Durham for example has twenty-eight per cent.; Sunderland, thirty; Newcastle, thirty; Tynemouth, twenty; Northumberland, thirty-two; South Shields, thirty-two; and Gateshead, thirty-four. That is a condition of things for which neither Parliament, the municipalities, nor the industries themselves are wholly to blame, because, however good our housing legislation may be, the sudden rush of the population attracted by higher wages and urban prosperity to towns like Coventry and the others I have mentioned, is carried out so rapidly that in many cases it is impossible, for either individuals or local authorities, to anticipate the demand and wholly to meet it. But we think that that condition of things is such that we must take accelerated steps to rectify it, and without giving further figures with regard to the towns, I can only say that, bad though the overcrowding is in the towns, in the country, in some respects, all things considered, it is relatively as bad. In that admirable little Report issued by Mr. Rew on "On the Decline of Rural

Population," we find that thirty-one counties complain of the shortage of cottages; that the country is, in some respects, worse than the town; and that, owing to the lack of transit facilities, the shortage of cottages really impose on the rural population disproportionate evils as compared with an overcrowded town centre where there are transit facilities. As this Bill is introduced mainly to meet the rural difficulties it is only fair that I should justify it on the rural side. We find that there are seventy-eight villages, with 4,179 cottages, which have 25 per cent. of these cottages "bad," or "extremely bad"; 60 per cent. have no fireplace, the absence of which is a more serious thing from the point of view of ventilation than that of getting rid of smoke. Of 122 rural areas, fifty-four are deficient in cottages; 240 villages, with 10,000 dwellings, have 50 per cent. bad; whilst in thirty villages there is gross overcrowding. In rural, and semi-rural areas where new industries have sprung up, the tendency is to get relatively worse and worse. The *Estates Gazette*, which cannot be accused of being an ardent supporter of housing reform, said a month or two ago that—

> "One great obstacle in the way of the general adoption of small holdings is the difficulty of finding housing accommodation in the country for those who desire to go 'back to the land' in the humble fashion, and it has been said practically with full truth that there is not a spare cottage in England."

It is possible to give instances where whole families are so crowded in small cottages, bad in structure, and insanitary in condition, that if you were to describe them as happening in either Liverpool or Glasgow, or in a London slum, it might be said that it was impossible and intolerable. I have not the least doubt that hon. Members who represent rural constituencies will be able to quote numerous illustrations of the general truth of what I have now said. Now, in this conjunction it is as well that we should remember that bad as that rural accommodation is, and bad as it is in our towns and cities, we still maintain pre-eminence in domestic architecture, and, generally, in superior accommodation for our working classes. This is not an argument for not doing anything to improve the present condition of affairs, but an argument for doing still more and going still further. It is interesting, for example, to know that in England, taking the country as a whole, 3·6 per cent. of the population live in one room; in London, 14 per cent.; in Edinburgh, 17 per cent.; in Glasgow, 26 per cent.; in Dublin, 36 per cent.; while in Paris it is 26 per cent.; and in Berlin, 50 per cent. So that from these figures we can deduce that, bad though we are, the "other fellow" is infinitely worse. Dr. Arthur Shadwell, who has dealt most thoroughly and scientifically with this subject, says that whereas—

> "In England the industrial classes live in separate houses or cottages; in Germany they live in barracks; in America in larger houses shared by more than one family. We have nothing to compare in England to the house famine which prevails in Germany."

That is a condition of things which I hope other countries will remove as soon as possible, and I believe that the changes which our Bill will effect will stimulate them in this direction. How does this inferiority of some other countries as compared with Great Britain reflect itself in the health of the people? In Berlin, with 2,000,000 of people living in 26,000 houses, there are 290 per acre, as against 62 in London per acre, and 77 people per house as against 8 in London. This reflects itself in the death rate, for while the death rate in Berlin ranges from 18 to 20 per 1,000, it ranges in London from 14 to 16. In every aspect of physical life we find that London, notwithstanding its drawbacks owing to its small houses and fewer people per acre, is, in all the diseases that are due to congestion of population and density per house or per room, such as infant mortality, scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhus, and, above all, tuberculosis, a long way ahead as compared with towns and cities in foreign countries. It is only right when we are asking the House to support this Bill not only for the personal convenience of the people who live in the houses, but from a consideration of their health, that I should give some facts in order to prove the difference in the matter of certain diseases between the ordinary cottage, not particularly good, and the back-to-back houses which too frequently prevail, which the Local Government Board disapprove and which we ought to get rid of as quickly as we can. Taking the general population with the general death-rate, we find that the general death-rate in back-to-back houses is 135 as against 100 in the ordinary cottage; in zymotic diseases it is 155 as against 100; and in diarrhœa it is 182 as against 100. In stable dwellings, which I trust we may soon get rid of, the proportion is still higher than that. In London wherever you find density per room there you find infant mortality; wherever you find overcrowding it produces disease to an extent that we ought to terminate. The proof of that is to be found in the deaths resulting from consumption. Thus I find that where in the general population 711 persons died of consumption in the least crowded portions, 1,400 died in the most crowded portions. In Glasgow the conditions are even worse than that, mainly due to the fact that we find, according to the Secretary for Scotland, that 54 per cent. of the Glasgow people are living more than two in a room. Now, these are the general conditions which we hope to modify and ultimately to abolish. I may say further that in the last ten years there has been an enormous progress in the ideals, theories, and achievements in housing and town-planning. There is for example, the great housing experiment at Bournville. If we could reproduce that experiment a hundred or a thousand times all over the kingdom it would not be unprofitable to the community, it would damnify the interest of nobody, and its effect on the individual so benefited would reflect itself in a distinct boon to the State. No one can go to Port Sunlight, or Earswick, or Hull, or Wolverhampton where the son, I think, of a distinguished Member of this House, Sir Richard Paget, has undertaken a great garden city scheme, and other places without recognising the enormous progress which has been made during the last ten years, in connexion with the schemes which have been undertaken by municipalities, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and other Corporations, and by private individuals, nearly all of which are in their plan and execution superior to anything I have seen in any other country in the world. Now I mention that to point the moral that under existing laws, bye-laws and regulations, given the inclination, given the imagination, given the means and the breadth of view, it is possible to do in exceptional instances what our Bill seeks to help other districts less favourably situated to do over a wide area. What a few public-spirited owners, municipalities, corporations, companies, have done without loss to themselves and gain to their tenants—on the contrary, it has been economically profitable for them to do it—this Bill will enable a number of other people and associations to accomplish. In a word, the Bill provides: first, the medium of agreement, which, I believe, will prevail in 95 per cent. of the cases; then, failing agreement, conference; and, as the last resource, compulsion, imposed by the central body, which will do its best to pursue the line of least resistance in carrying out its work. With the permission of the House, may I ask hon. Members who are often in London to realise how this is done. They have only to take a motor car or any other vehicle, and go to places like Balham, Millbank, Boundary Street, Tooting, Ealing, Hampstead, and Northfield to see how modified schemes of housing and town-planning, accompanied by schemes of transit, tram, train, and tube are progressing. On the Millbank estate, which is near to the House, and where the plan is completed with the Tate Gallery as the central attraction, and hospitals and model dwellings round it, they can see from 5,000 to 6,000 people housed under a housing scheme under town-planning conditions, which, if it had been done in Paris, Vienna or Berlin, we should want to go and see and write a Report upon. They can see at Ealing or at the Hampstead Garden City suburb, and other places I have mentioned, examples of what prescience, outlook, and the development of estates according to a coherent and progressive plan are capable of doing. I think that the House and public opinion are rather tired of the intolerable meanness and squalor which we can see is the result of unregulated plans and uncontrolled building operations, and I believe that when this Bill has been in operation for two or three years the attention which we are now giving to it will be justified.

On the town-planning side of the Bill I want to say a word or two, because although generally approved of in its broader outline, it has been criticised in some minor details. I think that we cannot allow our towns to grow up in the way in which they are growing up. Take London, for instance. We find twelve parishes in the inner ring of London with a diminishing population, and we have that diminishing population resulting in this fact, that 13,000 families are, so to speak, exported from the centre to the outer ring, and except for the London Building Act and the increasing public interest in this subject you cannot have 13,000 families taken from the centre to the outside in a big city like this without disastrous consequences in the future, unless there is something like prescience and planning in the method of their distribution. What we have attempted is really a town-planning scheme, which is the second part of this Bill, and will enable us to get together the various interests that are affected—for instance, the local landowners, the railway companies, the canal companies, the public authority, the officials of the public authority—and get them to turn together towards one outlook with one scheme, instead of mutually fighting each other to each other's detriment. We think also that in conjunction with such schemes the trustees of national antiquarian or artistic societies might co-operate with those more materially inclined in helping to improve the scheme. It frequently happens that you will have a large owner who takes a broad and generous view in the development of his own estate, frustrated and prevented from making the adjoining land as pleasant in its amenities as it ought to be made, because there is intervening some smaller owner who lacks the breadth of view, has not neighbourly instincts, will not co-operate, and stands between the corporation with big views and the large landowner who would be willing to schedule 500 or 1,000 acres of land in order to prevent the dead ends, the mean streets, and the ugly blank walls that you now see. That is mainly because there is no way now of bringing them together; but we think the ratepayer, the authority, and the owner ought to have the means of remedying a state of things which has so long gone on uncorrected. Let me, if I may, ask any Member of the House to see what is happening to the River Wandle near Wandsworth Common. As it approaches the River Thames, instead of being made what it should be, as it would be made in Germany, at Berlin, or Dusseldorf, or elsewhere, an attraction to the district, an amenity which would add to the rents in the neighbourhood, and the attractiveness of the whole place, it becomes a dirty stream, too often only the auxiliary of dust-shoots and other abominations of an ugly and very often of an intolerable description. If in Berlin they can make their canals attractive, I do not see the reason why the Regent's Canal and many other canals in and about the big towns here should not, in conjunction with the development of parks, open spaces, and recreation grounds, be made attractive to the districts through which they pass. How has this been done? I want, if I may, to take two instances. Let us take Bournville for the poor and Bournemouth for the rich. Let us take Chelsea for the classes and Tooting for the masses. What do you find? You find in those four instances that your public-spirited corporations and public-spirited landowners have been at work, and I venture to say that if you take Bournville and Bournemouth, Chelsea and Tooting, or towns like Eastbourne, you will find very much done without damage to anybody of what we hope to make universal by this Bill. And, may I say in this conjunction, that the Local Government Board is very grateful to one great landowner of this country, and that is the Duke of Sutherland, for enabling them to complete the federation of the Pottery towns by the useful and splendid gift of something like 800 acres of his Trentham Park Estate. By our Bill we provide facilities by means of which every other Duke can go and do likewise, and in the event of anyone being in the mood to follow his Grace's example we shall be only too pleased to accept his gift on precisely the same terms. I come from that portion of my observations to the need for town-planning, from the point of view of the area of land absorbed every year. May I give the House a figure in regard to house-building in London? In twenty-five years there have been half-a-million houses built in Greater London. Will anyone say that if we had had twenty-five years ago something like an elementary town-planning scheme we should have the Edmontons, the Tottenhams, the West Hams, the Bermondseys and the Rotherhithes, as they now are? Certainly not. While half-a-million of houses have been added to Greater London—increasing London—in twenty-five years there have been in that period 7,500 streets, and twenty-three squares, measuring nearly 1,400 miles in length, made, and all this has been done in a more or less unconscious and blind way. Its effect upon the population is already beginning to reveal itself, and I believe that in the next twenty-five years these new buildings, houses, squares, and streets should bear some relation to schools, parks, public buildings, railways, canals, and other physical conditions prevailing in big centres. In the County of London at this moment, notwithstanding that there is a demand for house accommodation, we are confronted with the singular fact that there are 50,000 empty houses. Notwithstanding all this building and the claim there is for the right houses in the right places at the right rents, for the proper and decent people of London, we have 50,000 empty houses in the County of London. Why? Here is the fact. The houses we have built in London ten, twenty, or forty or fifty years ago, with a housing and town-planning scheme of a most simple character, ought never to have been allowed to be built. People say, why are these houses empty? You have only to go down any street to find the reason. Take streets in Balham or Highbury, if on one side of the street you find no basements, you will not find a house empty, but on the other side, where there are half or full basements, you will find ten or twenty of them to let. I think the time has arrived when the building of basement or half-basement houses ought to be abolished. I do not wonder that in certain parts of London rich people cannot get servants. Why should people be interred in dark and often damp basements? They make the servants disagreeable, and they prevent that sanitation, light, and cleanliness which are so absolutely desirable, especially for people who are monotonously employed, and frequently confined day after day in the same unpleasant monotonous work. If there is one thing that Lord Cadogan deserves credit for it is for the way in which he reconstructed modern Chelsea. I want to go from that, if I may, to the effect of housing and town-planning, not in London, but in the country, and I would ask the special attention of the country Members to these figures. In fifteen years 500,000 acres of land have been abstracted from the agricultural domain for houses, buildings, factories, workshops, and railways. In fifteen years as much land has been converted into houses and industrial concerns as is the acreage of our potato crop for the whole of the United Kingdom. Why do I give that comparative figure? I give it to show that if we go on in the next fifteen years abstracting another half a million of acres from the agricultural domain, and we go on rearing in green fields slums, in many respects, considering their situation, more squalid than those which are found in Liverpool, London, and Glasgow, posterity will blame us for not taking this matter in hand in a scientific spirit. Every two and a half years there is a county of London converted into urban life from rural conditions and agricultural land. It represents an enormous amount of building land which we have no right to allow to go unregulated. Some hon. Members may say: But is it right that we should undertake this work? Let us see what other countries have done. No one can go to Paris, or Vienna, or Dusseldorf—to Paris especially, or even to smaller towns and cities, and see the way in which there has been a coherent plan and prescience in town expansion, without being struck with the necessity of our being able to do a similar thing here. Everyone admires Paris, but what has happened to Paris in 150 years? Voltaire wrote 150 years ago—[AN HON. MEMBER: The Revolution.] The Revolution had nothing to do with building houses, though it pulled some down. Voltaire, writing 150 years ago, said—

> "The centre of Paris is obscure, confined, and hideous. It represents a period of the most

shameful barbarism. There are only two fountains in good taste."

Why does Paris present so different a picture to-day? It is because, slowly but surely, town planning schemes have evolved themselves, and regulation has taken the place of the squalor, chaos, and hideousness Voltaire described Paris to be 150 years ago. The hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London may say that this can only be done with great injustice to vested interests. That is not the case. Let him take heart of grace. Let hon. Members who motor go along the Buckingham Palace Road.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) was understood to intimate that he did not motor.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: The hon. Baronet is archaic even in matters of traction. Hon. Members who motor or ride from this House towards Chelsea along the Buckingham Palace Road will see what I believe will prove to be, when complete, the handsomest railway station in London, the new Victoria Station. Along the western side of Victoria Station is a red brick and Portland stone wall which is beautifully panelled, and is a credit to the railway company and a delight to the passer-by. How was that done? There was no vandalism, no exhibition of that predatory instinct which is supposed to exist. No. There was a brief conference between the County Council, the local authority, and the railway directors, and the result is that instead of there being a plain, ugly gas factory wall, a nuisance to everybody, and an eyesore to all, there is this beautifully finished panelled wall. There are hundreds of places round London where you will have the local authority, property owners, vested interests, and railway companies co-operating in such a way as will allow the local authority to purchase, sell, or exchange land for the benefit and convenience of the whole community, and nobody will be damnified. With regard to town-planning no one knows better than the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London that the County Council could not have made the enormous transformation that has been made in London during the last fifteen or twenty years without the powers given them by the London Building Act. That Act ought to be extended universally throughout the United Kingdom to every local authority, and this Bill is the first step in that direction.

Now coming from generalities to particulars we have to defend this Bill by saying that a complaint has been made for years past as to want of houses in rural districts. The existing Housing Acts enable local authorities to provide houses for the working classes, either in the shape of lodging houses or separate dwellings with half an acre of land attached to them, but Part III. of the existing legislation is adoptive only, and can only be adopted in rural districts with the consent of the county council. The Act has only been adopted in nine or ten rural districts. That is something the country ought to be ashamed of, and I am ashamed of it to this extent, and we seek to rectify it by the superior powers we give in this Bill. We were asked to do this by the Housing Committee, who made a number of recommendations, three-fourths of which are embodied in this Bill. Several of their recommendations, however, deal with sanitary matters, and were germane to public health rather than housing, and those we hope to carry out in another way. I was asked to do by this Bill that which I cannot do, to supersede all the existing rural district councils as sanitary authorities and to hand over their powers to a larger and superior body, with a wider area. This Bill will not supersede rural district councils. We think it is better to give them free powers, to remove the obstacles in their way, to increase facilities, to make the financial terms better, and, in case of default, to provide for enforcement by the county council or the Local Government Board. But this Bill, is by no means limited to the rural districts. In the interests of better housing we feel we ought when giving better conditions to the rural districts to take the urban councils by the hand and give them also increased facilities. We propose to make Part III. of the Housing Act universally applicable without adoption, so that it will be in force in all urban areas and in rural areas it will be possible to build new cottages and houses without having to go to the county council for consent. We also think they should have power to acquire land compulsorily for the purpose of housing, not by provisional order or Act of Parliament, but on terms similar to those sanctioned in the Small Holdings Act of 1907. We think an order framed by the local authority, and confirmed by the Local Government Board, ought not to be required to run the risk of a provisional order Bill. If, however, the order was objected to, a local inquiry under the Local Government Board would be held. We also propose that there should be a single arbitrator to settle disputes, and there should be no additional allowance as compensation for compulsory purchase. We think that in the matter of finance we go further even than the Select Committee on several points. We propose that the Public Works Loans Commissioners shall be empowered to lend money for housing purposes for eighty years at a limited rate of interest, which is not to vary with the duration of the loan. We may express the advantage of that in this way. I am now going to take an actual case under the existing conditions, and show what will happen if the Bill passes. A rural authority ask for and receive sanction to spend £1,500 on land for the erection of ten cottages to be let at 2s. 6d. a week, or £6 10s. a year. Assuming that the money is obtained from the Public Works Loans Commissioners who can now lend up to fifty years only at 4¼ per cent., the result is that on this land there would be a deficiency of £16 16s., or a rate of nearly a 1d. in the £. That is under present conditions. Under the new conditions of the Bill, with the increased loan period and reckoning interest at 3¼ per cent., the deficiency will be only 11s. 3d. per annum. In other words, the scheme becomes practically self-supporting. Or to put it in another way, the difference between the old and new conditions is represented, in round figures, by the rent of three cottages out of ten. We think that that is such an improvement that we ask the House to sanction it. The next point is that the Bill empowers the Attorney-General to intervene with regard to housing charities and trusts. I do not want to give instances, but it frequently happens that when benevolent donors have left money for this purpose, three, four, or five years often elapse before anything is done. Without in any way interfering with the object of the trust we think that public opinion through a Government Department should be able to set the Attorney-General in motion in order to put an end to these dilatory proceedings which sometimes frustrated or delayed the intentions of the donor. We also seek power to compel every county council to appoint a medical officer of health and further, we ask that default powers shall be given to the Local Government Board over the rural authority and the county council, and that there shall be a limit of time for carrying out any work prescribed. If the work is not carried out, the Local Government Board will in some cases direct the county council to carry it out, and if they do not do so, will by means of a mandamus force them to take action. We think, where there is default in carrying out improvement schemes under Part I., or where the local authority fail to carry out a reconstruction scheme under Part II., the Local Government Board may make an order requiring the local authority to remedy the default. All these orders we make enforceable by mandamus. Another useful reform has reference to the keeping of houses reasonably fit for human habitation. There is under the Act of 1890 an implied condition when a landlord lets a tenement that it is reasonably fit for habitation at the beginning of the contract, but there is no power to make him keep it reasonably fit during the whole period of occupation, and I think that ought to be done. There is under the existing law no guarantee and no power to require the tenement to be kept "reasonably fit" during the whole period, and that is what ought to be done. As regards closing and demolition orders which under the Bill will be made by the local authority we are enabled to dispense with appeals to Quarter Sessions. The owner will have instead an appeal to the Local Government Board. But not only do we extend this implied condition but we make it applicable to a wider class of tenements. In the section which we amend, "letting for habitation by persons of the working classes" means let at a rent not exceeding in London £20 a year, in Liverpool £13, in Manchester and Birmingham £10, and elsewhere £8 a year. We propose in the Bill to double this. Thus we lift the rateable value in London from £20 to £40, and similarly elsewhere we just double it. The effect of that is that we bring in a class of houses in big towns and cities which have been converted into tenement houses, which were not contemplated as having to be occupied in that way when the other Housing Bills were passed. We think that this proposal as to keeping houses "reasonably fit" during occupation will not only do a great deal of good to the health of the tenant, but we believe that it will help the landlord in many respects. There is one thing it will do—and Members of the House of Commons can see an example of it within half a mile from this House—it will prevent our seeing, after the next four or five years, what we are now seeing, if this Bill becomes law. Very frequently you will find an owner with three or four houses in one street unoccupied, for three or four years. They are untidy, and, in many cases, unfit for occupation; the tenants have probably moved out, or have been turned out. The effect of this is that not only do these empty houses present an unsightly appearance, but the fact of their being left in a dilapidated condition for many years prejudices the owners of adjoining property. I was speaking the other night to a retired inspector of police and he quoted the instance of a celebrated street. "What dire events from trivial causes spring." You will pardon me for not naming the street, because I believe that when you apply to any part of London an objectionable term, or call it a mean street, the tendency is for that to be stereotyped in the public mind, and the district or street is still further prejudiced. This particular street, if I were to mention it, would be known to many, and the inspector told me that the reason of its being converted from a street where there was, a number of very decent people living, was that for nearly ten years six houses were allowed to become untidy and in disrepair; they were not occupied for nearly ten years, and adjoining property was affected, with the result that for something like fifteen or twenty years the street was allowed to fall into a bad condition, because of the bad example of the six houses. I do not think that should be allowed to go on. We seek in our Bill to prevent that condition of things.

I come from the housing portion to my last point, namely, the method under which town planning will be adopted and administered. The town planning portion of the Bill will enable the local authority to make a scheme as regards any land likely to be used for building purposes. We place no limit on the amount of land to be so included in the scheme. We depend upon the local authority itself. The scheme would schedule the land, and regard would be paid to the sanitary conditions and amenities, to convenience in the laying out of spaces, parks, and recreation grounds, and to the water supply for houses. The Bill would enable the Local Government Board to authorise borough, urban, and rural councils to prepare town planning schemes in or about the neighbourhood of their areas, and if the Local Government Board are satisfied, the local authority itself, or in conjunction with other local authorities, may make a scheme, and if that scheme is not made, the Local Government Board, failing local action, can call upon the local authority to prepare a scheme. When the local authority has determined to apply for a town planning scheme, they will serve notice on the local landowners and other people affected. An inquiry will be held at which the owners and the local authority, the ratepayers, the artist, the architect, and the engineer, will have power to make representations. I believe, as I said before, that in nine-tenths of the cases by agreement these town planning schemes can be brought about. An exchange of land could be arranged; intervening or recalcitrant owners, who with their four or five acres prevent the development of 500 or 1,000 acres, would have notice served upon them for the compulsory purchase of their land or property on fair and reasonable terms. The request for such a town planning scheme when the inquiry has been held, would mean the publication of a notice of the scheme; it means the preparation of plans and estimates, the hearing of objections, and representations by landowners, ratepayers, neighbours, and others. The scheme would enable donors in the neighbourhood to add to the town plan scheme by gifts, or local authorities themselves could help in many ways the details of which I need not go into. The main object of the Bill as regards town planning is, as I have already described, to secure agreement, by conference, by co-ordinating the varying and conflicting interests, and, in the case of an objectionable owner, to buy him out or exchange his land for some other piece or to make arrangements which will be suitable to everybody.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): May I ask a question on one point? Does the town planning scheme provide that the local authority must buy up the whole of the land?

*MR. JOHN BURNS: No, not necessarily—not for the carrying out of this part of the Bill. In the housing portion of the Bill I have not been persuaded yet, and frankly, if one looks to recent experience, I am not inclined to be persuaded, to adopt the suggestion made by several people that we should have Housing and Town Planning Commissioners to carry out this work. My view is that it would be rather dangerous for Parliament to transfer any of its duties to *ad hoc* Commissioners of any kind. In my judgment Commissioners are not so susceptible to Questions in Parliament as would be Inspectors under the Local Government Board. Experience under the Crofters Act and of the Irish Land Commissioners convinces me of that. I would rather have housing and town planning schemes enforced and carried out by Inspectors of the Local Government Board, or of any other Department, than by Commissioners. But in lieu of Commissioners we intend to have the equivalent number of Inspectors, and, as "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and as, in our judgment, the Inspectors will do the work better than Commissioners, it seems to me that the House of Commons may reasonably accept the substitution of Inspectors for Commissioners. I would also like to intimate to the House that I propose to reorganise the Housing and the Public Health Departments of the Local Government Board. There has been an activity in this direction already with which I am afraid hon. Members are not crediting the Department. When I tell the House of Commons, as I now do, that, within the last two years, without any fuss, with no lime-light or obtrusive advertising, 100 housing schemes have been sanctioned by the Local Government Board it seems to me that that fact in itself is an ample defence of what we have been modestly and energetically trying to do. Therefore, we propose Inspectors instead of Commissioners. We intend to readjust and reorganise the Housing and Public Health Departments of the Local Government Board. We intend, moreover, when this Bill is through, to introduce a measure for the consolidation of all the Housing of the Working Classes Acts that have been passed. We would do that this session if it were possible. I intend to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and I have reason to believe he will assent—to enable the Local Government Board to publish a monthly Local Government Board journal that shall deal, amongst other of the many subjects which fall within our province, with housing, infant mortality, public health, sanitary and kindred questions, just as we have the *Labour Gazette* for the Board of Trade, and the *Agricultural Gazette* which deals with the agricultural interest. Beyond that, if this Bill gets through, and the Housing Acts are codified, if we have Inspectors appointed, and if we have our journal as guide, philosopher and friend, for housing experts and local authorities throughout the country, we believe that the Bill, with the administrative and other reforms I have indicated, will be a substantial contribution to the housing problem. I will give the House, if I may, a brief summary of what this Bill does: As regards housing we put Part III. of the Act of 1890 in force wherever it has not already been adopted. We provide for cheaper money and enable the Public Works Loan Commissioners to lend for periods up to eighty years. The powers of acquiring land are assimilated to those sanctioned by Parliament in the Small Holdings Act of last session. The Local Government Board are empowered on complaint by certain authorities or by four inhabitant householders to enforce the provisions of Part III. in case of default by the local authority. The procedure under the Act of 1890 with respect to closing and demolition orders is simplified so that, subject to an appeal to the Local Government Board, an order may be issued by the local authority without the necessity of going to justices. And then there is the important provisions to which I have already alluded with respect to the implied conditions that a tenement shall be maintained in such a state as to be reasonably fit for human habitation. And in order to strengthen the powers of supervision by county councils in sanitary matters we provide for the appointment of a medical officer of health in every county. As regards town planning the Bill provides for the making of schemes by a local authority and the approval of such schemes by the Local Government Board; for the compulsory purchase of land where necessary; and enables the Local Government Board themselves to initiate town planning schemes in default of the local authority.

In conclusion, may I say that the criticism which has been directed to this Bill has been mainly on points of detail that can be dealt with in Committee. This Bill is neither the Alpha nor the Omega of housing reform. It is capable of amendment and of some improvement, and, where I am asked to take passengers on board, subject to reasonable quarantine and practical examination and supervision, I am not indisposed to accept either reasonable Amendments or practical suggestions. I may say that this Bill in all its main features goes far beyond the Bill introduced by the hon. Member for Newbury, except in one particular. In its main features it goes beyond the recommendations of the Select Committee that considered the Bill of 1906. To this is to be added the administrative changes I have indicated and a number of other points which were not mentioned in the Committee's Report or in the Bill to which I have referred. With the codification of the Housing Acts and with the suggestions of improved administration I sincerely trust the House to-day will give me the Second Reading of the Housing and Town Planning Bill. I sincerely appeal to the House of Commons. This is not a party matter. It is one in which partisanship of any kind ought not to find any place, as we are all of us interested in the development of our towns and cities; above all, in the improvement of the housing accommodation of our poorer classes, on whose behalf mainly this Bill has been framed and is now projected. I ask the House with cheery confidence to give me the Second Reading of our Bill to-night, and let us get into Committee as soon as we possibly can, so that by the joint co-operation of all we can end this session by the Government's being allowed to keep its pledge, which on their behalf I made last year, in adding to the Statute-book a contribution of which in the years to come it will be truly said that, "We builded better than we knew, the conscious stone to beauty grew."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

**Mr. WALTER LONG** (Dublin, S.): I can assure the right hon. Gentleman and the House that it is due to no want of appreciation on my part of the racy eloquence to which we have so often listened with pleasure if I suggest to him that the greater part of his speech, which was devoted to an historical survey of this question and was in his best oratorical style, might, I think with great advantage, have accompanied the Bill in the form of a memorandum if the Government intend to insist upon that economy of time which they desire to enforce in discussing this question. There is an Amendment on the Paper by two or three hon. Gentlemen opposite which opens up a question altogether apart from that dealt with in this Bill to which in his speech no reference has been made by the President of the Local Government Board. And yet, although it has taken him upwards of one and three-quarter hours to tell us what the history of this Bill is and what the Bill itself is, we are asked under modern conditions to discuss the Bill itself, and, I presume, to discuss the Amendment which opens up a much narrower issue, in a period of time which is all too short for our purpose. Therefore, while I make no suggestion that on our part there will be offered to this Bill any opposition of a controversial or partisan character, or any opposition other than of a practical kind, limited to making the Bill do what the President of the Local Government Board desires that it should do, I humbly suggest, that, appreciative as we are of the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman, it would have been better in the interests of the shortness of debate and of the House if he had given us the historical part in the form of a Memorandum and confined his remarks to telling us what the Bill is going to do. The right hon. Gentleman began by stating what are the aspirations of the Government. He spent much more time in telling us what are their aspirations than in telling us how those aspirations are to be realised, and I would remind him that this House has often been witness to the old tag that a certain place is paved with good intentions. It is very much more important for us to be shown how this Bill is going to carry out the objects which not alone the Government, but every Member of this House has at heart, as innumerable debates have testified, than in expatiating upon those difficulties of which we all know something, and the existence of which I believe is disputed by nobody who has taken the smallest trouble to study this question. The right hon. Gentleman told us that in proportion the condition of the housing in country districts is even worse than it is in the urban district that the overcrowding, the insanitary conditions, the closeness of habitations one to another, and the general conditions under which people are called upon to live are in some cases worse in the rural districts than in the urban districts. I believe there is, with certain limitations, a great deal of truth in that description of the President of the Local Government Board, but although I have given my best attention to this Bill and have endeavoured to study it closely, and have approached it in a perfectly friendly manner, I doubt if there is in the Bill one clause or one new power which will deal with this practical difficulty in the rural districts, and I will briefly say why, before I come to examine more closely two or three of its details. What is the condition in the rural districts? It is totally different from that in the urban districts. In the urban districts your habitations grow up as a matter of course in answer to the demand and proceed *pari passu* with the growth of local industries. In the rural districts in almost every case the provision of habitations for the working classes is very much the work of the local owners of property and local occupiers, with a few limited exceptions. Why is it that the description of the President of the Local Government Board is an accurate one? It is because every man knows, notwithstanding the experiments that have been made in cheap cottage building, that, try how hard you may—and there are many of us who can testify from our own personal experience that we have striven hard to put up decent cottages at moderate rents—you cannot build decent cottages and secure a rent which a man can pay and which will give you a proper return upon your outlay. What is the proposal here that is going to deal with this rural case? The hon. Member for Chippenham and his colleagues have given us an enormous amount of very valuable information and, to my personal knowledge, have devoted an immense amount of unselfish labour and industry to the elucidation of this problem. Their Report tells us that, under the existing law, district councils cannot put the Act into force without reference to the county councils. Why is this the case? It is, the county councils tell you, because of the difficulty of the cost. There are two questions which are really not touched in this Bill. I say this in no hostile spirit to the Government and their proposals, and I hope that, without in any way injuring the structure of the Bill, in its progress through Committee we may be able to alter it so as to make it really effective. If you are going to make it effective, there are two things which the House must do. One is to face the unpopularity and difficulty of widening the area. Secondly, they must put their superior power—something more than their superior power

—their trust, in the main local authority, the county council. At the conclusion of the President of the Local Government Board's remarks, he took credit to himself for the fact that he is not going to work through commissioners. He is going to work through inspectors. Last night the Chief Secretary said that for once he felt a happy man. For once I feel almost a proud and respectable man. The President of the Local Government Board has confirmed by his own action the Amendments that I moved when we were discussing the Bill of the First Commissioner of Works in regard to the land, and what better proof could I have of the value of my suggestions than the fact that the President of the Local Government Board has adopted them now? I congratulate him. I am not going to dwell upon legislation by compartments because I do not want to make a controversial speech. I want to address myself to business. Whatever may be your method of action—I think it far better to have inspectors if you are going to centralise, than independent commissioners—however eloquent you may be here about the duty of local authorities to do this, that, and the other, however much we may dwell in pathetic accents upon the sufferings of the poor and the necessity of better accommodation, all our oratory and all our work is thrown away unless we approach the real practical part of the difficulty and help these people to help themselves. The Government are making certain efforts in that direction, but they are not going far enough. They propose to leave it still with the district council. In nine villages out of ten it will be found that the local landowners who occupy anything over 1,000 acres of land do their best to provide the necessary cottage accommodation proportionately to their property, and they do that at a loss except insofar—and I admit this is a large outweighing of the financial loss—as they provide for the necessary labour on their estate, in a way which is decent to the people and creditable to themselves. But when you have got beyond that what do you find? You find cottages owned by non-resident people, many of them poor people. There are cases where not only are cottages insanitary and unsafe of habitation, but you cannot find their owners. You are absolutely powerless to deal with them, and if you do deal with them who is to pay the cost? The very men in that narrow, limited, and poor area, who have done their duty and have provided the cottages that they themselves ought to provide and for which they are responsible. So long as you limit your area in this way, so long as you make the cost of this work fall upon a small and very often a poor area, I believe you can provide no machinery that will really enable you to deal with that difficulty. I know this is unpopular. I know it is very difficult. I know that you will arouse numerous interests against you. I have had my own experience. At the same time, if you are really going to tackle this question of the provision of decent cottages in country districts you must make your powers stronger than they are at present. I cannot find in this Bill that there is any power under which you can get hold of the owner of cottage property such as I have described, the man who shirks all the duties appertaining to his position, who not only does not repair his cottages, but is an absentee, who is very difficult to find, and who leaves them unoccupied in such a condition that if children play about them or if tramps take refuge in them the walls may fall upon them. I want to make one protest in no carping spirit, but I think it is a protest that ought to be made. We are few in numbers and we have to interest ourselves in a great variety of subjects if we are to secure their proper, or hon. Gentlemen opposite may sometimes think, their improper debate, and it is very difficult adequately to consider all these Bills. It has been my business for many years now to have to read Bills, to try and master them, and I can safely say that never yet have I had to read a Bill which has given me such infinite labour, which has left me with so appalling a headache, and even after the labour and with the headache such a minimum of practical information as to what the Bill proposes to do. I will only read, to prove my case, a part of one clause. The right hon. Gentleman will agree that Clauses 1 and 2 of Part I are really the operative and creative clauses of the Bill. The first sub-section of Clause 2 provides that—

> "(1) A local authority may be authorised to purchase land compulsorily for the purposes of Part III. of the principal Act, by means of an order submitted to the Local Government Board and confirmed by the Board, and Subsections (1), (3), and (5) of Section 26, Subsection (3) of Section 43, and Part I. of the First Schedule of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, shall apply for the purpose, with the substitution of the local authority under the Act for the Council, and of the Local Government Board for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries."

What all that means to the man in the street, to the poor clerks of district councils, or to the members of district councils, heaven only knows. On these occasions it is customary to fall foul of the draughtsman. It must not be forgotten that the draughtsman does his best with the instructions he receives from the Ministers, but I think for confusion this is about the worst case that has ever come before Parliament during my experience. I protest against the Government's hurling at our heads this enormous mass of undigested material which they ask unfortunate private Members to digest; and when we find ourselves in a difficulty we shall be told: "You have not read the Bill." Now I have read the Bill, and I have read some of its clauses several times, and I am not quite sure that I know what they mean. Subject to limitations, I agree that the criticisms I have made are not destructive of the Second Reading of the Bill, and can be remedied in Committee. The measure is one which deserves and requires general consideration, but it is not a Bill which ought to be allowed to go to a Committee after a few hours' debate. The two objections which I have already raised are confirmed by the Report of the Committee over which the hon. Baronet opposite presided. On Page 37 of that Report it is pointed out that the transfer in this particular case ought to be from the rural district council to the county council. I will not repeat my arguments on this point. I have already told the House that unless you make your transfer complete the procedure adopted by the Bill is mistaken, and I hope the Government will see their way to make the change I have suggested. What after all are these district councils? I should be the last man in the world to throw stones at them. I have been brought into close contact with their work, both officially and privately, and I know that during the last thirty years there has been an enormous improvement in the work done by these small local bodies, and there has also been a marked improvement in the qualification, *status*, and character of their officials, although there is much room for improvement yet. The improvement which has taken place is due to education and general knowledge on the subject of local government. I know of a small place of 10,000 inhabitants, within twenty miles of Charing Cross, where one of the officials constantly made reports to the local authority condemning the housing accommodation in that area. Those reports were received with considerable disfavour, but this official continued making the reports until he found it was being made too hot for him, and at last he gave in. His conduct met with so much approval that subsequently his salary was raised. This kind of thing is continually going on around us, and it is essential to widen your area, get rid of these small local interests, and place the controlling power in the hands of the larger body. In that way you can deal not only with sanitation but with the difficulties in regard to housing. Then there is Clause 11 about which the President of the Local Government Board especially prides himself as being the one which is going to be the most effective. I think this clause will be completely altered in its passage through Committee. What does it do? Practically it lays down that the Local Government Board through their inspectors are to be the controlling authority. How? They have power to transfer their duties to the county council. If they do not do their duty then it is the duty of the Local Government Board to compel the county council to compel the local authority to do its duty. Since the story of "The House that Jack Built" there has never been such an astounding method of getting work done by local authorities. I do not share the view that county councils have failed to act or that they have prevented local authorities from acting. It is impossible for any county council to force a small local authority to act when it is able to show that the expense would ruin it. You must give the county councils freedom to act and place upon them the responsibility for the expenditure. You want to find out what is necessary for local needs and separate it from general requirements. You want to separate the direct and the indirect benefits arising from this expenditure, to separate the purely local and the national, and make your contribution out of the Imperial Exchequer, making the local authority pay a certain proportion of the expense, and throwing the remainder of the expenditure over the whole county. Clause 11 is cumbersome and roundabout, and I think it will be firmly resisted by local authorities. I know there is a power of mandamus taken, but what is our history in regard to that? How many of these cases have been successful in the past? How often has this power been put into force? Local authorities will not submit to it. Are you going to send a whole county council to prison because they refuse to build cottages or set out allotments? What is the alternative? It is for the Local Government Board to do the work themselves. Are you going to obtain contracts for local works of this kind yourselves. You cannot drive local authorities in this way. You can give them powers and machinery, but you cannot drive them, and the only result of attempting to drive them will be that you will have both local authorities against you. As for the power given to the county council to appoint a medical officer of health, that official, instead of asking for information from clerks and surveyors, should have the power to step in and make his reports himself, and you can only do that by taking a wider area and facing the difficulties which will occur. The proposal to substitute the system of the First Commissioner of Works for the Provisional Order system will have to be carefully considered in Committee. It is a very great change to take land in this way. It is a very different thing to take land under the two parts of this Bill for housing or town planning, and to take them compulsorily for the much more limited purpose of the Small Holdings Act. It certainly means a very great change in the methods which Parliament has hitherto sanctioned for the taking of land compulsorily, and it will require in Committee much more consideration than it is possible to give it now. I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman has introduced the principle of betterment. When you come to give practical effect to it by translating it into the language of a statute you find how difficult it is to carry out. I am sorry it has been introduced here, because I think it will lead to considerable discussion, and I am not at all sure that it is required for any purpose to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred in his speech. The town planning part of the Bill contains quite a new proposal. It is a very interesting one, and one which undoubtedly deserves the attention of the House. The proposal adds very considerably to the interest and importance of the Bill. All I have to say about it at present is that I think some of the criticism which I have ventured to address to the House with respect to other parts of the Bill applies also to this. The leading powers under the town planning part will require careful consideration, in regard not so much to the actual powers conferred as to the language and phraseology in which they are conferred. The language is in some cases, I think, doubtful and too vague, and in Committee we shall be able to consider it. I am quite sure that the desire of the right hon. Gentleman is to do what is fair and just to all concerned in the town planning part, and if I say no more about it myself, it is for this reason. My right hon. friend the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, has taken a deep interest in this question; he has great personal knowledge upon it, far more than I have, and he will later on take the opportunity to say something on this particular subject. I do not, therefore, wish to take up the time of the House by saying anything more, for I am convinced that he will deal with the subject better than I could do. I have only sought to point out the practical difficulties and the questions which require and must receive the attention of Parliament before we part with this Bill. I rather regret that there is so much centralisation, and the turning of responsibility from the local to the central authority. I heartily hope that in the progress of the Bill through Committee the combined efforts of all parties will succeed in solving a problem which, at all events for some time, has puzzled us, and in the solution of which much will be found which will lead to the comfort and happiness of our people.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said he had for many years taken a particular interest in the question of housing. The Bill which the hon. Member for the Newbury Division of Berkshire had the good fortune to get through a Second Reading of the House of Commons was one which was introduced by himself in the last Parliament, and, therefore, it would be improper if he did not utter a few words with reference to the proposals which the right hon. Gentleman had laid before the House. He associated himself strongly with the words which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite in condemnation of the course pursued in the management of the Bill. In the twenty years he had been in Parliament he had never known a Bill of this magnitude, which really had in it in regard to town planning original matter, introduced in the peculiar manner in which this measure had been brought before the House. What were the facts? The right hon. Gentleman gave them no opportunity on the First Reading of listening to a statement in regard to the Bill; he, as it were, threw it at the House, and the first word of explanation which they had heard was to-day on the Second Reading. It was worthy of better treatment than that. The offence had been aggravated by the suspension of the eleven o'clock rule that day. Surely on such a question they might have been allowed two days' discussion, but the Bill was to be forced through the Second Reading at a single sitting of the Chamber. He thought that was not the way in which public business ought to be conducted. What did the Bill propose to do? Like all the Housing Acts on the Statute-book it had two objects. First of all they sought to make the existing houses better and more fit for human habitation, or, if houses could not be made fit for human habitation, to abolish them, and have them replaced by others. In the second place they sought by some means or other to enable new houses to be put up where there was need for them. These were two very laudable objects, and they were the objects aimed at by every Bill introduced since 1889, and yet not one of those Bills had practically succeeded in the rural districts or had any great success in the towns. Why had that been the case? It was because none of them had approached the matter on the right lines. This Bill had run into the old rut, and it would be very difficult for the right hon. Gentleman or anyone to get it out of that rut. He was sorry to say that it had not been a productive rut in the past, and he would have been glad to see a more original Bill brought forward by the present President of the Local Government Board. Past measures had not succeeded because local authorities had failed very often to do their duty. The question of the expense had always been held up as a reason for not taking action. The influence of the holders of property was against the movement, and the consequence was that the people were left very much as they were—living under unhealthy conditions—because movement on the part of the local authorities would not be popular among the class from whom they were elected. The expense to the rates was always dangled before the ratepayers. He did not see that in this measure they would have much improvement, because, in the first place, no local authority could act unless its officers reported the defects. In a town of say 20,000 inhabitants or a large rural district of 10,000 or 15,000 inhabitants the local authority depended for all their information upon the sanitary inspector and the medical officer of health. These two officers held their posts by yearly tenure, and the consequence was that, if they were active in exposing the bad condition of local habitations, when they came up for election next year they were dropped, and they were succeeded as a rule by less active and enthusiastic officers who overlooked these things, and the people went on being housed under conditions which were good for neither health nor morality. He did not think that the grant of the powers in Part III. of the Bill would enable them to get over that preliminary difficulty. The right hon. Gentleman proposed that if the local authorities did not act a mandamus should be applied for. The process of proceeding by mandamus had been tried again and again in connection with various matters where local authorities were concerned, and experience showed that it was ineffective. He feared that this measure did not contain sufficient driving force to improve the conditions. These points were before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Housing, and they suggested in their admirable Report that the county council which covered a larger area than the urban or rural council, should have power to carry out the improvements which the lesser authorities had failed to effect. That recommendation was made because the Committee knew that the county council would not only have more money, but would have officers on whom they could rely to do their duty. The county council sanitary officers were whole-time officers, who had security of tenure and were not afraid to do their duty in the way of pointing out bad property in any particular area. He, therefore, regretted very much that the President of the Local Government Board had not introduced into this Bill the first recommendation of the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman might have got over the difficulty in a way which would have avoided any odium falling on the Local Government Board for interfering with the duties of the local authorities, if he had put a simple clause in the Bill providing that no sanitary officer, or medical officer of health, could be dismissed except with the approval of the Local Government Board. Then these officers would be able to urge the local authorities to do their duty, because they would be more secure in their positions. He was sorry that the members of his own profession had been put in an invidious position in connection with this matter by the conditions of their appointment in many places. They had never failed yet to do their duty in exposing the lamentable conditions under which so many people lived in the large towns and also in the country. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to accept an Amendment in the direction of giving to local medical officers that security of tenure which would enable them to act without fear in condemning insanitary property. The right hon. Gentleman had certainly simplified the procedure in regard to the acquisition of land for the erection of cottages. He did not know that the method of procedure adopted under the Small Holdings Act would after all make the purchase of land very much cheaper. He hoped it would, but he was very doubtful about it. If land could be got more cheaply so much the better for the good housing. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman for putting in the Bill the provision with respect to loans which he himself put in the original Bill. That would not do very much unless the Government went a step further and reduced the rate of interest. He thought it ought to be lowered to 2½ per cent., so that public money might be spent for the public benefit. The right hon. Gentleman had quoted a case with which he was familiar, namely, Linton, Cambridgeshire. In that parish there were two great landlords holding between them 3,300 acres. Each of them ought, in accordance with the usual requirements considered necessary in that part of the country, to have had more cottages on their properties than they had. The case was investigated and it was found that ten cottages were not only unfit for human habitation, but that it was not worth anybody's while to repair them. Seven of the cottages were seriously overcrowded. One cottage with two bedrooms, both on the ground floor, contained eleven persons. In two cottages there were four males and five females, all sleeping in one bedroom, only divided by a canvas partition. That was not an unusual condition of affairs in many rural districts. When he was President of the Land Law Reform Association they had a census taken of all the rural districts of the country, and they found all over England such conditions prevalent, which ought not on considerations of public health and general well-being to be allowed to exist under the law. All these things not only degraded the people, but when allowed to go on cost a great deal to remedy. What happened in this particular case of Linton? The local council determined to try and remedy this scandalous state of things and the medical officer of health insisted that at least ten new cottages should be erected. The estimated cost of the cottages was £300 a pair, and with the land, £1,675. But a penny rate in that locality only brought in £24 a year, and when the council considered the loan and looked into the matter to see how they could do as recommended by the medical officer of health they found that they would lose a sum about equal to a penny rate every year in connection with these cottages and so nothing was done. Everybody knew that in these poor rural districts such a proposal would be a most unpopular thing. Sometimes members of councils failed to be returned over an increase of a penny or even a halfpenny in the rates. Over and over again useful reforms of the conditions under which the people lived in the rural districts were prevented by the outcry against the increase of the rates. The ratepayers said that they did not care to be rated to provide houses for other people. On the other hand the rates of wages were so low that the people had not money to pay adequate rents for their cottages. He thought it ought to be the duty of the landowners to provide a cottage for every fifty or sixty acres of land on their estates. He knew that it was hopeless to ask for that, because the landowners could not do it under present economic conditions. Therefore, somebody else must step in. Of course, the President of the Local Government Board would say that if public money were to be given for this purpose it would be a dole to the landowners; but after all it would be a blessing to the nation, if it brought about an increased amount of health and vigour to the rural population. For the last thirty years they had been advocating the question of allotments. He had watched the rural exodus which had been going on for many years past, and one of the great causes of it, he was assured, was the want of houses for the rural population. Bad houses did not prevent people staying in the towns, but they did prevent people staying in the country. Young men when they wanted to marry could not get houses to live in. A friend had made the suggestion more than once in public that if the land tax which at present went into the Imperial Exchequer were applied to this purpose, nearly every rural parish in England would have money enough to put up decent cottages for the rural labourers. He thought that that would be rather a revolutionary procedure, and he was sure that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer would not look upon it with much sympathy, and he was afraid that the recently appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer would not like to have the land tax ear-marked for that purpose. But if the land tax could not be so applied, why should there not be a grant from the national Exchequer for the purpose? Last year they made a grant for small holdings and why not for the erection of houses which would restore prosperity and renewed health to the rural districts? Having taken a special interest in the rural aspect of this very important question, he had thought it desirable to make these remarks on this particular branch of the subject. He fervently hoped that the President of the Local Government Board would look into the position of the county council as the controlling authority. He had no objection to the Local Government Board having greater power. It had a staff of the best Civil servants in the Kingdom; but the Department was enormously overburdened with work and every Act of Parliament put more work upon it. The right hon. Gentleman was going to have a special Department for dealing with housing, and he hoped also to institute one for public health. If the right hon. Gentleman was going to be the presiding authority in regard to housing and to see the work well done, he would need a large number of inspectors. He had better leave the work in connection with public health to the county councils, which would do it more cheaply. He asked the right hon. Gentleman, in conclusion, to give security and protection to the medical officers of health who had very difficult and sometimes disagreeable functions to discharge in the execution of their duty and on whom as experts must rest the beginning of any effective action for the better housing of the people.

*MR. JOWETT (Bradford, W.) said he had no very considerable experience with regard to housing in the rural districts, but he had had some as to the housing difficulties in large centres of population, and he wanted to draw the attention of the House to that side of the question. He thought all would admit that it was too late in the day to endeavour to prove the need for housing reform. The statistics as to overcrowding were well known and well understood. All who had investigated the interiors of houses in the towns had found conditions which were recognised generally as intolerable, and which ought not to exist, and they all hoped to see something done to remedy them. A great many Acts of Parliament had been passed with a view to altering these conditions. The Act of 1890 was a most remarkable and valuable measure registering a substantial advance on all previous legislation; yet the condition of affairs had remained practically untouched, so far as many of the large towns were concerned. His contention was that the Bill now before the House would not touch vitally the problems of housing in the large towns. It failed to recognise the difficulties with which large towns had to contend. What were those difficulties? First and foremost it meant money. That was the trouble—money. Some time ago, the Government now in office carried through the House the Labourers (Ireland) Bill. He was present when the hon. and learned Member for Waterford spoke on the Second Reading of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman approached the subject in, to his mind, a business-like fashion, and he asked himself what were the requirements of Ireland in respect to housing. He put them under three heads: first, cheap money; secondly, grants-in-aid; and thirdly, cheap transfer of land. When the Act of Parliament to which he referred was passed the House granted no less than 4¼ millions of cheap money at 3½ per cent. including interest and sinking fund, and an annual grant of £50,000 a year, £28,000 of which came from the British Treasury, the other £22,000 being the interest on some Irish funds. No less than 25,000 cottages were to be built out of that money. The Chief Secretary, he believed, estimated that 30,000 would be built. He believed it was a fact that only 20,000 houses had been built throughout England during the whole time that housing legislation had been on the Statute-book. He wished to know why England, Scotland, and Wales were to be treated differently from Ireland in this matter. The need was great. There was no town in the three kingdoms to which he had referred where there was not ample necessity for all the encouragement which the State could give in this regard. The condition of Glasgow and Edinburgh was a disgrace to civilisation, and nothing could or would be done until the Government treated the other parts of the kingdom as they had treated Ireland and assisted the local authorities and enabled them to do their work under conditions that did not expose them to serious financial difficulties. He despaired of any substantial improvement being made until the question of the provision of means by the State was boldly and fearlessly dealt with. With reference to the housing legislation that had been in operation: in what other way could it be said to be defective and to what extent could it be made more effective if this Bill was carried into law? He had always thought with respect to the main Housing Act of 1890 that the chief difficulty had not been such as had been provided for in this Bill. It was true that this Bill provided for greater expedition, and to that extent it was good. But that was not the reason for the comparative failure of the Act of 1890. That Act had been continually rendered ineffective through the compensation conditions, and if the right hon. Gentleman, in this Bill, had endeavoured to make those conditions more fair to the local authorities, he might have been able to expedite the business. It was true that in Part I. of the Act of 1890 the local authority was supposed to be able to take into consideration the state of repair in fixing the price of the property which they proposed to acquire, but in practice the deduction that ought to be made could not be made, and if this Bill set out in greater detail the deductions that could be made in acquiring such property it would be far better. Again, where the property to be acquired was bare land or buildings, there had been a continual tendency to treat the land as if it had value as a site for commercial premises. An amending law ought to make that point clear. It should provide that when property was required within an area the land to be purchased should not be treated as land having a commercial site value, but as land on which dwelling-houses now stood, the full benefit of which could not possibly accrue as a commercial speculation unless somebody—and the public authority only could do such a thing—swept the whole land clear, and thus made it of commerical value, in which case the difference between the value of the land as a site for houses and its value as a site for warehouses or other purposes ought to belong to the community. He thought Clause 2, where it provided for inspection, was a step in the right direction, but it was self-evident that it should be a house-to-house inspection; an inspection which should not leave so much to the local authorities as would be the case if this Bill passed into law in its present form. The Bill required more definite instructions to be put in before it was possible to get the value of the inspection to which he referred. The closing order and the demolition order were both good, but he would like to know why the right hon. Gentleman, when he put the clause which determined that a dwelling under a certain rent when let was supposed to be in a reasonable condition of repair—why, instead of naming the rent in the Bill, he referred to some other Act. The same fault ran all through the Bill. It was claimed that the Bill by removing the necessity on the part of local authorities to adopt Part III. of the Act of 1890 considerably improved the position with regard to housing. This, however, was merely a small change in procedure. It only saved the necessity of passing a formal Resolution. Many local authorities had adopted the Housing of the Working Classes Act, and yet built very few houses. It was not only the formal adoption of the Act that was wanted. They wanted to see more houses built, a little more money spent, and less of the make-believe formalities. So far as the town planning part of the Bill was concerned it was self-evident that if the local authorities were bound to schedule land as building land, they were going to suffer financially. The landlords when called upon to sell their property to the local authorities would prove by the decision of the local authorities that it was building land they were disposing of, and would demand a higher price accordingly. The right hon. Gentleman would surely not carry this Bill through without amending that clause so as to prevent any contingency such as that. He would also like to ask the right hon. Gentleman specially in view of his own record and previous associations why he had made no provision for purchasing the land on terms such as he was sure the right hon. Gentleman in his heart of hearts must favour. Why had he not, for instance, put into operation the same principle as had been put into operation in the Licensing Bill, namely, that the assessment, whatever it was, should be taken as a guide in fixing the purchasing price? If such a system was good enough for the Licensing Bill surely it was good enough for this Bill, and if the right hon. Gentleman would amend the Bill in that direction he would do something of a most important character to relieve the tension of the difficulty with regard to land that the local authorities felt at the present time. In conclusion he would like to say that the Bill was built upon the assumption, the unfounded assumption in his opinion, that the Local Government Board was a great reforming agency in the State. It was not. The experience that one had in endeavouring to give effect to housing legislation was this, that, after one had fought for years to convert his fellow citizens, after he had struggled to get resolutions passed through city or county councils, then he had to start and deal with the Local Government Board, and fight them, and yet it seemed to be assumed that the Ethiopian was to change its skin and the leopard its spots, and that now after all the Local Government Board was to be the instigator of housing reform in this country.

What was this Local Government Board? What was its reputation? Its reputation was well known throughout the municipal life of the country. It was one of delay and obstruction, and he objected altogether to the assumption of the Bill that the Local Government Board was to be a sort of reforming agency and a kind of pacemaker, so to speak, that was to lead on the local authorities. He thought that there was work for the Local Government Board to do.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: Hear, hear.

*MR. JOWETT: Yes; but he would like to see it do it, it had not yet done it. He was democratic enough to be somewhat jealous of the representative principle, and there were some things he would not trust even to the bureaucratic Local Government Board to-day. The Local Government Board as a central agency ought always to set a standard for local authorities, they could do that and he was sure that the right hon. Gentleman himself would want them to do it. That could be done in other ways than those indicated by this Bill. For instance, why should not the Local Government Board have definite information, not merely the information contemplated by this Bill, which, as he had said a few moments ago, was indefinite. There should be a house to house visitation made necessary and compulsory. The Local Government Board should as the central authority in the national interest, desire generally, as he was sure the right hon. Gentleman did desire, to approximate the conditions of the whole country to the best parts of the country. In pursuit of that object let the right hon. Gentleman call definitely for the number of cellar dwellings in every city, and in the area of every authority, the number of back-to-back houses, the number of persons residing in each separate house, and the number of houses let in lodgings. Let the Board also formulate some scheme for getting the respective death rates in each of the different kinds of property, and after all this information had been received let the Local Government Board, if they thought the death rates were not what they ought to be, at once send down an inspector and hold a public inquiry and bring the force of publicity to bear upon the local authority.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: That is what these new inspectors will do.

*MR. JOWETT was very glad that that would be so, but the Bill did not say so. So far as he and his friends were concerned they would go into the lobby in favour of the Second Reading of the Bill, but they would have liked to have seen it go further than it did. He did not think the Bill marked such a great advance on the whole position as the 1890 Act did. The public had a right to expect from the right hon. Gentleman something more than that he should merely copy the slow pace which had been our record in times past. The Labour Party thought that this Bill ought to go much further, and it would therefore be their duty as far as they could to make every effort to strengthen its provisions and make it better than it now was.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER (Wiltshire, Chippenham) said the Bill which his right hon. friend had explained to the House that afternoon happily dealt, as he most truly said, with a subject which might be characterised as non-party and non-controversial, though none the less for that he ventured to say it was one of supreme importance and urgency. It was generally admitted on both sides of the House that decent and adequate house accommodation with proper sanitary conditions of life went more to the root of the moral well-being and social contentment of the people, and, he might add, to the commercial efficiency of the nation, than any other branch of reform that could be introduced for discussion into the House. He thought all were equally anxious to improve the conditions of living of the working class community, and to improve them by establishing a more effective State machinery than at present prevailed. He was at the outset anxious as far as he was concerned to impress upon his right hon. friend that whatever comments he might find himself obliged to make on the Bill, he would not make them in anything like a factious spirit. He had no wish to impede or embarrass its progress now or at any subsequent stage, because there was nobody in the House more anxious than he to see a social and sanitary Bill. His sole object was to improve its provisions and to do what little he could along with friends of his to make it adaptable to the local authorities who would have to administer it. This, he gathered, from his right hon. friend's speech was what he wished himself. The problem dealt with a branch of local government which, as everyone knew, was extremely technical and complicated, and its solution or unravelling was made none the more easy from the fact that there were so many people in the country who were so closely concerned and intimately connected with its administration that it readily lent itself to a variety of divergent opinions. Then again the whole conditions varied. The towns required separate treatment from the country districts, and even the conditions and the habits of the people within the rural districts differed so considerably in various parts of England that they often wanted a different administration to suit the habits of the people. Before speaking of the provisions of the Bill he would say one word with regard to the point so emphatically alluded to by his right hon. friend opposite, and to re-echo what he had said in regard to the drafting of the Bill. He certainly could not congratulate the President of the Local Government Board on either the coherence or the lucidity of his Bill. He deprecated most strongly the continuance at this period of our civilisation of the practice of introducing measures which were Bills by reference. He thought the time had really come when a Bill by reference should be looked upon as a penal offence. They certainly had reference *in excelso* here, and he defied any ordinary rural district councillor or the clerk of a district council to make sense of some of the important clauses of the Bill. How on earth were these unfortunate people to be expected to understand the meaning of such clauses as 2 and 4, one of which his right hon. friend read out, but did not attempt to elucidate, and neither should he? These people would have to probe into the hidden recesses of half a dozen Acts of Parliament, and he did not know how many obscure clauses in those Acts of Parliament. Surely the officials of the Local Government Board might have been instructed by his right hon. friend to draw up clauses embodying the meaning of these various Acts and applying them to the Bill in an intelligible form. He still hoped that this would be done before the Bill emerged from this House. It was one of the most important of the recommendations of the Select Committee over which he had the honour to preside, that by simplification and codification the present law should be made more intelligible. This Bill dealt with two definite and distinct branches of housing. There was first of all the town planning portion which was quite separate and by itself, and there was the rural portion. There had also been somewhat incoherently interspersed at different stages of the Bill some valuable and important Amendments of the existing Housing and Sanitary Acts. With the leave of the House he would say a few words under each of these heads. The proposal of the Bill was to establish a system of town planning which would, he ventured to believe, revolutionise the whole method of city extension throughout the country, and he believed that it would lay the foundations of one of the greatest reforms in our city and town life. The existing system of allowing indiscriminate extension in compliance with antiquated bye-laws variously interpreted by different local authorities had produced in nearly every town both an uneven and an intensely unsatisfactory development utterly at variance with modern ideas of the comfort, health, and convenience of the community. This measure would, he hoped, establish the principle that every house that was built on the outskirts of a town, and every road that was constructed could only be done so on a properly considered and well-ordered plan suitable to and in accord with the whole plan of the town. Every inquiry had laid stress, especially in recent days the London Traffic Commission, on the importance of a measure in that direction. He would remind the House that it not only referred to the more modern methods of building houses, but was also closely related to the importance of adequate arteries out of the town, to allow for road transport, which was inseparable, in our modern conditions, from proper housing. He very much regretted that the Government had not already established for the Metropolis a London Traffic Board, which would have had jurisdiction over this matter. But he hoped it only meant postponement, and that they might have, in the days to come, a board that would be able to work with the officials of the Local Government Board in close harmony, with a view to the proper extension of Greater London for transport and housing purposes. The Bill proposed that the local authority might obtain the consent of the Local Government Board to make such plans. That, he thought, was unnecessarily putting the cart before the horse. He would much rather see the local authorities instructed to draw out in all cases their own schemes for town extension. Of course, they should be guided in these schemes by very definite instructions, carefully thought out and entrusted to them by the Local Government Board, as regarded both population and regulations. Every local authority should have full initiative, subject to confirmation by the Local Government Board, and every large town should be compelled to have a skeleton scheme for its own wide extension. He would like to see, what was not definitely in the Bill so far as he could observe, private owners and utility societies have similar powers—subject, of course, to similar conditions—to submit schemes to the local authorities, and wherever differences arose between the owner or utility society on the one hand, and the local authority on the other, then they might have as a Court of Appeal or reference, the Local Government Board, to settle any questions that might be in dispute. It was necessary to give those powers in the Bill, of course, and he hoped they would be given. The Local Government Board in these instances should have wide discretionary powers in regard to the regulations they might impose upon these varied bodies or parties. Take, for instance, an owner—and he hoped there might be many—or take one of the utility societies alluded to by his right hon. friend, desirous of developing one end of a town on similar lines to those that they saw being developed at Hampstead, Bournville, and other places. To do this on an economic basis, the bye-laws controlling roads and pathways and sewers must be substantially modified, so that loss in rent by the reduced number of houses per acre might be made up in the reduced capital outlay connected with roads, and by modifications due to changes in construction. Therefore, all these particular developments must be treated on their merits. It would be impossible, he thought, to introduce a cast-iron system of bye-laws to meet all cases. But the Housing Department of the Local Government Board should have no difficulty, with its full discretionary powers, in guiding those particular societies where they were dealing with property on similar lines to those which they had seen attempted in Bournville. There was one other clause of the Bill which was not quite sufficiently clear (he referred to Clause 45) but it had been elucidated by his right hon. friend, and therefore he took it it would be dealt with in Committee. It was very important that the extent of land around a town should be taken into account in planning a scheme. Clause 45 dealt with this. In town planning the scheme, if it was to be of permanent use, must take into account a very considerable area on the outskirts of the town. It was of no use looking to a few houses to be built here or there with a short road; they had to look to an indefinite future, and the town planning scheme must be laid out on that basis. He was glad to see in the Bill that the fact of a large area exceeding the limits of one local authority was met by arranging for a Joint Committee of the local authorities concerned who would have power to go into the matter together. He welcomed the provision in the Bill to give the local authority compulsory powers to purchase. Without such powers, a single individual of arbitrary character might make useless and abortive any scheme of the kind which the Bill desired to lay down. There was one other point not in the Bill, but which he would venture to ask his right hon. friend to consider favourably in Committee—a point which he was sure that many hon. friends on that side of the House considered most important, and which, he might say, was carried in a resolution by 320 representatives of local authorities who met in London to discuss the provisions of this Bill—and that was with regard to laying down a limit to the number of houses to be built per acre. He was not prepared to go to the low limit proposed by some of his hon. friends. It would be impossible to cut the number down to ten or twelve houses, although in some instances, such as those of Hampstead and elsewhere, ten or twelve houses to the acre had been built. If there was to be a limit it must be a generous limit, and if such a provision were included in the Bill it would be all the more necessary to recast and relax existing bye-laws as to reconstruction, sewerage, and pathways in order to comply with these new conditions. On examination of the death rate of those particular localities where one found forty or fifty houses packed to the acre, there was invariably a much higher death rate in those areas than in those localities where the houses were less closely packed. That was a sufficient ground on which to ask his right hon. friend to insert in the Bill some limit to the abnormal number of houses put on a single acre. He would venture to suggest the following points, which he thought were worthy of consideration when they got into Committee. First of all, that initial powers should be given to the local authorities to lay down comprehensive plans in large areas around their towns. Secondly, power should be granted to landowners and societies to submit plans of their properties to local authorities. Thirdly, that a limit of the number of houses per acre be imposed, and that new bye-laws be adopted for that limit. Fourthly, that the Local Government Board be the confirming authority in all schemes, and to act when necessary as a Court of Appeal or reference where any disputes might arise between the local authority and landowners or utility societies. He now passed to the other branch of the Bill. He was afraid he must say that that seemed to be the weakest part of the measure, although he hoped that a vigorous Committee upstairs would be able "to lick" it into some sort of shape. He confessed, however, from a close scrutiny of the measure, that the Committee would have an uncommonly difficult task, made all the more difficult by the unintelligible manner in which the Bill was drafted. How on earth they were going to draft it, in view of the peculiar phraseology of his right hon. friend, he had not been able to discover. Anybody who examined the Bill closely would see where his right hon. friend had spent most of his life. He would recommend his right hon. friend to spend his next holiday in one of the rural counties, and deny himself for once in his life the yearly pleasure of a trip to Germany. If his right hon. friend had done that last year he was quite certain he would never have confronted them with this Bill, which he was afraid he must criticise in many of its clauses as a highly Germanised bureaucratic measure, unsuited to English rural life. He thought nearly everybody on that side of the House who knew English rural life agreed with the comment which he had made. The Bill was much too centralised, as had been already observed by everyone who had spoken in the debate. The main governing body of the county had been practically ignored—the county council. He supposed his right hon. friend had done this because he had not liked to grasp the nettle firmly, by transferring the public health and housing powers from the rural district council to the county council, while at the same time he had been bound to recognise, from the reports of his own medical officers, and from a mass of evidence given before the Select Committee and other inquiries, that the rural district councils had not been successful in the administration of the Housing and Public Health Acts. He was afraid at one time that it would be of no good for him to argue in favour of transferring housing and public health from the district councils to the county councils, but he was rather encouraged to do so by the debate as far as it had gone, and especially by his right hon. friend's speech from the Front Opposition Bench, in which he so emphatically argued in favour of this transfer. The longer he considered the matter the more he became convinced of the necessity, if they were to have housing reform, of the transfer of these duties of the district councils to the county councils. He advanced this argument on the ground of efficiency and economy. Of course, if his right hon. friend told him that public opinion was not yet ripe for the whole transfer, well then it was of no use his delaying the House with a long argument in that direction. But as regarded the administration of the Housing and Public Health Acts by rural district councils the evidence was really overwhelming. If the witnesses who appeared before the Select Committee were not sufficient, he would refer the House to the reports of the medical officers of health under the Local Government Board. They described the conditions of rural England, north, south east, and west, as both deplorable and disgraceful; and they emphasised in their reports that those conditions were attributable in large measure to the negligence, and in some instances, the intentional negligence, of the rural district councils in the administration of these Acts of Parliament. If these conditions could be made public, if the outside world could know the condition of affairs in some country villages, he believed public opinion would become so strong that it would be prepared for any change, however radical in its character. The first and most important way to improve this position was to definitely put in the Bill an instruction that there should be a periodical survey and inspection of all houses under a specified rateable value, under the supervision of the county authority. Having made that survey there should be a register available to the public. It might be made every five years. Some people might be alarmed by the expense attached to this. He did not believe it would be anything so great as was anticipated. In Liverpool they had had something in the nature of a survey and kept a house-to-house register. A member of the Housing Committee of the Liverpool Corporation speaking at a conference on the subject the other day, said that to carry that out only involved an additional expenditure of £100. Even if that were below the estimate the matter was of such grave importance that it was worth asking the State to help the local authorities in carrying out the work. The register would show the state of repair of the house, the water supply, the number of occupants, and many other important items. This was not merely a belated recommendation of the Committee, but a very definite recommendation of the Royal Commission on Labour presided over by the late Duke of Devonshire, which added that it considered it was the only way to get a permanent reform in the direction of better housing of small cottage property. It was already enforced in many Continental countries—in France, Germany and Belgium.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: And here.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER: If the right hon. Gentleman says at present we have a survey of all cottage property in our country villages and a register kept as to their condition I should very much like to see it.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: There is a sanitary inspector's book in every urban or rural district. Here is a specimen all laid out and tabulated on the lines suggested by the hon. Baronet, that is, the next house, the occupier, area, children, conveniences, gulleys and so forth, and that is printed in practically every sanitary inspector's book.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER said it might be printed in every sanitary inspector's book, but they knew very well that it was not carried out in the country districts. He wanted to see it put in an Act of Parliament and carried out by responsible officers in both urban and rural districts. It would do much to prevent this state of affairs in future and would be very remedial in its immediate effects. If the ordinary every-day work of sanitation and housing was to be left with the rural district council and their staff, if the part-time medical officer and the inspector of nuisances with his varied other duties were to be left untouched as they were in the Bill, the control over these officers, if it was to be of any use for housing, must be both effective and strict. They must be close at hand, continuous, and well-informed as to local conditions. How could the

Local Government Board in London, however it might be reformed within itself, fulfil these demands? It would never have enough officials available to undertake the petty details of village life. It would require a Territorial Army in Whitehall to undertake the task, an army ready mobilised at a minute's notice to go in all directions to remote corners of our country districts, and when these gentlemen arrived there they would be totally ignorant of the local conditions. Surely the obvious authority for this kind of work was the county council. A medical officer was to be appointed for the county, he was glad to see, but he saw no duties defined which he was to carry out. If rural district councils and their staffs were to be left unreformed, the sanitary and housing powers of the county council should be defined and strengthened. Each county council should have a statutory sanitary and housing Committee which in its turn should administer the sanitary staff under the medical officer of health. His right hon. friend had left the administration of Part III of the Housing Act in the hands of the rural district council. He had not even given concurrent powers to the county council for the purchase of land and the building of houses. He believed they would rarely, if ever, get a rural district council to be able to build cottages under Part III. The area was so small and the whole conditions surrounding the district council were so primitive that they were not a proper body to be asked to undertake that difficult and technical work. The county council with its larger staff and its larger rateable area was a far better body and one far more likely to carry it out on an economic basis. He welcomed the financial aid which the Bill gave, but thought that still further help might be given, especially if the administration was ultimately to fall into the hands of the county council. It should be clearly defined how much help should be given in the way of loans to local authorities on easy terms, and he thought also a proportion of financial help might be given on easy terms to utility societies. England, in view of the gravity of the problem, should at least be granted as good terms as had already been granted to Ireland. The county councils were no longer to be the default authority under the Housing Acts under the Bill. They were to have practically all their existing powers removed from them, and these were to go direct to the Local Government Board, though, of course, there was a provision which directed that the Local Government Board might order the county council to do its dirty work if it did not feel inclined to do it itself. As regarded the Public Health Act, the existing powers of default remained in the hands of the county council. In all matters in relation to sewage, sanitation, and overcrowding, the county council was the default authority over the district councils. This was an absurd anomaly, because housing and public health were really one and the same. Anybody conversant with the way they did their work in country districts would realise what fearful confusion and ineptitude such anomalies would lead to. He had no hope, knowing the Local Government Board and the district councils, that this necessary work would undergo any great change for the better under these particular proposals. It was impossible to contemplate that the Local Government Board would send inspectors all over the country. He was sorry that the medical officer of health and the inspector of nuisances had been left untouched as they were at present. It was necessary to have effective control over them. That was one of the chief reasons that had influenced the Committee to propose the transfer of powers from the district to the county council. The part-time medical officer of health was a private practitioner in the district, and human nature being what it was, it was impossible to ask him to undertake the invidious and odious work of inspecting and condemning his neighbours' houses. The inspector of nuisances, with five or six other duties attached to him, was rather induced to regard the first and most important duty of sanitation as one of the lesser duties under his hands. Of course if they were to have efficient medical officers of health devoting their exclusive time to the work and also to have sanitary inspectors devoting their whole time to the work, the cost to the ratepayer would be immense. But if they removed these in smaller districts and had a centralised system under the county authority, the whole work would be done far more efficiently by detached, disinterested officials who could afford to be better paid whilst direct economy would be effected. His only hope of real housing and sanitary reform was to give its administration to the broad and larger authority. The whole tendency of modern times was towards concentration. His right hon. friend took a somewhat paradoxical view of this. He suffered from the same malady apparently as the Secretary for Scotland in his wholesome distrust of county councils. In that respect he took a totally different view from the Commissioner of Works who in last year's Small Holdings Bill gave the whole control to the county council. There again they had a most curious anomaly. In that measure they had the administration of the allotments taken out of the hands of district councils and placed in the hands of parish councils under the county councils. His right hon. friend placed housing in the hands of district councils. Consequently they would have one authority building and administering the house, and another authority administering the allotments. This was bound to produce great confusion in country districts. All this pointed to the advisability of the county authority having the whole of this work under its own jurisdiction. He would just like briefly to summarise some of the points which he had indicated as being susceptible of improvement. In the first place, he wished to secure as generous terms from the Treasury in regard to public loans for building as were granted to Ireland so that local authorities might have the benefit up to the full amount of the security, and public utility societies up to 75 per cent. Secondly, the county councils should be the default and controlling authorities over rural and district councils. In the third place, the county councils should have concurrent powers with the rural district councils to administer Part III of the Housing Act. He thought that each county council should appoint a statutory Housing and Sanitary Committee, and a periodical survey should be made under the direction of the county councils of all property below a specified rateable value, and a register should be kept in the county hall. And lastly, he thought there should be established by the Local Government Board a definite department consisting of officers whose sole and exclusive duty would be the general control of housing and town planning, and to act where necessary as a Court of Appeal in differences which might arise in the administration of these Acts throughout the country.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: There is a department of the Local Government Board already dealing with that subject under one of the most competent of the Assistant Secretaries of State.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER said he would like to see a sufficiently large department capable of controlling all this work. He felt sure that his right hon. friend, whom he knew had the true interests of housing at heart, would meet these proposals in a favourable and considerate spirit, when brought before the Committee. At present the Bill was weak in many provisions, but he had no doubt Amendments would be accepted which would strengthen it, and tend to make it a really useful and workable Bill. He felt sure that this measure with the above Amendments would lay the foundation of housing and sanitary reform compatible with the scientific principles of local government.

*EARL WINTERTON (Sussex, Horsham) said he could not agree that this measure would accomplish all that the President of the Local Government Board had claimed for it, and he would not be at all surprised if the right hon. Gentleman found that his cygnet turned out to be a gosling when he brought his Bill before the Committee. It was very regrettable that the Bill which contained a nucleus of almost three Bills should only have one day given to it for discussion in the House. There was an earnest determination to deal with this matter and discuss it, but the measure was very cumbersome, and if only one day was given to it and a part of the night it simply meant that a great proportion of these proposals could not be adequately discussed. Following the bad precedent of recent sessions the Committee stage would probably be taken in the small hours of the morning in July and August, and many of the most important principles would receive scarcely any attention at all. To the objects aimed at in this measure he was very far from being hostile. He took a great interest in the subject both as the chairman of a housing association and as one who owned working class property in town and in the country. He thought a somewhat dangerous part of the Bill was that dealing with the future relations between the Local Government Board and the local councils, and it was obvious that the whole of the first part of the Bill was devoted to the process of "gingering up" the local authorities. It seemed to be the impression that it was necessary to do something to make local authorities fulfil their obligations. What were the obligations of local authorities? Surely they were simply and solely to look after the interests of the persons and the voters who lived within their area. The truth was that the majority of district councils were only too anxious to carry out their obligations, but they felt that they could not make provision for building houses for the working classes without doing serious damage to the interest of those living in their district and very largely raising the rates. Hon Members opposite seemed to confuse the two kinds of obligations which a local council had. Their first obligation was towards those living in their district whose interests they had to safeguard by preventing the rates being unnecessarily raised by undertaking speculative building schemes. Was it meant that local bodies had failed to fulfil their obligations to the country as a whole? That was altogether a different matter. If they had been unable to carry out building schemes the only cure for that was to put the whole question on an entirely different basis and make an Imperial grant. In a former debate the right hon. Gentleman stated that the House would do well to consider the question of an Imperial grant or subsidy under some agreement with the local authority in regard to housing. That was the root of the whole matter, because they could not blame local authorities for not carrying out what had been called their obligations in this respect. The only way to enable them to fulfil those obligations was to make them a grant. It was a good thing to give them cheaper loans, but that was not a solution of the problem; and in spite of all that had been said upon this point the Bill did nothing to solve what was the most serious side of the problem, viz., that it was financially impossible for many local councils to do what was asked of them without imposing heavy burdens upon the ratepayers. He agreed with the hon. Member for Bradford that despite the right hon. Gentleman's great abilities, and his great personality, neither he nor any other living person could without a great deal of change make this Department efficient. The past record of the Local Government Board had led them to believe that it was unfitted to be entrusted with the wide and sweeping duties proposed under this Bill. With the main principles dealing with housing he agreed. Good landlords were anxious that the law should be strengthened, but some of the clauses of this measure were very drastic and unnecessary. For instance, Clause 13 provided compensation by landlords to persons who had had to be removed in consequence of an Order for the demolition of the property having been given. That was one of the points on which it was difficult to get an impartial discussion in the House. There were many hon. Members on the other side who thought that when a house was closed by order of the local authority compensation ought to be paid to all the persons removed from it. If past experience showed that that was necessary he did not think that hon. Members on the opposition side of the House would object to it. There were other clauses which would require careful revision in Committee. Clause 14 said—

> "Where a closing order in respect of any dwelling-house has remained operative for a period of three months, the local authority shall take into consideration the question of the demolition of the dwelling-house . . . ."

A case might arise where a dwelling house, although unfit for human habitation, might be adapted for use as a warehouse, stable, or something else. The clause as it stood was exceedingly arbitrary and harsh, and it appeared to him that every sort of obstacle was put in the way of a landlord who was anxious to adapt his house to some purpose other than that of a dwelling house. A great many of the clauses in regard to the closing of houses seemed to be unnecessarily harsh. As to the last part of the Bill, in regard to town planning, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman's somewhat rosy predictions would turn out to be true. He did not quite gather from the right hon. Gentleman what connection the River Wandle and the Regent's Canal had to do with that part of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman drew a comparison between the Regent's Canal at Regent's Park and the beauty and cleanliness of German rivers generally. He failed to see how this part of the Bill would improve the amenities of the Regent's Canal. If they were to be improved, it seemed to him that the work should be done by the London County Council.

*Mr. JOHN BURNS: Will the noble Lord allow me to explain? I gave two or three instances, and amongst them the River Wandle. In the event of a local authority determining on a town-planning scheme, they will be able to take the river or the canal as a central and attractive feature of the town instead of having the dead ending of streets on the banks of the stream. A river or a canal is too often used by the inhabitants in the neighbourhood as a place for the deposit of refuse. In these town-planning schemes houses might be put parallel with the river or canal, and instead of the river or canal being offensive it might be made a beautiful attraction to the town.

*Earl WINTERTON said the example of the Regent's Canal which the right hon. Gentleman gave as an example had very little to do with the Bill. If Regent's Park could be improved at the present moment the blame for its not having been improved lay with the London County Council. He ventured to say that the right hon. Gentleman had failed in his high standard of civic patriotism in not having years before now having something done to it. A large portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman dealing with the town planning part of the Bill was rather visionary. Everybody was anxious to see the salubrious suburbs of which the right hon. Gentleman spoke, but there were many difficulties in the way, and the question would not be solved by the use of eloquent language in this House. On both sides of the House they were all anxious to see the extension of garden suburbs planned in proper fashion. and it was pleasing to find the Government attempting to do something in that direction to protect the interests of posterity after they had made several other attempts in the way of mortgaging posterity. In the town planning part of the Bill there were dangerous provisions. In particular, he thought, the provision which referred to compensation for betterment required careful consideration. So far as he knew, that provision had never been adopted in this country. It had certainly never before been suggested in connection with a Bill of this kind. He wished to bring to the notice of the House an instance where compensation for betterment would have a very unfair effect upon the owners of property. He had in his mind a certain seaside place where an attempt was made twenty years ago to form a seaside resort. Several plots of land were put up to auction, and the houses erected were of a bad class. The result was that the properties in the outskirts of the town which were bought by a certain speculator had decreased very much in value, and now they were not worth what he gave for them. At the time he bought there was reason to suppose that they would increase in value. There might be a town-planning scheme brought forward which might be a complete failure. Land in the outskirts at the time the scheme was brought out might be largely increased in value, but when it was found that the scheme was not a success there might actually be a decrease in value. Under the Bill as it stood the man who had paid money as betterment compensation would not get a penny of it back, though he had his land decreased in value. There were cases in rural districts where land from the agricultural point of view very seriously decreased in value—unless used for market-gardening—by being near a town, and especially when near a health or summer resort, because people trespassed on the land. There might be many cases in which a town-planning scheme at first greatly increased the value of land all around and betterment compensation might in respect of that increase be paid, but eventually it might be found that the land had decreased in value. The clause dealing with betterment required more discussion than it could receive that day in the inadequate time at their disposal. If the Government should be unable to give another day to the Second Reading of the Bill, he hoped the provisions of the measure would receive full discussion in Committee.

*MR. ADKINS (Lancashire, Middleton) expressed hearty approval of the intentions of the Government and of some aspects of the way in which they proposed to carry them out in this Bill. He welcomed the town-planning proposals, but there was one comment which he wished to make with respect to the Bill as it stood. In connection with schemes it was not enough to say that parish or district councils were to have a voice. They ought to give the county council also a voice. The county council should have an opportunity of being heard on schemes, because they were a rating authority, and they had important duties to perform in relation to public health and the pollution of rivers. Everybody knew that when they were dealing with a planning scheme which might extend some miles beyond the boundaries of a large town they were at once faced by important problems in regard to roads and other matters. The County Councils Association, for whom he spoke on this occasion, had passed a resolution setting forth that for any town-planning scheme which affected any area which a county council administered the concurrence of the county council should be requested subject to an appeal to the Local Government Board, and that they should be invited to send representatives to any committee for drafting such a scheme. He hoped that view would commend itself to the Government. Subject to that very obvious suggestion he desired most heartily to support the town-planning scheme in this Bill. Another important part of the Bill was that with reference to the appointment of county officers of health. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman for putting into the Bill a provision that every county council should appoint medical officers of health. In years gone by some of them had spent a great deal of time and trouble in inducing their own county councils to appoint a medical officer of health; and seven more had been appointed within the past twelve months. The County Councils Association had passed a resolution welcoming the proposal made in the Bill in regard to medical officers of health and giving it their hearty support. They approved of the laudable zeal of the right hon. Gentleman in promoting sanitary reform by compelling every county council to appoint a medical officer of health. But the resolution went on to say that by subsection (2) of Clause 57 the Local Government Board might by order prescribe the duties of the medical officers of health appointed by the county council. Now surely it was a comparative novelty in administration that the duties of an officer appointed and paid entirely by the local authority should have his duties dictated and altered from time to time by a Government Department. The proper principle was for the Legislature to lay down clearly what were the duties of the local authorities, and then the latter should see that those duties were carried out by means of the medical officers of health. Any alteration in them should be made only by means of subsequent legislation. Everyone knew the great authority exercised by the Local Government Board and what enormous value it had been in standardizing local efforts and checking local abuses; but this was an extension of the powers of the Department which must be met with opposition as a retrograde step in the construction of the edifice of Local Government. Lastly, he desired to put before the House briefly the views of the county councils in regard to that part of the Bill which dealt with the problems of housing. When the Bill was printed it was considered by a largely-attended meeting of the Housing Committee of the County Councils Association, and that committee brought forward resolutions before the Executive Committee, by whom they were unanimously approved. He might say at once that although he had great sympathy with the alternative suggestions made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite and the hon. Member for Chippenham, that the county council should be the sole authority for the purposes of housing, he saw great practical difficulties in the way at the present time. It would be very difficult to induce a county council to rate itself throughout its whole area for housing puposes in a restricted portion of that area. At the same time, he might ask his right hon. friend for a much more sympathetic treatment of the county councils in this matter of housing than he had given in the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman in his speech suggested to his mind and to those of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that it was the fault of the county councils that housing schemes were not more frequently adopted. If that was the right hon. Gentleman's intention, it was not warranted. Under the existing Act there was no power given to county councils to press rural district councils to do it or to order them to do it. How could the county councils give them permission which was never asked, or compel the minor local authorities to act when they had no powers to do so? From a Return presented to Parliament in July, 1906, it appeared that forty-five county councils had received no applications from rural district councils to put in force Part III. of the existing Act, and there had been only two resolutions passed by parish councils that the rural district council had been in default. Now that this Bill was before the House it was desirable that the general position of the county councils should be brought under the purview of his right hon. friend and of the House. What were the facts of rural government? There were many matters in which the district authority acted first and naturally, and on which there was an appeal to the county council, but on which the county council had no power of definite and spontaneous intervention. They were most anxious that his right hon. friend's object should be carried out. They who had not had the advantage of the right hon. Gentleman's training in local government in London but only in a humbler sphere, thought, indeed they knew, that they could only carry out these matters if there was given to the largest and most representative authority of the county council power to act as a defaulting authority and also power to intervene where they chose. As the Bill stood it provided that every rural and urban district council might be the authority, under Part III. of the Act. It surely should provide that any inhabitant of the district instead of appealing to the Local Government Board under expensive and difficult machinery should appeal first to the county council, and if the county council interposed undue delay or failed to give relief then the Local Government Board, as the final authority, was in the strongest position to enforce what was wanted of the rural district or urban district council. In addition to that the county council should be given power to intervene of their own motion and see that a housing scheme was carried out in any area in which the rural district or urban district council was slow or unwilling to act. That would make the machinery more a reality than the plan suggested by the Bill. It was idle to look on one local authority as one to be encouraged and petted, and on another as one to be ignored, and only allowed to do disagreeable work and so incur odium, which any Government Department would naturally shrink from doing itself. All local authorities popularly elected ought equally to be encouraged to do their duty and no slur ought to be passed on them when dealing with matters of this kind. The County Councils Association said that this Bill was far too centralised in character. Might he say that in other countries history showed that they had a central authority at work and that they gradually developed local self-government. In this country we had local self-government and then had gradually developed centralised authority from it. From that he deduced the argument that it was unwise and not in accordance with the habits and genius of our race to try to solve this problem of housing by officialism unless local government had failed. In this matter the local authorities had never been given a chance. What the County Councils Association asked the Government was that in this new legislation the county councils should be given a real chance, and then if they did not properly exercise their powers the case for final and less democratic methods would be overwhelming. Accordingly the County Councils Association made these suggestions. First, that housing schemes should be carried out by the county councils either on their own initiative, or on appeal against any authority on the ground of default in carrying out proceedings under the Act, or on the order of the Local Government Board if the county council made default in acting. They desired to see a clause inserted in the Bill analogous to Section 16 of the Local Government Act, 1894, empowering any parish council or parish meeting or any four inhabitant householders of a parish to appeal to the county council in cases of default by any rural district council to carry out their duties as regards housing. They also considered that an appeal to the Local Government Board should not lie, nor should the Local Government Board have power to intervene unless the council of the county in which the matter had arisen had either refused to act or had interposed undue delay in acting. He was sure that every Member who knew how difficult it was to carry out the improvements necessary because of the burden on the ratepayers would ask that the Local Government Board should give them as good treatment as was given to Ireland. Although they could not so easily awaken the emotion of Parliament as Ireland, they were as deserving of support from the public exchequer. Next he asked his right hon. friend to include in the Bill some proposal by which certain defaulting powers under Part II. should be exercised by the county councils over urban districts of less than 10,000 inhabitants and over rural districts. He hoped the Government would feel that a proposal of this kind was only made with the object of raising the standard of public health of the country. It could not be pointed out too often that when they were dealing with small areas and small populations it was almost impossible for the medical officer of the local authority to be supported by public opinion as he ought to be, because of the power of strong sectional interests, and when they gave superior authority to the county council, which was local in origin but in area so wide that no local interest could dominate it, they were far more likely to have the standard of public health raised to a proper height. He would point out to his right hon. friend that there was in the Bill a great chance of assisting the solution of the problem of public health and housing by strengthening and amplifying the powers of the county councils. He felt himself that the lesson which the ordinary geography of the English counties taught was this: The small unit of the parish or the moderate sized unit of the district was one in which detailed work must be done, but in the county area and in the county council they had machinery ready to their hands for all kinds of appeals in all kinds of disputes between the smaller authorities and individual citizens. Considering how much his right hon. friend's Department was overworked, as all Government Departments must be with the constant growth of the business of the Government, was it not most unwise to put aside or in any way despise the appellate jurisdiction which the county councils furnished? That was precisely the kind of local work into which party and partisanship came less than in any other kind. When they were trying to alter the laws of the country in this House they were trying to alter them in accordance with their special political principles, and when they tried to carry out the law in the county, the work was done now by one party and now by another, but when Englishmen were called upon to act in a semi-judicial capacity and to decide between the individual on the one side and the minor authority on the other, then it was that their prejudice had less influence upon them and partisanship carried less weight. After a measure had been passed by strong party politics in the proper sphere they found over and over again that when county councils had to decide things in any sense of the word as a Court of Appeal their decision had commanded respect and assent, and it would be useful to the Local Government Board if they gave more scope to the county councils in matters of that kind. He had detained the House longer than he wished to, but he had tried to argue the question from the point of view of some experience and in the hope that he might in a slight degree help his right hon. friend and assist the Bill to become law. He hoped, however, that any want of sympathy with the county councils that his right hon. friend had would disappear as he knew them better, and that he would try to enlist all kinds of local authorities to help him in the great work of local housing. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that those who criticised the Bill on the lines that he did were all anxious that the House should promptly assist the cause of rural housing which was the cause of everyone who desired good government.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) said that this subject was so familiar to him that he could not feel any surprise that the President of the Local Government Board should have introduced this Bill after the Report of the Committee of last year, and after the full investigation which he had evidently made independently of the inquiries of that Committee. As an old sanitarian he could not but feel great satisfaction with the statement which the right hon. Gentleman was able to make as to the improvement in our urban districts. It was indeed a wondrous change which had been accomplished in the City of Liverpool, and it was of a most extraordinary character in such a city as Manchester where large areas of filthy and detrimental to health property had been cleared, and in their place buildings of a wholesome character erected for the working classes. The same observation applied to Leeds, and also to Bradford. One of the most curious circumstances in connection with the latter place was that a large number of good working men's dwellings were empty. It was a most perplexing circumstance, and a difficulty which they ought to consider in certain cases. The improvement in our towns, however, was great, but it was disappointing to find that the same remark could not be made with reference to our rural districts. When they were engaged in this work on the Sanitary Commission nearly forty years ago, they found the same experience, and their difficulties even in these days were not so much in towns, great as they were, but in the rural districts and in some of the smaller towns where the population seemed to have sunk into a condition of an almost hopeless character. One of the difficulties in these districts was that they might have houses admirable in construction, well-cared for, and kept in a manner which was a credit to the tenant, but where owing to the crowded character of the particular neighbourhood it was impossible for the inhabitants to have the advantage of fresh air, sun, and light, which was so necessary to a healthy condition, particularly amongst young people. As to the compulsory character of this Bill, he pointed out that the Small Holdings Act of last year provided that before the Act was put into operation the authority should ascertain the extent to which there was a demand or would be a demand and if land were available for building. That presupposed a local opinion, and he must confess that unless local opinions went with and supported a movement of this kind the result could not be satisfactory and must necessarily end in disappointment. The question of how much power should be given to the central authority was one of great difficulty. Sir H. Fowler in 1894, when President of the Local Government Board, deprecated again and again, with exceeding energy and great fervour, the accumulation of authority which was being forced by Parliament upon that Department. But the Government of to-day took a totally different view, and the right hon. Gentleman who was now the President was greedy of power, he was sure with the best desire to serve the public, but at the same time the contrast was somewhat remarkable, and one to which he thought attention ought to be directed in such a debate as the present. As to the sanitary authority he felt great satisfaction that they should not have on that occasion a commission of three, and he hoped that in their future legislation they would have no more of such commissions. They were dangerous he believed, because they tended towards too much centralisation, and they were dangerous also because they could not be practically under the control of Parliament as a Government Department was. That objection appeared to him to be absolutely fatal, and he hoped they would hear no more of these proposals in future legislation. As regarded the operations of the Bill and the machinery, he believed that the central authority would find great difficulty. They would require an army of inspectors if the work was to be well done; because, although they might have a limited number of chief inspectors, as they probably would be called, they must have a large number of subordinates who obeyed their orders, and he believed that they would find that the creation of a hierarchy of that kind was full of great difficulties and might be found to be almost impossible. He thought the enormous power given by the Bill to the central authority was too great, and that the House could not properly sanction it. A provision in the second schedule gave power to supersede Acts of Parliament, and when the attention of the House was directed to that he did not think it could possibly pass. Any scheme which the Department sanctioned became equivalent to the law of the land, and it was provided that they could suspend as far as necessary in addition to statutory enactments, bye-laws and regulations, and other provisions in force in the area. That power was, so far as he knew, entirely without precedent, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bear in mind his promise to consider any suggestion for the improvement of the Bill which was consistent with its main object and purpose. He might make observations of a corresponding character in regard to the power of the local authority, but at any rate this power of the central authority ought to be safeguarded by provisional order or by the submission to the House of some minute which would be open to discussion so that the matter might be fairly debated. The central, as well as the local authority, should be more checked than was proposed by this Bill. Every clause of the Bill which could give and did give powers to local authorities should be carefully considered. They would be found to be of a peremptory character. Many of the provisions now in use enabled the person affected by any order to appeal to some tribunal easily accessible and of a cheap character. He believed those provisions were highly salutary and apt to check the tyranny of smaller officialism. They would not cause delay, and would add much to the solidarity of the work of this class of legislation. He desired also to call attention to the power it was proposed to give to convert any property held by a corporation to the purposes of housing the working classes. A similar proposal was made and carried into law last year to enable the education authority to appropriate land, with, of course, the consent of the Local Government Board. In two consecutive years powers had been given to a local authority to appropriate any property of which they had command for the purposes of public health or education. Those were wide and far-reaching powers, the granting of which ought to be carefully guided, and the execution of which ought to be not less carefully watched. The making of a statute like this depended greatly on public opinion, and he was certain that if it was proceeded with in too severe and arbitrary a way all the work the Government were doing would be undone and they would fail in their undertaking. He had had some experience in the extension of towns, and nothing astonished him more than the extension of a town or the entire cessation of that extension. Towns which one thought would have extended did not for some reason or other, and others where there was practically no reason for any extension extended enormously. He therefore thought that the greatest care must be exercised with regard to town planning. As regarded the medical officers his hon. friend below the gangway was very doubtful of their position, but he personally would like to hear the opinion of the experts including his right hon. friend on this subject. This provision was granted to Scotland a few years ago, and they rejoiced at the movement. But he was quite sure very great care would have to be exercised in the appointment. In conclusion, he would only express his somewhat strong opinion that this work should be pursued cautiously, and patience exercised. A great task lay before the Government, but they must foster public opinion in the matter, and encourage it to walk in the right direction. By acting with public opinion they would advance with certainty on the path of progress, and find their reward in the existence of healthy and prosperous populations.

SIR J. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) said he had listened with great pleasure to the hon. Baronet, who was a man of long experience, and had brought to the consideration of this question a breadth of view which was an example to the whole House. He desired to address himself to only one point of the Bill. It was nearly twenty years ago that he tried to induce Mr. Ritchie to provide that medical officers of health should be independent, and allowed to take no private practice. He emphasised the evils that attended upon medical officers of health taking private practice, and gave his experience as a member of a rural sanitary authority twenty-five years ago, under a system by which authorities in Mid Cheshire combined in the appointment of a medical officer, paying him £800 a year with the condition that he should take no private practice. That arrangement was attended with the most gratifying results. He hoped he would be more successful with the President of the Local Government Board than he was with Mr. Ritchie twenty years ago in his effort to make this condition of service obligatory.

MR. ABEL SMITH (Hertfordshire, Hertford) associated himself with what had been said with regard to the medical officers of health's not being allowed to take private practice. In his own district several urban authorities combined together to pay a medical officer for the whole of the districts, and he devoted his whole time to his duty. Although this Bill had been greatly criticised the criticisms to which it had been subjected had all come from hon. Members who earnestly desired to improve the measure. The theme of those criticisms seemed to be that there was too much "Local Government Board" running through the measure. The Bill was a mass of details dealing with different parts of that most important question, the housing of the working classes. All would acknowledge that there were most important questions to be dealt with, and everyone hoped that the Bill would result in effecting one of the most important reforms that they desired to see brought about. He desired to criticise the Bill in that somewhat uncontroversial spirit, and he would confine himself to the rural aspect of the question, the importance of which could not be exaggerated. He thought that no one would deny that there was a necessity for reforming the housing of the rural districts, though he could hardly go so far as the President of the Local Government Board, when he said that the condition of the rural districts was practically as bad as that in London and in some of the great urban centres. So far at any rate as overcrowding was concerned things were infinitely worse in London and other great cities. If any one read the Report of the Select Committee, of which he had the honour of being a Member, he would see that there was much to be desired in the housing arrangements in many of the rural districts. There were many rural districts in which the houses were overcrowded. The average rural house certainly had only two bed rooms, while some were still remaining which had only one bedroom. Only a very limited number of modern houses had three bedrooms. Even the water supply was very inadequate, and it was a most important matter from the sanitary point of view, as well as from the point of view of the occupier, that there should be a good supply. He knew that in many cases the conditions were altogether detrimental to public health. The duty of looking after the housing of rural districts was thrown on the rural district councils by the Act of 1890, and he thought there was no doubt, at any rate in most cases, that these rural sanitary authorities had found it quite impossible to carry it out. It was quite impossible at all events for them to carry out the duties under Part III. of the Act, because it would come as a very heavy burden on the rates, and if there was one thing which a rural district council would not do, it was to follow a policy which required that the rates of the rural district should be largely increased. There was an incident mentioned in the Report of the Select Committee which occurred in the rural district of Maldon, in Essex, where they built some houses, with the result that a burden of no less than 2s. 9d. a week fell on each house, and had to be found by the ratepayers of the district. There were poor rural districts with a low rateable value, and where the burden of the rate was already very heavy. Therefore, it was not surprising, he thought, that Part III of the Act had not been put in force in very many cases. There was no doubt that the difficulty in regard to this matter was very largely one of finance, and it arose to a very large extent from the high rate of interest hitherto charged by the Public Works Loans Commissioners. If they charged 4 per cent. interest as well as requiring a sinking fund, it made it about 4¾ per cent., so that it was not probable that very much would be done. However cheaply they built, and however cheaply they bought the land, there must be a deficit to be met out of the rate. The case which had occurred in Lancashire had already been mentioned by the hon. Baronet opposite. There, after long negotiation on the part of the district council and the county council for the improving of the housing, the whole thing came to a stand owing to the high rate of interest that was proposed to be charged. Another fact in connection with this matter was brought out very clearly by the Report of the Select Committee, and that was the low rate of agricultural wages in these poor districts. The low rate of wages made an economic rent for a decent house almost impossible. He was afraid that unless a stronger measure than this was passed there was not much prospect of a change for the better, or of much being done in this sort of districts. Of course the difficulty about the low wages applied chiefly to the agricultural labourers, and did not apply to workmen who were earning higher wages, and wished to live in rural districts if they were within a reasonable distance of their work in the neighbouring town. The question was, did the Bill help very much towards the solution of this most important question? He was glad to note that Clause 1 simplified to a very great extent, the procedure for the adoption of Part III, but it still left the work to be done by the rural district councils, and he was convinced, like his hon. friend opposite, the very able chairman of the Select Committee, that not much advance would be made until concurrent powers were given to the county council. He would correct a mistake made by an hon. Member who had spoken that day. There seemed to be an impression that the Select Committee recommended that the housing powers should be taken away entirely from the rural district council, and given to the county council. That was not their suggestion. Their suggestion was that concurrent powers should be given to the county council. Clause 2 gave new powers to the Local Government Board. That clause had been very sharply criticised, and he thought that it would be much better if the appeal, where the the district council failed to carry out their duty, were in the first instance to the county council, the superior local authority, and then, if nothing was done, further appeal to the central authority might be given. The hon. Member who spoke in behalf of the County Councils Association had said it was a great mistake and against the genius of British local government to give extended control to the central authority. They would never make any advance in enlightened local government unless Parliament thoroughly trusted and strengthened the hands of popularly elected authorities, especially the county councils. He was glad to note, too, that Clause 2 made the acquisition of land easy. Clause 3 made some improvement with regard to the rate at which money could be borrowed. He thought the clause wanted a little further explanation. He did not know how low a rate was to be charged. He supposed it would be a matter to be decided by the Treasury, but he would like to see the principle established—he thought it was recommended by the Committee—that the Treasury should sanction the lowest rate possible without loss being incurred by the Exchequer. That would make a very great difference to local authorities in putting into operation Part III. of the previous Act. Having had some practical experience of the matter, and having given great attention to it, especially when he was a member of the Select Committee, he was confirmed in the view that this was really a landowners' question. He thought municipal ownership of houses in country districts was not a good system and ought to be a last resort. There was no doubt, he thought, that the principle ought to be established that the man who received the rents and profits of a certain amount of cultivated land should be responsible for providing proper accommodation for those who worked on it, and without whose labour it could not be cultivated. One witness before the Select Committee suggested that there ought to be one cottage to every 50 acres of arable land. He did not think that proportion was far wrong, though no doubt it would vary. The question was how the principle could be established and carried out. The only suggestion he had heard made was that some part of the interest should be paid out of the rates. He suggested in the Report of the Select Committee that they might have special housing districts analogous to the special drainage districts under the Public Health Act, so that those who failed to provide proper accommodation for their workpeople would have a special rate thrown upon them. The case of Linton had already been mentioned. That was a very good example, especially as one of the two largest owners in the district was one of the Cambridge authorities. On the proportion of one cottage to 50 acres, they ought to have had twenty-six cottages, but they only had two, though they had undertaken to build more cottages; and the other large landowner, a private individual, had only twenty cottages on his estate, instead of forty as he ought to have on the same proportion. He hoped the President of the Local Goverment Board would give consideration to that point. It was one of great importance indeed. He hoped the Bill would be amended in Committee in many ways, and that it would be strengthened and made one more likely to carry out the reform which he knew the President of the Local Government Board was anxious to effect. He was perfectly certain that if the right hon. Gentleman would proceed in Committee to strengthen the Bill, he would receive a great deal of support from that side of the House.

*Mr. VIVIAN (Birkenhead) expressed gratitude to the President of the Local Government Board for having for the first time included in a Housing Bill the principle of town planning. That, at any rate, marked an advance in the matter of housing reform. He regretted that there was not more enthusiasm displayed in regard to the Bill in the House, because he felt it was one of the most important measures that had been brought in. They frequently discussed effects, and attempted to provide remedies—in the case of the Licensing Bill and the Children Bill, for instance. Here they had a Bill which dealt with causes, and the more they got at causes the more likely they were to be on the right track. He would like to draw the attention of the House to the very close connection between housing reform and such matters as the health of the people and their industrial efficiency—their efficiency in every sense of the word. Some striking figures had been brought out by a committee in Glasgow. Over 72,000 children had been examined, and it has found that a child at a certain age brought up in one room attained a height of 46 inches; in two rooms, 48 inches; in three rooms, 50 inches; and in four rooms, 51 inches. This showed a difference of 5 inches between the child brought up in the best conditions and the child brought up in the worst conditions. Regarding weight, the child brought up in one room weighed 52·6 lbs. while the child brought up in four rooms weighed 64 lbs., showing an increase of 12 lbs. in weight. This difference indicated that the unhealthy conditions under which large numbers of people lived must very seriously affect the future of a very large proportion of the population. These conditions must also have their effect upon the intellectual capacity of these people and also upon their morals. The physical side of it they could measure, the intellectual and moral side they could not, but the influence was as surely there. If they allowed their imagination free play on points of this sort they could see how serious the question really was. In connection with another inquiry it was brought out very clearly that there was a close connection between the tendency to intemperance and this question of housing. The Report showed that the conditions of housing accompanied the tendency to drunkenness. The one accompanied the other. That being so, this Bill, which attempted at any rate to deal with these conditions and would give great masses of the people opportunity to live healthy lives, was in his opinion of greater importance than those measures about which they felt more enthusiastic but which dealt only with effects instead of causes. It was necesary to make sure that the inspection of houses was placed in the hands of some authority that would see it was efficiently carried out. He was not sure that the Bill was strong enough on that point. He was not going to quarrel about the authority, but he wanted to feel sure that when they had carried the Bill into law they had placed the matter in the right hands. He was satisfied that the rural districts had not carried out this duty satisfactorily. When they realised that the property to be inspected was largely owned by the people who appointed, dismissed, and controlled the officers who inspected the property, it was easy to see that it was not in human nature to expect efficiency. He knew the analogy was not complete, but they might take a lesson from the experience of the factory and workshop law. The responsibility for carrying out the factory law was at first in the hands of the local authorities, without control or driving force from headquarters. Later on it was strengthened, but while the administration of the Factory Act was largely taken away from the local interested parties, and placed in the hands of a central authority, the administration of the Workshops Act was placed in the hands of the locality. So that they had those two things running parallel, and the experience was that the local administration of the Workshops Act was a failure, whereas the Factory Act was a decided success, and no one would think now of going back to the old days. He asked the right hon. Gentleman when the Bill got upstairs to view sympathetically and in a friendly way suggestions for the strengthening of this side of the measure. It could not be expected that medical officers would do their duty under such circumstances. It was also necessary to have a committee at headquarters to see that the work was thoroughly carried out. Again, he did not quarrel with the name that was given it. Some people did not like the word "commission,"—some preferred inspectors, and others preferred a building committee. It was immaterial to him so long as the men were efficient, and understood their work. One did not want inefficient officers doing this work. It was no use having a superior clerk for this kind of thing. The work of superintending and carrying out all the things provided for in this Bill was really one of the biggest things that any Government officer could undertake. He pleaded for something in the nature of a central authority or a committee acting under the President of the Local Government Board to act as a stimulating body. He thought the area of the county council was better than that of the rural district council for housing purposes. It was not merely inspection which he wished to be removed from the narrow local interest of the district, but the whole question of dealing with housing. It must be obvious to anyone who knew anything at all about building that, if they took an extremely small area, nothing could be done economically. They wanted a sufficiently wide area to make sure that they would be able to afford efficient men to carry out the work. In a very small area the work to be done would be so small that they could not command the right ability in the district, and it would be badly done if it was done at all. He regarded town planning as an important part of the Bill, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to help them upstairs in strengthening this side of the Bill, more particularly in the direction of seeing that public utility schemes had some chance of going ahead. He thought he was entitled to make this claim seeing the honourable position these schemes had occupied up to date. Were it not for schemes of this kind he questioned very much whether they would be discussing town planning at all. The enthusiasm that had been worked up on this question, the interest in it, and the information they had obtained had been more due to the action of enlightened employers in such schemes as Port Sunlight, Bournville, and, later on, Letchworth, Hampstead, Ealing and elsewhere than to any other influence. One was surely entitled to ask that under this Bill schemes of this kind should be given encouragement in the future to go forward with a view to still widening their influence and increasing their sphere of operations. He believed the right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that the Bill provided for this, but he did not see it. He felt that the Bill had rather an invertebrate character. It was difficult to get hold of the structure of the thing, and if they could shape it a little upstairs with a view to getting it into some form which would enable them to grasp the full meaning from beginning to end, he believed it would be a considerable improvement. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to enable them to put in such clauses as would give these public utility schemes an opportunity to go forward. Take the case of a new district on the outskirts of a big city. The first people to arrive there were those who sought out the district for their own advantage. There was no great population at first, and the people who went there were principally builders, land agents, and architects, and so on, and of course they promoted their own interests. Before the public had arrived much of the mischief had been done. In connection with this Town Planning Bill the idea was to anticipate that period, and as far as was possible prevent the evil arising. In carrying out that work public utility schemes would afford some good example, if under this Bill they were given encouragement. Wherever they had a public utility scheme going on, as in the case of Hampstead, they were stimulating public opinion without which no Bill of this sort in the long run could be efficiently carried out. Consequently they must have examples to get the public mind up to the standard in order to carry the whole thing through. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would help them in their efforts to get a clause or clauses inserted that would create at headquarters something in the nature of a Court of Appeal for such schemes as these. In connection with the Hampstead scheme they had a special Act, and that was what made the scheme possible; but for that Act they would have had to spend nearly £12,000 more in making roads, and they would have had an ugly monotonous community. Consequently they had saved nearly £12,000, and they would have one of the most charming estates in the whole country. Of course, they could not expect every small utility scheme to spend £500 or £600 obtaining an Act of Parliament, and, consequently, they wanted some machinery which would give them automatically what that special Act of Parliament had given to Hampstead.

*Mr. Vivian.*

*MR. JOHN BURNS said that the proposals in the Bill with regard to town planning would obviate the expense of getting a special Act of Parliament.

*MR. VIVIAN said this was not clear to him. They might take it that the right hon. Gentleman intended the Bill to carry out that idea, and would see that it did so. Then with regard to bye-laws, he thought it was monstrous the way some of those bye-laws were applied in connection with schemes of this sort. Many of them were drawn up to prevent land sweating, and to deal with circumstances under which a land speculator would put forty or fifty houses to the acre. Hon. Members were accustomed to provisions dealing with the width of roads, and one of the objects of the bye-laws was to secure a fairly good current of air through thickly-populated localities. In such schemes as the Hampstead, instead of allowing the erection of forty or fifty houses to the acre they only allowed about eight or ten. Consequently they not only had good private gardens, but devoted to the public good land in the shape of wide tree-planted thoroughfares for all time, and he thought it was wasteful and unfair in such cases as that to put upon the utility schemes such a heavy expense for macadamising the whole roadway. In return for reducing the houses to eight or ten to the acre and making provisions for wide avenues with trees instead of so much macadam he thought there should be some elastic machinery which would enable such schemes to have an appeal from the local authority, and if it was shown that the public interest was served by such schemes the central authority should have power to pass them. He asked the President of the Local Government Board to see what he could do in regard to points of that sort. He was not quite sure in reference to town planning that the provision was sufficient to deal with development of towns in entirely rural districts. Take the case of Letchworth, for example, which was an absolutely rural district. Would it apply in that case? He hoped it would be possible to get into the Bill some provision along the line of the German system of zones. He did not like the word "zone"; "district" was a better word, because zone implied rather an equal arrangement. They knew that the pressure in regard to the development of a city was not equal. He knew one German town where they had a zone of low-priced land running almost into the centre of the town, and consequently the economic pressure was different from that of other districts. They ought to try and limit the number of houses to the acre in the towns. They could not expect to apply that rule rigidly at once, but they might give the power to the towns creating those districts. Where land had not yet reached the building stage, or had not reached a high economic value, they should make some provision for limiting the number of houses to the acre. He hoped that, before the Bill became law, something in that direction would be done. With regard to public money, he did not take the view that they should make unlimited calls upon the public exchequer for this purpose. Here and there they had a serious condition of affairs to deal with, and in the Report of the Select Committee they recommended that under these circumstances the Local Government Board should have power to make grants. If these other things were dealt with he thought it would be possible to carry out housing reform without making any very great draft upon the ratepayers or the taxpayers. He thought they might very well have national credit placed at the disposal of this movement. Money should be advanced for this purpose at the lowest rate at which the public could borrow. The Select Committee recommended an advance of 75 per cent. instead of 50 per cent. for public utility schemes. It might be said that the public had no right to advance such a large proportion on house property, and that the margin, in the public interest, was not sufficient. He would point out that two-thirds was the proportion which trustees were allowed to invest on mortgage, and he thought that the State might with perfect safety at least be allowed to go as far as a body of trustees under the law. A concession of that kind would make a great deal of difference in connection with these schemes. He welcomed the Bill, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not take the observations he had made in any bad spirit, because his only desire was to assist the Government in making it the best measure possible. If they all worked together in that spirit, he thought they would be able to succeed in the long run in passing a Bill which would probably do more good than any other measure which the Government had yet brought in.

*MR. GUINNESS (Bury St. Edmunds) said that previous speakers in the debate had dealt chiefly with the rural aspect of the housing question. He would like to say a word or two on the effect of the Bill on the housing question in London. As chairman of the Housing Committee of the London County Council, he took a great interest in the question, and the Bill as it stood, though it certainly contained valuable provisions, was yet, from the point of view of that body, rather disappointing. He welcomed the proposal to facilitate the granting of closing orders. The law at present was so cumbrous that demolition orders were extremely difficult to get. Under Clause 14 of this Bill it would still be necessary to prove that the condition of the buildings would be injurious to public health before a demolition order could be obtained. The President of the Local Government Board in opening the debate referred to a certain street with a very bad reputation, which was started on its downward course owing to the fact that there were in it six derelict houses in a bad condition. As he read this Bill it would probably offer no remedy in such a case, as it might have been impossible to prove that those houses were dangerous to public health. This clause, therefore, would require strengthening if the number of demolitions was to be increased. In the seven years ending 1905 there were only 748 demolitions, being an average of a little over 100 a year. That clearly showed that some strengthening of the law was needed in order that it might be possible to close a house if it was a public nuisance. The part he referred to was line 29 of Clause 14. The obligation laid on the landlord under Clause 27 to keep his premises in repair and fit for habitation would certainly do a great deal to prevent the creation of fresh slums in London. The London County Council had been urging for further legislation to discourage slum lands, and to prevent speculators buying up slums. Clause 11 gave the Local Government Board power to compel local authorities to embark on these schemes. But there was no provision for these schemes being self-supporting. Unless some limit were placed upon the action of the board the clause must be drafted in a different form, because at the present time the Local Government Board showed considerable disregard as to the heavy burden thrown upon the rates. Where a Government Department had power to coerce local authorities there ought to be a Treasury grant in aid of the expense. If this clause passed as it stood, the Local Government Board would be able to insist on local authorities carrying out schemes which would involve heavy losses. Where Government Departments had power to force local authorities to undertake certain duties, the universal precedent had been that the Treasury had given a grant-in-aid of the particular service involved. In the cases of education and poor relief, and even in the case of small holdings, where the central authority insisted on the local authority putting their powers in force, if the scheme was to cost money, a contribution was made by the Treasury. That provision ought certainly to be added to this clause unless the Local Government Board was to be restricted in its action to those cases where a self-supporting scheme could be planned. Another point which caused him considerable disappointment was that the Bill did not amend the law about re-housing. Under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, where a clearance was made in London, it was necessary that at least as many of the working classes should be rehoused as those displaced, and that they should be rehoused either on the actual area or in the vicinity. Under this provision the rates had lost £512,000 in writing down the value of land for housing purposes. The clearance schemes had been increased in cost in the case of the London County Council by no less than one-third owing to this liability. And it was not only under the Act of 1890 that this evil had resulted. It occurred also under the Act of 1903 in connection with street improvements under statutory powers, the local authority having to provide accommodation for a number not exceeding those displaced. Under that provision, £307,000 had been lost, and the County Council had had no value returned whatever. It had been necessary to wipe off the losses so as to make the schemes appear self-supporting. With the £800,000 which would have been saved if re-housing on cheap sites had been allowed an additional 17,000 persons might have been accommodated on a self-supporting basis on the outskirts of London. The ratepayers had not had an opportunity of learning from year to year the very great cost entailed by the present provisions, owing to the necessity for closing the accounts of the various clearance and improvement schemes and the writing down in consequence of the sites to such a value as would enable the housing to become self-supporting. He was quite sure that if they had had such an opportunity a strong public opinion would have grown up which would have prevented the continuance of the present system. The present law was based upon the fallacy that local authorities could rehouse the people whom they had displaced, but experience of the London County Council had disproved that theory. They had diplaced 29,000 people, and they had only been able to rehouse 1,700, being 5·85 per cent. The explanation of that was that in the majority of the clearance schemes they were displacing those who lived below the poverty line, and it was impossible to provide new accommodation at a rent which they could afford to pay. He hoped the President of the Local Government Board would be able to give some help in the direction of giving local authorities more discretion where re-housing was necessary, so that valuable sites might be disposed of for commercial purposes. He noticed that there were five Amendments down advocating the valuation and taxation of the site apart from the buildings upon it. If that were carried out, it would be absolutely certain that one, and perhaps the greatest, result would be to drive the population out into the suburbs. There was an enormous amount of the area of London now covered with housing property which would certainly be demolished if rates were charged on the site as apart from the buildings. He construed those Amendments as an admission that it was desirable to move the working-classes as far as possible into the healthier surroundings of the suburbs. If that was the case, surely it would be much better for this Bill to do away with the present obligation of wasting money on rehousing in the central area, where the conditions never could be healthy, and where it was said that people had to be put on shelves. Another omission from the Bill was a provision to free the local authorities from the obligation of making up the deficiency in the poor rates and land tax on land which they were developing in connection with housing. The present law was particularly unjust because the London County Council had had to pay the deficiency, and had got nothing back. When an area was cleared the buildings were taken off the valuation list, and therefore the central authority did not get any of the rates which it had contributed in this direction. It was only the local authority which suffered in this way, and in view of the great improvement which these rehousing schemes made the local authority ought not to be treated less favourably than private enterprise. He hoped the President of the Local Government Board would be able to do something in that direction, so that the local authority might be freed from this unjust charge. He believed if something of the kind had been done before, it would have been possible to provide accommodation at lower rents. At the present time there was a large amount of accommodation being provided, not only in London, but in all the large towns, for people who could afford to pay 12s. a week, but the speculative builder apparently did not find it worth while to cater for those who could only afford to pay 7s. or 8s. a week, and every 1d. which had to be used by the local authority in writing down the value and in meeting the deficiency in the poor rate naturally decreased the amount available for housing schemes on a self-supporting basis. At the present time there was a limit to the amount of money which could be spent on housing, not only on financial considerations, but having regard to public opinion. Therefore, he asked the Local Government Board to do all they could to ensure that every penny that was raised for capital expenditure on housing should go to provide accommodation, and should not be spent in those unremunerative directions he had mentioned.

*MR. MACKARNESS (Berkshire, Newbury) said that this Bill arose out of a Bill introduced in 1906 dealing entirely with rural housing. He was a member of the Select Committee which was appointed to report on that Bill and consider that aspect of the question, and he might be excused for confining himself in his remarks to that side of the problem. The present Bill had been criticised very severely in regard to its framework and language, but he thought, as a member of the legal profession, he might cordially thank his right hon. friend, because the Bill was evidently drawn by a lawyer in order to give abundant work to his own profession. In the course of the debate on the Second Reading of the 1906 Bill, the need for preventing the chronic migration of the rural population to the towns was admitted. It was recognised that that exodus was a great evil, and that one cause of it was the unsatisfactory housing conditions that existed in most of the rural parts of the country. It was also agreed that the failure of former Housing Acts had been due to the reluctance or inability of local authorities entrusted with their administration to act, and that that failure was due again to the want of a provision of cheap money which would enable the local authorities to undertake housing without serious risk to the local rates. In regard to the slackness or inability of the local authorities to act, the Select Committee recommended that there should be a special Housing Department of the Local Government Board, with expert officials appointed not to supersede, as his right hon. friend said, the local authorities, but to supervise and stimulate them—a very different thing. That recommendation of the Committee had been entirely thrown over by this Bill, and that, he thought, was a great blot upon it. The right hon. Gentleman said that there already existed a Housing Department at the Local Government Board, and that he was going to send down inspectors to do what the Committee recommended. If that were so, what was the objection to defining the Department and setting up inspectors in the Bill itself, and so securing that the work would be done in the way suggested by the Committee? It was all very well to say that the work would be carried out so long as his right hon. friend was at the Local Government Board, but his right hon. friend would not be there for ever, and the whole machinery which was now thought sufficient might under less sympathetic administration be found wanting. He suggested, therefore, that something should be put in the Bill to provide for the erection of a real Housing Department at the Board of Trade operated by expert officials. His right hon. friend had practically recognised the necessity of this by saying in his speech on the Bill of 1906 that this was a great national question, and ought to be treated by the Government as such. A second recommendation of the Select Committee was that money should be advanced from the national Exchequer to the local authorities for the purpose of building houses upon such terms as would make absolutely sure that there would be no serious risk run in regard to the local rates. Everybody recognised that that had been the real stumbling block in the way of carrying out the housing schemes in the past. Evidence was brought before the Committee to show that the terms on which money had hitherto been advanced by the Public Works Loans Commissioners were not satisfactory. The rates of interest varied in ten years from 2¾ per cent. to as high as 4¼ per cent. The only explanation of that was that given by an official witness to the effect that it was not desired to encourage local authorities to borrow public money. That, however, was the very antithesis of the policy which ought to be pursued. Money for this purpose should, in conformity with the recommendations of the Select Committee, be advanced at a rate not higher than 2½ per cent. That was sanctioned in an Irish Bill read a second time a few weeks ago. The rate of interest paid by the Post Office to the working-classes who deposited their savings in the Post Office Savings Bank was only 2½ per cent. And he could not conceive what would be juster than that the Government should advance to the local authorities out of the £150,000,000 at present in the Savings Bank, sums for housing purposes of the working classes at the same rate of interest as they gave to the depositors. He urged his right hon. friend not to allow this Bill to turn out such a failure as former Acts had been in regard to the building of cottages and houses simply from the lack of sufficient financial aid. The question of money was at the bottom of the whole thing; and he was quite sure that to whatever body the housing problem was entrusted, unless it was treated financially as a great national question, there would be the same kind of failure in the future as in the past. There were two other points which he ventured to bring to the attention of the President of the Local Government Board. A special feature of the Bill of 1906, ignored in the present Bill, was that every cottager might be given a certain amount of land beyond the limit provided for under the existing law, extending, in proper cases, to three acres. It was believed that by giving this larger amount of land, the cottagers would be able to pay a higher rent. Another vital suggestion made by the Select Committee on the Bill of 1906 was that the price at which land was taken compulsorily for housing purposes should be made to bear some sort of proportion to the rateable value. The local authorities should not be obliged to rate the land at one price, and to buy it at another. On these points he thought that the Bill was susceptible of improvement. He hoped the President of the Local Government Board would accept the criticisms which had been offered as directed simply to the object of improving the Bill, and preventing it becoming the dead-letter which the legislation of former Governments had been.

*Mr. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): I desire to approach this Bill as my hon. friends on this side of the House have done, in a friendly and non-controversial spirit. I myself most firmly believe that if any measure can be contrived so that substantial progress in the great cause of housing can be made it would do more for the good of this country than any other conceivable legislation. I have to say little with regard to that which by courtesy is called the first part of the Bill. I am bound to say that at Easter-time the combination of a north-east wind and the contemplation of this extraordinary mass of confused clauses, presenting no unity of idea and reflecting nothing but confusion of substance and obscurity of form—I confess that that combination was not conducive during the vacation to a calm examination of the clauses of this Bill. I have listened to nearly all the speeches and the arguments after the explanation of the President of the Local Government Board, and the argument of every single Member who followed him has been almost entirely upon one line. I think that every speaker has said, agreeing with the Select Committee, that the county council should be the authority that should dispose of these matters. I think every speaker has pointed out that whether it be for purposes of economy in administration, whether it be for purposes of obtaining ability of *personnel*, or whether it be to the authority and to the permanent tenure of the officers of the county councils, as compared with district councils, the county councils should be the authority, and not the district councils, for the purpose of administration under this Act. I think the argument of my hon. friend the Member for Chippenham, and of several other most able speakers whom I heard, made that so plain and obvious that I do not propose to spend time upon that which has been so well argued or to diminish the effect of such arguments. But I did look, in regard to the first part of this Bill, for some guidance or direction by legislation towards that goal which the experience of eighteen years of the Act of 1890 has largely shown to be the right one. That experience has been largely gained for us—I speak in no offensive sense—by the disasters of the London County Council in some of the efforts, laudable and praiseworthy efforts, that they made to solve this question, under the procedure of Part I. of the 1890 Act, a procedure by which large districts were cleared of insanitary houses, and under which the poor people who lived in them never got proper housing accommodation—schemes under which expensive buildings were put up only suitable to quite a different class of people from those displaced. The clearing of insanitary areas did not provide rehousing for the people displaced, and brought the whole proceedings into discredit by the enormous cost put on the ratepayers. The Housing Committee of Birmingham, whose work I have personally examined, did not clear large areas or involve the ratepayer in this heavy cost. They proceeded under the second part of the Act, and compelled and persuaded, and sometimes coaxed, the owners of property themselves to put it into sanitary order. They pulled down a building here and there in order to give light and air in a court, but that was practically the only expense that came on the ratepayer at all. I think, moreover, some 1,300 or 1,400 houses were repaired and restored and placed in a sanitary condition at the cost of the owners. Was that done at a cost comparable to that which was spent in Liverpool or London? Not in the least. I have a very moderate estimate, which is probably very much under the fact, which shows that the cost was £56 per head of the rehoused population in London, whereas in Birmingham it cost 15s. or a little over £1 per head, to be liberal, in order to rehouse and put the houses into a sanitary condition.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. MASTERMAN, West Ham, N.): The cost to the local authority and the ratepayers?

*MR. LYTTELTON: The cost to the local authority and the ratepayers—the entire cost—was 15s. per head. I do not think the observations of the hon. Member for Bradford, to which I listened with great interest, would commend themselves to the House at large. I understand that his proposition was that the houses in insanitary areas should be pulled down *en bloc*, without compensation to the owners. That might be his view, but I do not think he believed he could persuade the House to adopt it, but that he put it forward as a counsel of perfection. I will not say more about the first part of the Bill, but I will invite the House to give a few moments' attention to the second part, the town-planning part of the measure, to which I desire—though, of course, many, many improvements must be made in it, in regard to which I desire to guard myself—to give a most cordial welcome. We cannot hope to do much more than not to repeat the mistakes of the past, but what is really advisable on the part of any authority dealing with this question is bringing in the zones that lie outside the great towns. Deplorable and lamentable mistakes have been made in the past. The motto of those who are dealing with this subject should be to encourage what I may call an imaginative foresight. I cannot claim it for myself, but there are those who have spent years upon this question, when they see a town and the districts around it, with an instinct which belongs to genius, conceive the idea of how the town will shape itself in the future. Take their advice, take their counsel at the earliest possible stage. I am told by a great authority that in pulling down houses that have been built upon haphazard plans and in laying out new streets for public improvements, the ratepayers of this country have had a burden of no less than £30,000,000 placed upon them, almost all of it due to the failure to perceive the physical destinies of towns. Lay out on a definite, well-ordered plan your main roads, then lay out the plans you have for the public buildings grouped round the central market-place, then your smaller roads, and so arrange for your town, and the ratepayers of the future will not be put to the deplorable expense of remedying the confused blundering of the past. On the contrary, instead of groaning from constant inroads and invasions made upon their pockets, let us see that they shall have a seemly and well-ordered plan in which they themselves recognise the prudence and forethought of their forefathers, in which they will have themselves a seemly pride. But may I most earnestly beg the right hon. Gentleman to divorce these plans for the future from all suspicion of aggression upon those who own land? If they have given that study of the subject which I have given to it, I think they will find that in many cases the large landowners have been the best friends of this movement. It would be deplorable if the House were to follow the example of the hon. Member for Bradford who advised the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board not to schedule as building land zones which were taken over for building houses, but to schedule them as agricultural land. That is a most remarkable suggestion, and I hope the hon. Member will forgive me for saying, even from one of the most advanced creed. We have heard from those benches before that Socialistic reform is based upon compulsory purchase at a fair price for existing interests, but if land is bought for building houses upon it, what is it other than building land, and if it is building land why on earth should not building land price be paid for it? I do not think I need spend further time upon it, but the local authority would not be justified in taking this land unless they thought it was ripe for town-planning—in other words, ripe for building—and it is obvious that it would be reasonable, just, and fair that it should be paid for as such. May I say that from experience I have had in co-operation with my hon. friend the Member for Birkenhead, from whom I have learned many things in this matter, and I should like to say so publicly, that what we found and what is found all over the country is that nothing can be more disastrous from every point of view than the rigid bye-laws which exist at the present day? What is the effect of prescribing with hide-bound rigour forty and sixty feet roads, and insisting in all cases on channelling, curbing, macadam, and so on? Wide roads are necessary no doubt when they are main roads passing through a town, but absolutely unnecessary for a village of four or five cottages. In certain places these provisions afford in an ugly manner light and air; but light and air could be given in a better way, by open spaces, by tennis grounds and cricket grounds if you like. If you make your buildings follow the contour of the land, and have boulevards with trees in the broad roads, if you have nice grass borders on the common roads, you will have all the elements of a cheerful existence, or many of the elements that are giving to our tenants at Hampstead the greatest pleasure and pride. That is what you have to do. You have a model for it in the Act of Parliament which we passed at Hampstead for this purpose. May I suggest also with regard to the numerous proposals for appeal to the Local Government Board and the refusal of the schemes by the Local Government Board, that an inquiry in the locality among all the public-spirited men in the locality, including those who know the history of the place and who are familiar with the conditions, should be the first step? Assisting at such an inquiry should be one of the trained experts whom the right hon. Gentleman proposes to appoint; and will the right hon. Gentleman enjoin such a president to be tactful, and make the people of the locality think the suggestions which he might make came not from him, but from the local people who are there? There is a way of doing that which is persuasive and at once gets local feeling enlisted on the side of your plan rather than against it. I do not intend to convey to the House by making that suggestion that the most valuable evidence would not be gleaned from the locality itself, and the suggestion of the President of the Local Government Board should be supported on this. I was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that the order of things should be agreement, conference, compulsion. That is the right order, with as little compulsion as you can put into effect. I believe it would scarcely ever be required. The right hon. Gentleman may correct me, but I remember when it was put to the landlords of London that it would be a good thing to open the squares to the public use.

MR. JOHN BURNS: You mean reserving the squares for public use.

*MR. LYTTELTON: Yes; something like seventy were immediately thrown open.

MR. JOHN BURNS: Yes, sixty-seven out of 440.

*MR. LYTTELTON: Yes, and not a bad number for one year. I believe if this thing is put as it ought to be as a great public movement for the country the landowners will be found most ready to second the scheme. A few cases will arise where you have a small and obstructive owner, and only in those cases will you have to put into force your compulsory powers.

SIR F. BANBURY: Cut their throats.

*MR. LYTTELTON: The hon. Baronet says cut their throats. Certainly not. Full compensation will be given or land of a similar character quite near will be exchanged. I do not think such conditions as those can be described by even so stalwart a supporter of property as my hon. friend as cutting throats. The last word I have to say is, Do not turn back the opinion which is rapidly advancing; and do not spoil it by undue haste. There is in this country at present very little experience indeed with regard to town planning, and if the population do not follow it so quickly as they ought, and if towns are not consequently being laid out in such a fashion, I am perfectly certain we should do right if we paused a little to allow private experiments which are now going on to ripen. Experiments are being made at Bournville, Port Sunlight, Hampstead, Green Street, Ealing—almost all the available talent in this delightful but new subject is employed in stimulating this movement and devoting itself to this purpose. At the present moment you have ten or twelve schemes laid out on business lines, but not on competitive lines, which have made much progress and improvement. They have learned much during the few years that they have been in existence, and they have taught the public at their own private cost. Nothing could be more desirable than that these experiments should go on at the private expense. What would be most desirable at the present moment would be to encourage a continuance of these private schemes, to watch them and derive all lessons you possibly could from what is going on under them, and to put a stop order, as it were, on the towns that are growing up in so haphazard a manner, naturally in the zones just outside the towns which are devastated by the jerry-builder. At any rate, you should prescribe a minimum on the lines of new progress, but do not bind yourself too tightly. Let experience be gained before you attempt to take into your hands that which, once launched, would be a gigantic scheme, and one for which the skilled talent in the country at the present moment is not adequate. This Bill will require the most drastic amendment; in fact, the first part ought to be re-cast, and put into a more intelligible form. The second part of the Bill contains the germ of a magnificent reform. Every class in this kingdom should accept its share in this task, which will eventually redound to the well-being of the country.

Mr. MASTERMAN: May I entirely reciprocate the most friendly spirit which the right hon. Gentleman opposite has displayed his criticisms of this Bill? Having done that, may I express also what I believe to be the opinion of everybody who has followed this debate, namely, that such a discussion on a social subject, of a large social reform, under the conditions which it has been carried on to-day, is an exceedingly pleasant interlude in the play of party politics? I have listened to every speech in the debate, and I can honestly say that I do not think any speech has been delivered in any spirit but that of a desire to improve the Bill. Although I do not agree with some of the lurid pictures drawn of the first part of the Bill, yet I do think the general welcome given to the measure, and especially to the most revolutionary part of it, is a great encouragement to those who, like myself, have been anxious about this subject for so many years. Before I deal to the best of my ability, with the criticism of the right hon. Gentleman and those of my hon. friends on this side of the House one word on the last point the right hon. Gentleman made in this debate. He welcomed, he said, that part of the Bill which deals with town planning. No Member of this House has a better right to deal with that point, because the right hon. Gentleman was associated with a company which has been most successful in town planning in the scheme of the Hampstead Garden City. Of that company the right hon. Gentleman was the chairman, and to a large extent the guiding spirit. He will agree with me that there is nothing in the wording of the Bill in the least degree incompatible with an expression of the desirable relations between central and local authority which should be read into its clauses. He gives advice which I am sure my right hon. friend will follow in the administration of this Bill as to the desirability of conference before agreement and compulsion only as a last resort. On one proposition he placed before the House I should join issue with him. He appealed for delay on this question. Undue haste may lead to experiments not altogether desirable, but, as he himself indicated, we cannot delay in connection with the development of our towns. Not a day passes but the process is continuing, and it is better for us to go forward, even if it means some failures, than to allow future generations to bring the reproach against us which we bring, especially when we represent such districts as I represent, against our ancestors. I see no reason why my own district should not have been developed very largely like the Hampstead garden suburb is now. It is a district where, if anything is to be done for the benefit of the people, large demolitions will have to be carried out. Anything the tendency of which makes for delay in this and all social reforms would be deplorable. I venture respectfully to say that they press for development even if, under certain conditions, we may have some risk of failure. The right hon. Gentleman has repeatedly declared that we have had only eight or nine experiments, nearly all successful, carried out through the enterprise and charity of companies or by the generosity of private individuals. Let me remind the House of what indeed the majority of the present Members know, that in this particular question of town planning we are not limited to the experience of this little island. We are to follow at a long interval and very slowly, not the example of Germany, but practically the example of the greater part of the civilised world, including Sweden and Norway and countries whose social experiments are not so advanced as those of large empires. Almost every civilised country is far in advance of us in connection with this question. The least we may demand, a demand which should be welcome in all quarters of the House, is that we should bring our level of civic development, controlled by the State as a whole, up to the level of other countries of Europe. Leaving the question of town planning, let me deal with one or two other criticisms of the Bill. There is first the criticism made again and again in the debate of the extraordinary wording of the measure: "Confusion of substance," the right hon. Gentleman summed it up in, "combined with obscurity of form." I think—and I do not imagine that anyone responsible for this measure will deny it—that you have here an example of legislation by reference carried almost to breaking point. Like my right hon. friend, I have spent—before I had the advantage of what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin refers to as the experts which Government officials are able to obtain—many perplexed and not altogether enjoyable hours in trying to hunt allusions from one Act to another through the greater part of the legislation of the nineteenth century. In connection with that, let me just remind the House that very definitely, if possible in this session and if not in the immediate future, a complete consolidation of the whole of the Housing Acts of this country has been promised. I am not sure we are not doing better to follow the admirable precedent of the Small Holdings Bill of last year and to make our amendments first, even if it means some severe mental study, and then to bring in a Consolidation Bill so as to allow for the rural district councils' capacity for understanding this Bill and the whole of the housing legislation. The hon. Member for Chippenham—to whom personally I must express my gratitude, not only for his admirable speech and criticism to-day, if I may say so, but also for that memorable text-book on rural housing for which the Committee over which he presided is responsible, and which was familiar to me before I had any particular conception that I should be defending this Bill—takes, besides certain criticisms to the whole system upon which the Bill is developed, objection to what he calls the bureaucratic Germanism by which it is directed—the continual bringing in of what bears a name of opprobium when it is called the Local Government Board, and a name of honour when it is called a Central Authority. Those friends of mine who carried on the debates on the Small Holdings Bill of last session, and those familiar with that Bill, will have noticed how much this measure depends upon the same system, and they will agree with me when I say that the whole of our emphasis was just to endeavour to bring in as far as possible, compatible with a certain amount of initiative and responsibility of the local authority, the final driving force of the central body. Indeed, we received many severe criticisms from the hon. Member for Middleton for the emphasis we laid upon this fundamental necessity in dealing with rural reform. In every question—I think I am right in saying—dealt with in all these sixty-eight complicated clauses, there is no single suggestion of bringing in the central authority to do the work or to compel any other authority to do it unless that work is not being done, and unless there are complaints from some minor authority, or from some medical officer, or from ratepayers in any locality, that obviously, for some reason or another, the sanitary housing laws are not being carried out and some proportion of the population are suffering. It seems to me that even the most ardent advocate of local authority——

**Sir J. DICKSON-POYNDER**: Can my hon. friend show me a clause where the county council, as the central authority, are called in to do the work if the rural district council fail to do it, before the Local Government Board is applied to to do the work?

**Mr. MASTERMAN**: That is not my point at the present moment. I am not dealing with what the local authority shall be—whether the rural district council or the county council. That is a very interesting controversy which will perhaps occupy the Committee in considerable debate. The criticism made by my hon. friend and re-echoed by certain hon. Gentleman during the debate was that this Bill was far too much inclined to drag in the Local Government Board for the purpose of these particular duties. The Local Government Board only comes in as the final Court of Appeal; and, if I may repeat the argument used again and again in the debates on the Small Holdings Act, only comes in as responsible to this House and its Members. Through its introduction, any Member, by asking Questions or by the ordinary machinery of Government responsibility, may obtain some means of control or information as to whether these laws are being carried out, which he would not be able to obtain if the laws were entirely in the hands of the local authorities. The hon. Member for Chippenham made a point of one of the recommendations of the Select Committee over which he presided. I must honestly confess that, having read the evidence, I do not think it entirely bears out the recommendation that the powers which the rural district councils possess in connection with rural housing should be taken from them and given to the county councils. I agree, and I think the House will agree, that that is a point essentially to be fought out in Committee; but there is one particular statement which may be made in connection with it. The hon. Member for Chippenham and my hon. friend the Member for Middleton both emphasised—and they had a right to emphasise—the comparative failure of the rural district councils to take action under Part III. of the Housing Act. Both these hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for Newbury and many other speakers proceeded to pass from that impeachment to a very elaborate statement, which was justified, that under the old housing legislation, which we intend to alter, it was practically impossible not only for rural district councils, but any council under any condition to carry out Part III. of that Act. Therefore, if you say that money is too expensive or that land cannot be acquired and cottages built in the country at reasonable cost, it is not fair to impeach especially the rural district councils, when it is evident that had the power been in the hands of some other council they would have had to meet exactly the same difficulty. There are many criticisms as to there being no general summary available for Members who are not specialists in housing legislation of what the operations of this Bill will be. I should like, in connection with the various criticisms which have been advanced, to try and bring before the House not in the consecutive clauses of the Bill, but in some general form, what are the changes which the Bill designs. I join completely in unison with the hon. Members for Birkenhead, and St. George's, Hanover Square, in saying what, indeed, many of us have been saying nearly all our lives, that this is the most vital of all the social problems the House is considering. The difficulties arise from a certain special reason. That special reason, as the President of the Local Government Board told us, is the transference of our people from a rural to an urban life—a change which certainly is without parallel in the whole course of civilisation. That transference has made three broad problems. There is first the problem of the deserted village—the problem which has been specially explained by those who have spoken in the debate—the problem of villagers where no houses are being built, because it does not pay people to build, and where the houses which are built are largely being allowed to fall into ruin and decay. There is, secondly, the problem of the developing town, in two forms—the town in the conditions which have developed even within a very few years in the creation of slum areas or houses which are a menace to human life and welfare, and the town as it is developing at the present moment round the outskirts as the great manufactures call more and more of the rural population from the villages into the great cities. I would ask the House to consider this Bill, as indeed every housing Bill should be considered, in connection with its clauses, under these three divisions, and then I think the misty, obscure, and various other epitheted clauses, which go to make up Part I., may perhaps be found to possess some slight guiding trail of light. Let me come, first of all, to the village, and let me emphasise again what I think Members will discover if they take some trouble to compare this Bill with the Report of the hon. Member for Chippenham, that reading the Small Holdings Act, which in part was the result of the recommendations of that Report, and this Bill together, a very large amount of that Report is being carried out by the two together. We first of all recommend that the rural district council, which remains the local housing authority, shall not be required to adopt the Act, which in practice means that they shall not be restrained from adopting the Act by the veto of the county council. It is perfectly true, and it is a legitimate argument to state, that that veto has not been much used, but there is much evidence to show that the suggestion of the veto's being used and the possibility of its being used, has prevented the stirring up of the more active members of the rural district councils into action in this matter. That was the recommendation of the Report, and to that the Bill supplements the recommendation which now has been criticised by the hon. Member for Chippenham, but which in substance must demand some action. That is that in the event of default in such action, in the Bill as it stands, the Local Government Board can either entrust the power to act to the county council or can compel the rural district council to act. Secondly, and, believe me, this is a not unimportant element, we have a far easier method of acquiring land for houses. I was surprised, with some slight knowledge of rural England and also of the housing problem, in noticing in the Report of the Select Committee what a very large position this inability to acquire land occupied in the regions where no action has been taken. Members of the Committee who are present will bear me out in that statement. In sixty-two of 100 rural district councils giving Returns they were stopped from taking further action by the fact that no land could be acquired without the threat of compulsion, and that the threat of compulsion had altogether broken down owing to the dolorous collapse of the few demands that had been made to put that compulsion into force. There is no more doleful record in the history of the Act, which I agree was a great charter of social reform—the Act of 1890—than the discrepancy between the hopes, as you read them in the debates, expressed by Mr. Ritchie, who was in charge of the Bill, and others, of the power of acquiring land on easy terms for the first possessor of houses in town and country, and the actual experience, through the machinery of the Act, of the unfortunate councils, who, inspired by such hopes, endeavoured to obtain the land by compulsion. The case will be familiar to many in the House. Years of delay, cost piled on cost, and even at the end, after the delay had been overcome and the cost had been met, the result of the arbitration giving the local authority the land at perhaps twice or three times the value at which it was being sold, or, if they were hiring it, at which it was being hired, to private persons. In this state of conditions, and stimulated also by the very strong recommendation of the Rural Housing Committee, this Bill proposes to bring into effect the method of the Small Holdings Act which will be very familiar to all those who engaged in the debates last year. It may be that even under these conditions too much compensation will be given, that there will be delay, and that the costs will be piled up, but at least we have, to a large extent, eliminated the greater part of the cost—the lawyers' fees, of which I think everyone will approve except interested parties, and we have knocked out altogether the expensive and dilatory method of requiring a provisional order if the acquisition of the land is resisted, which may land the council into an expenditure of £10,000 or £20,000, and we knock out, except by the demand of the Local Government Board, the appearance before the arbitrator, who finally decides what the cost shall be, both of the lawyer and of one who has no more friends than the lawyer, the expert witness. Having got over that difficulty—and I believe if this is satisfactory it will be not so much that the Bill will obtain so many of these compulsory acquisitions of land, as the knowledge that the menace of compulsion is behind will make for more satisfactory treatment of land acquired under a free system—having obtained our land under these conditions, the next necessity is the building of the houses upon it, and there also I entirely agree with the criticism which has come from every quarter of the House as to the possibility of building for the agricultural labourer cottages at rents which are equal in amount to the rent now charged for his cottage, and as to the provision of cheap money for rural housing. I would ask the House to remember that the rents now charged in rural districts are really a form of wages, which are given to the agricultural labourer, and that it would be an exceedingly questionable policy either to give grants from the Imperial Exchequer or to lend money below the market value at which the State can lend in order to build cottages which can be let at a price similar to that of the cottages around it. It would simply mean a subsidy to wages, and not in any degree a permanent advantage. That difficulty has faced every Committee that has had to deal with the problem. The hon. Member for Bradford instanced the example of Ireland. There are a good many violations of normal political economy in Ireland which have not yet crossed St. George's Channel, and the evidence of this Committee, the protests which were made in this House, when some of these Irish Labourers Acts were debated, and the evidence which has been obtained from Ireland in the Report of the Dudley Commission, all go to prove that this broad result is being produced in Ireland at the present time—that we are giving a subsidy not merely to labourers, but generally to the rural areas of Ireland. I do not in the least degree object to such a thing, only let us see what we are doing when we do it, and do not let us declare in light-hearted fashion that it is necessary for this House, however difficult the condition of rural housing may be, to take what is a short cut, that may be not a very sane cut, to solve the problem by giving a subsidy to the farmers and landlords of the rural districts of England. The Bill does all that can be done short of that, I think. If not, please let us have frequent criticism of what it does in Committee. It knocks down the rate, which has often been up to 4 and 4½ per cent., at which money can be borrowed from the Public Works Loans Commissioners to the lowest rate possible. That lowest rate now is 3½ per cent. for money lent at twenty years and 3¾ per cent. for fifty years. But that rate depends almost entirely upon the condition of public credit, and it is a little difficult to see how, with the conditions under which money has to be borrowed at the present time for Irish land purchase, it is possible to imagine that we may demand large subsidies in aid of loan flotation which Ireland is desiring in vain. We give the lowest rate, we have extended the loan period from fifty to eighty years, and we have also inserted a provision that there shall be no increase of interest for the increase in the time of the loan, and we have also agreed in Clause 29, partly in response to the demand which was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin, that the payment in the rural district shall be a general rate spread over the whole district, unless otherwise decided by the central authority, instead of its being limited to the particular parish in which the rural housing is carried on. I have had worked out for me what may be regarded as a typical case. Taking the cottage at £150, and allowing for the necessary cost of rates, rent, and repairs, and taking the lowest period now available for money, namely, eighty years, we knock down the rent which can be charged from 3s. 9d. or 3s. 10d. per week to about 3s. 1d., that is, we knock 9d. off the rents in rural districts. For the ordinary agricultural labourer earning 15s. a week it is, I agree, impossible to find any unsatisfied demand for cottages at 3s. 1d. a week. But there are in the villages other classes who demand good cottages at a cheap price, and we hope that those who are able under the Small Holdings Act to cultivate a small piece of land may thereby be able to pay the extra shilling of rent for improved cottages. Under some of the small holding schemes, I have visited cases where those engaged on them producing produce and getting profit are able to pay much more than 3s. 1d. for the cottages erected by the local authority.

EARL WINTERTON: Where is the hon. Member referring to?

MR. MASTERMAN said he was referring to the strawberry-growers at Catshill.

EARL WINTERTON: But that is a special industry.

MR. MASTERMAN: There was another typical instance at Winslow, about nine miles from Salisbury, where labourers' cottages had been built at considerably more than this price, and they were asking for more cottages to be built for them, and they were even prepared to pay 4s. and 5s. per week for them. A point has been raised with regard to the question, not of building, but of putting in decent repair and making habitable those cottages already built. This Bill, by Clause 13, provides that the local authority may itself make the closing order, subject to an appeal by the owner to the Local Government Board. The slum problem is the same in the town as in the village. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, referred to Part II., and used rather hard words about the London County Council who have no power to put that part of the Act into force. The right hon. Gentleman asked the Government why they did not take advantage of the experience which had been obtained under the working of Part II. in Birmingham in developing and enlarging that most beneficent system adopted there. An alteration of Part II. is demanded just as much by those very town reformers in Birmingham, and they regard some such alteration as we propose as a necessity for the continuance of their work. They declare that their work is being hampered by the fact that the local authority have to go to the justices of the peace for a closing order, and often the justices show a good deal of sympathy with those who have taken refuge in slum property by refusing to make the order. In any case the local authority has to do this work, and after they have made up their mind to apply for a closing order the magistrates often refuse to grant it. In accordance with the demand of these authorities the Bill provides that the local authority may itself make the order subject to an appeal to the central authority, and the decision of the central authority shall be final. That is a very considerable improvement in the methods adopted under Part II. The Bill proceeds to make another change almost revolutionary in character. Under the old Housing Acts it is only in regard to cottages under £8 a year that the obligation is placed upon the landlord to see that if they are let they must be let in a proper condition fit for human habitation. The Bill raises the limit of value to £16 a year for the country and £40 in London. The cottages must be not only in a fit condition when let, but must be maintained and kept in a fit condition during the time of the tenancy. Failing this the local authority may first of all require the landlord to put his property into a proper state of repair, and if he is too long about it the local authority may do the work themselves and charge the landlord with the cost. If this provision is carried out honestly by local authorities it will remove what is, after all, the chief difficulty in regard to Part II. The ultimate resort is, of course, the closing order followed by demolition. The old prejudice against the closing order is that the poor people have nowhere to go, the only result being that they go into the neighbouring slums or wander out of the village disgusted. If the provision we propose is carried out there will be no menace of the closing order and no reduction of one single cottage either in town or country, but there will simply be a perpetual responsibility laid upon those who are letting that property to keep it in decent repair. On this point a prominent Member of this House once said—

> "If every slum owner were hanged at the door of his slum I might think it was a harsh exercise of the criminal law, but I should not weep my eyes out over his destiny."

Those were the words of the Leader of the Opposition. I may observe that we do not propose to carry out the revolutionary methods indicated in those words, although we recognise that such men as the right hon. Gentleman referred to often help to create the slum. We lay upon the slum landlord the responsibility for seeing that his property is carefully looked after and the tenants will be compelled to maintain some reasonable and decent standard of life. It is perfectly possible for every slum landlord to see that his property is kept in a proper state of repair. It is said that as Part I. of the Housing Act of 1890 has failed in its operation it is a mistake to encourage the local authorities to continue in the matter. I agree that there has been a very large financial loss in connection with the operations of Part I. of the Act, but I believe that this loss may be in part reduced by the simplification of procedure and the removal of costly legal expenses suggested in this Bill. There are slum areas in this country where the mortality is higher than the mortality of the battlefield. Those areas must be broken up, the inhabitants scattered, and the whole district raised to some better method of life. There is a recent example in Liverpool which throws a far less burden than the more obvious and glaring examples of some of the London slums. In regard to the suburbs, this Bill makes a great advance which all parties in this House will welcome. We propose to try to save for posterity the development areas of the towns. The Bill proposes to do that in the fashion the right hon. Gentleman opposite desires. In the main we are agreed in this matter. We leave the local authority to schedule the land which, in the future, it thinks it will want for the development of the growing town. Building land is defined as any land likely to be used for building purposes. Building land is sometimes held to include parks, open spaces, and playgrounds, and any kind of land is held to be in effect building land which is desirable for a growing town.

MR. LYTTELTON made a remark which was inaudible in the Press Gallery.

MR. MASTERMAN: I do not in the least imagine that the definition will be accepted by the right hon. Gentleman, but I think he will find it is the right one, not so much that they can acquire the land and build upon it—say the cricket ground on which the right hon. Gentleman and my right hon. friend disport themselves on certain occasions—but that it is land which they may acquire under the Act, because, being land in the neighbourhood of a growing town, it is land which may be acquired by the local authority to be used if it should be required for the development of the town, with the sanction of the Local Government Board. It can be acquired by the simplified method of procedure which we have adopted in the Schedule under the clauses of the Small Holdings Act. Under that method cheaper money is provided for the buildings required, and I think the question of public utility will be met in a fashion satisfactory to all parties. The question was raised that in buying land there would inevitably be speculation and holding up against the local authority, which would mean the giving of a far greater price than it would otherwise bring under other conditions. But it is necessary to explain, I think, that the local authority can buy land in any part of the scheduled area, and that there is no kind of necessity laid upon them to perform the dismal operation which is now being done under the Small Holdings Act of indicating the exact piece of land they wish to acquire. It should be remembered that this is not an Assessment and Valuation Bill. An Assessment and Valuation Bill has been promised by the Government, and that answer should be satisfactory, I think, to hon. Members who desire to see valuation put on a sound basis. It will be impossible to deal with this question of holding up land against the local authority until you have that Bill before the House. The charge has been made that this procedure is complicated. This Bill, as I think rightly, has not swept away the succession of Acts built up, and the authorities built up in past years, but has tried to build on the experience which these Acts and these authorities have given as to failure where there has been failure, not railing against the local authorities where their position has been impossible, but seeing if there cannot be found a way of driving through or getting round obstacles which have been placed in the front of those great reforms. It has been complained that there is no finality about the Bill, and nearly all the criticism advanced to-night has been that fruitful, and not fatal criticism, which demands more in the Bill than it gives. Does any one imagine, or make any kind of assertion, that in any Housing Act ever produced in this country finality can be reached? In the migration which has taken place from the rural to the urban areas, and, as some of us hope to see, from the urban back to the rural areas, we have no kind of appreciation of more than a few years ahead of what those changes will demand. We ask the clearest criticism, the clearest sympathy, and the clearest co-operation in the Committee to which this Bill will shortly be referred, recognising that in the immediate past housing legislation has been non-party legislation, and we ask that all parties in the House will co-operate in making this measure what we intend it to be—a large and generous social reform.

MR. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.) moved an Amendment declaring that no measure dealing with the housing question could be carried out satisfactorily which did not, as a preliminary, provide for the valuation of land apart from buildings, and until power was given to the local authorities to purchase land compulsorily at such ascertained value. He said there was one aspect of this question which had hardly received the attention it deserved, and that was that the result of any reform in connection with land was that the price of land was raised; and, as far as he could see, this Bill would have exactly the same effect. As the result of Irish land legislation he believed the price of land in Ireland had gone up considerably, and he was quite sure that one of the effects of the Small Holdings Act would be to send up the price of agricultural land in England. It did not matter what reforms or improvements they contrived, they all ended in raising the price of land. A short time ago the Great Eastern Railway Company ran all-night trains to Walthamstow; the experiment did not pay the railway company, and the only effect was to put up the price of land and houses in Walthamstow. Under Section 45 provision was made for the laying out of open spaces and recreation grounds, but laudable as the object was, the effect would be to raise the value of land in the neighbourhood, and in that way the local authority would be raising the price of land against itself. He was surprised to find that under Section 50 the local authority could not buy land unless it was included in the limited area of a town planning scheme. That was a kind of advertisement for land, and the local authority would ultimately have to pay the piper. He held that they ought first to have a proper system of land valuation. He was sorry to say that the Scottish Valuation Bill was leading a rather precarious existence, but he had no doubt that it would eventually get through, and then they would have a Valuation Bill for England. He assured the right hon. Gentleman that if local bodies had power to tax land, or to take it up on the valuation which such a measure as he suggested would provide, all the operations of this Bill would be materially simplified and made easier and less expensive. Human nature being what it was, it was only natural that men should attempt to hold up land. He had held up land himself on the outskirts of a growing city, and, what was even worse, he had actually bought land with a view to holding it up. That was in his unregenerate days before he became a land reformer. He did not want to put an obstacle in the way of the Bill, but he felt obliged to point out the great blot upon it.

MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme) seconded the Amendment. It seemed to him that the measure now before the House was a somewhat dangerous piece of tinkering with a much wider question than the Government were prepared to deal with. It was only a small part of the whole land and housing question. If the State or a municipality went into the market as a purchaser, under present conditions the price of land would be forced up. Since the passing of the Small Holdings Act the Member for South West Norfolk, a champion supporter of the measure, had stated that in the small holdings acres of land had risen by 15 per cent. on the previous value. The result would be the raising of land values generally, and sooner, rather, than later. This Bill, though in rather a different way, proceeded to spend the money of the State on the purchase of land for building purposes. He was not opposed to the nationalisation of land, though he preferred the nationalisation of rent. But, if the land of this country was to be nationalised, care should be taken that they were just, not only to the owners of the land, but to the community that paid the price for it. What was the basis on which land was purchased? It was rather difficult to say, but if hon. Members looked at the Bill they would find that land was to be bought on the same principles as under the Small Holdings Act, and under all the complications of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act of 1848. That Act was designed by landlords for landlords, and it had extorted extravagant sums from the pockets of railway companies and of the public as compensation for the compulsory purchase of land. So much was it recognised that the purchase clauses in last year's Small Holdings Act were impracticable, that the Attorney-General himself said it was pre-eminently a hiring Act and not a purchase Act. He recognised that the purchase clauses in the Act were strangled by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, and with great trouble they passed Amendments in Committee which were sent up to another place basing the purchase price on the rateable value of the land. Those Amendments, however, were rejected by the House of Lords. He would give two examples of the sort of thing which took place under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act. The London County Council purchased a large area of land on the south side of the river for the erection of a county hall. Amongst other places taken was Messrs. Holloway's factory. That firm was paid the full prospective value of the land; the full value of the buildings, as though they were new; and the extra 10 per cent. But they claimed also £80,000 for the trouble of shifting their factory, although the change did not affect their business in the least. So well founded was their claim under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act that the valuer employed by the London County Council said that they had better give Messrs. Holloway £20,000, which was done, and so they got £20,000 for nothing. The other case was in Cumberland where a certain amount of meadow land was let for £2 per acre, and the rest of the ground to be acquired was wild moorland, which probably would not have fetched more than £10 an acre in the open market. The land was wanted for a reservoir for the Manchester Water Works, and the landlord, his agent, and his lawyer put their heads together, and came to the conclusion that they would charge, not only for the meadow land and the grazing land, but for the view—the scenery! They said "Here are the hills, and here is a valley; this is a most suitable site for a reservoir," and under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act they were able to extract payment from Manchester for a reservoir. In fact, Manchester paid far more than the framers of the Act of 1848 ever intended or dreamt of. It was owing to the decision in that case that in every future case of purchase under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act landowners would be able to extract more money than ever from railway companies and the public. It was under that Act of 1848 that this Radical Government proposed to purchase land for the housing of the people. If that were done, and if the State started business on that basis, there could be only one result—failure. As it was necessary to have this purchase of land for the building of houses, it seemed to him that what was wanted was the abolition of the present tax upon houses. Our ancestors fifty or sixty years ago took off the tax on food, and food became cheaper, and at present the tax on food stuffs with the exception of sugar, was practically *nil*. On the houses of the working classes, however, which were as much a necessity, and indeed a far greater necessity than many untaxed articles, the rents were taxed by means of rates. The rates were a tax upon the houses of the people of this country of from 25 to 50 per cent. What was wanted was to take that tax off the rent and transfer the rates to land values, thus freeing the houses from taxation. Then they would get good and cheap houses, and at the same time they would force land into the market, and get it provided at cheaper rates than at present. He had a great authority for his statement. When last year they were in Drury Lane Theatre, getting up a land and housing reform demonstration, and were drawing up a resolution to pass at the meeting, his hon. friend the Member for one of the divisions of Northamptonshire was raising an objection to the introduction of land values into that Resolution, as he thought it raised too much of a controversial question, and he remembered the hon. Baronet the Member for Northwich standing up in that Committee and saying that the Prime Minister had told him only a day or two before that land reform without reform of rating would be a mockery. Their late Leader was dead, and instead of a real land reform they had a mockery before the House. If they could only get from the Government a Valuation Bill for England as they had had a Valuation Bill for Scotland, if they could only have those two Bills passed into law giving a separate valuation of land apart from buildings, they would then have, not only the basis on which purchase could be absolutely placed, but a guide to compulsory purchase. He begged to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all after the word 'That' and insert the words 'this House is of opinion that no measure dealing with the housing question can be carried out satisfactorily which does not as a preliminary provide for the valuation of land apart from buildings, and until power is given to the local authorities to purchase land compulsorily at such ascertained value."—(*Mr. Hart-Davies.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr, ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): I do not gather from the speeches of my two hon. friends that they have any objection to the main principles of the Bill, and I think that they would be sorry if any action of theirs prevented its being submitted to consideration in Committee. They have raised a question of very great importance to which the Government attach as much importance as themselves. I do not agree that the Bill proposes to apply in the case of housing the provisions of the Lands Clauses Act of 1845. It applies to the compulsory acquisition of land the provisions, substantially modified, of the Small Holdings Act of last year. But I do not want to go into points of detail; I wish to assure my hon. friends and the House that the Government are quite as alive as my hon. friends are to the necessity for accompanying this by legislation for a proper system and method of valuation. But all cannot be included in one Bill. I have pledged the Government, and I hope at an early date my right hon. friend will introduce a Valuation Bill which will have two objects in view; first, to simplify and methodise and make as far as possible uniform a system of valuation throughout the whole length and breadth of England and Wales; and, in the next place, to provide for what almost all of my hon. friends regard as equally important, a separate valuation for site and buildings. No Valuation Bill is or can be adequate to meet the necessities of the case that does not carry out both of these objects. I hope my hon. friends will accept this assurance, given on the responsibility of the Government, and withdraw the Amendment.

MR. HART-DAVIES said that after the satisfactory assurance from the Prime Minister he desired to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

MR. ROWLANDS (Kent, Dartford) was understood to say that as a member of the Select Committee he had some experience on this subject, and he wished to have an expression of opinion from the President of the Local Government Board. The Parliamentary Secretary had pointed out what was being done to get cheap money for rural districts, but so far as he could see that did not meet the case. He knew that the Parliamentary Secretary raised the point that there was to be cheaper money, and he thought he reduced to that extent the cost of rent per cottage in rural districts by 9d. a week, but then he had to admit that the rent would be 3s. 1d. or 3s. a week. He took the hon. Gentleman's word that he had gone thoroughly through the evidence taken before the Select Committee, but it was put before them that it was quite impossible in certain cases for the labourer to pay anything like 3s. a week, and it was the whole *crux* of the Bill how they were going to deal with these men. The Parliamentary Secretary went on to deal with cases where they got small holdings, and where men could pay the economic rents, but there was a large area of the country where it was impossible for the men to pay extra rent, as in places where they grew fruit. The Committee, of which his hon. friend the Member for Chippenham was chairman, had to consider what they should do in districts like that. They had to recommend in those districts a larger amount of garden land. This Bill allowed only half an acre, and he hoped when the Bill went into Committee they would reconsider that point. He believed that if a larger portion of land was allowed to the cottage, not enough to call it an allotment or a small holding, but for a garden on which the tenants could raise a portion of their rental, it would be most successful.

*Mr. BRODIE (Surrey, Reigate) merely wished to add one word to what had been said by the hon. Member for Dartford. He felt that it would improve the Bill if power were given to build cottages with larger gardens than half an acre. Greater elasticity was required. He could not agree with the hon. Member for Chippenham that in all cases the county council should be considered the best authority for dealing with this Bill. The Parliamentary Secretary had referred to a Return which the Local Government Board had made in response to an appeal he had made. In that Return it was clearly shown that in many cases where the district councils had attempted to put into force Part III of the Act of 1890, they had been crushed by the county councils. In some cases the county council were the best authorities, but in other cases the rural district council should be made use of. He believed they would greatly assist the working of the Act by giving greater power to the parish councils which had now the duty put upon them of supplying allotments. He hoped the Government would see their way to giving the parish councils power to build cottages with land up to five acres.

Sir F. BANBURY said the Parliamentary Secretary had stated that he had listened to every speech that had been made on this Bill. He himself had listened to a great many of them, and although the general tone of them, no doubt, was in favour of the Bill they all suggested that it wanted drastic Amendments. The hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme had said it was a dangerous piece of tinkering, and that it was a mockery to put it before the House. He did not consider that a speech of that kind was in favour of the Bill.

Mr. MASTERMAN said that what he said was that every suggestion was in favour of amending the Bill, and not made in any spirit of obstruction.

Sir F. BANBURY pointed out that if, as according to one hon. Member, the Bill was a mockery it would, of course, have to be amended, and he himself would be willing to amend the Bill by leaving out all the words after "whereas." By such an Amendment the Bill, in his opinion, would be very much improved. The President of the Local Government Board had made a speech of sincere enthusiasm, and really seemed to think he was going to regenerate humanity. He was going to find vast sums of money at a low rate of interest, with which he was going to reconstruct all the bad buildings that had been erected during the last 100 years. If he thought the right hon. Gentleman could do such a thing as that, he would vote with him for the Bill, but because he did not think it was possible he should oppose it. If the Bill became law and became a success, and the right hon. Gentleman found large sums to reconstruct the houses, what was to become of the people inhabiting those houses during the time of the reconstruction? The right hon. Gentleman said the reason why so many houses were empty was because they were unsuitable, owing to their having a basement. The houses in Mayfair and Belgravia also had basements: did the right hon. Gentleman propose to reconstruct those too?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Those do not come within the purview of this Bill.

SIR F. BANBURY thought the project of the President of the Local Government Board was impossible unless we were to have the millennium, which we were not going to have ["Oh"]—certainly not with the Party opposite in power. This was a bureaucratic measure of the very worst type. He had marked a great number of clauses in the Bill of which he would have liked to have had some explanation. Under the Bill the Local Government Board could say to the county council in Surrey: "There are four people who have come to us and told us you are not doing your duty." The hon. Gentleman said they must be ratepayers, but he saw the words were "inhabited householders"; there was no necessity for them to be ratepayers.

MR. MASTERMAN: Yes, I made a mistake.

SIR F. BANBURY said that on the initiative of four people who need not be ratepayers the Local Government Board could build 1,000 cottages in Surrey against the wish of the Surrey County Council and compel the ratepayers in Surrey to pay for them. That was a bureaucratic system pushed to an extreme, and one which he was certain the people of England would not approve. What was the real reason why many cottages in the country were bad? There were two reasons. One was that the cottager could not afford to pay more than 1s. or 1s. 6d. a week rent. His wages were not higher because the farmer could not afford to pay him more, and the farmer could not afford to pay him more because agriculture was depressed. How were they going to remedy that? The ratepayers would lose on the building speculation which would be entered into under the Bill. His right hon. friend said that he hoped the mistakes made in the past with respect to town planning would not be made in the future, and that better provision would be taken to develop the towns in a proper manner. But who knew in what direction a town was going to develop? If hon. Gentlemen had the gift of prophecy they could make enormous fortunes for themselves and the ratepayers, too, but they had not that gift, and they were not going to make fortunes either for themselves or the ratepayers. There were many people who had tried to make fortunes by building houses in the directions in which they thought towns were going to develop, but very few of them had been successful. If the right hon. Gentleman had been a bank director, he would have known that when people borrowed money for building speculations they were very seldom successful. Lawyers were always going in for building speculations, and there were often failures of solicitors due to the fact that they had made advances for such purposes. He wanted to know how the President of the Local Government Board or any other President could go into building speculation and make it successful when it could not be done by others? The real reason there was this difficulty about housing was that people built houses very often in the wrong places. That could not be altered by the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman's inspectors and officers would be just as ignorant as to the direction in which towns were going to extend as people who had built houses in the past. He himself believed that the only effect the Bill would have, if it was not a dead letter, would be to drive more capital out of the country. How would the right hon. Gentleman obtain money for the purposes of the Bill? Who was going to lend the money when they would be met with the knowledge that the land had been taken away from somebody else at less than its value? He did not think the House had realised the effect of the Bill. They had been carried away by the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman and the natural desire that everybody should live in good houses. They could not force the millennium by Act of Parliament. There were many reasons why the houses of the working classes were bad. In many cases it was impossible to make the people keep the houses clean. That difficulty had to be met, and it was part of the fallibility of human nature which could not be got over by an Act of Parliament. He regretted very much that the Government had not allowed them to have a discussion of the Bill up to eight o'clock to-morrow night. He thought it might easily have been done. It was an extremely important Bill, and it was quite impossible for anyone, even the most practised speaker, to deal with all its provisions in the time at his disposal. He thought they ought to have had a chance of giving expression to their views. He was obliged to get up and say what he had said, because he would not have liked the House to consider that the Bill was received with approval on all sides. He quite recognised the good faith of the right hon. Gentleman, and believed he was absolutely sincere in his desire to do something for the good of the country—a desire they all shared—but he did not believe he was going to do any good under this Bill. Many of its propositions would involve the municipalities in larger expenditure and increase their debts. That was a great mistake, and he had hoped that it would not have been made at this moment. The municipalities should be encouraged not to extend their capital liabilities and not to increase their expenditure, but this Bill would encourage them in both directions, and when they had done so they would have houses which they could not let at remunerative rents. He would have liked to divide against the Bill, but he was afraid there were not enough on that side of the House and perhaps they had better not divide, though he would be perfectly willing to do so if anybody would go with him.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

*Sir F. Banbury.*

## COMPANIES (CONSOLIDATION) BILL AND POST OFFICE (CONSOLIDATION) BILL.

Ordered, That the Lords Message [7th May], "That they communicate that they have come to the following Resolution, viz., 'That it is desirable that the Companies (Consolidation) Bill and Post Office (Consolidation) Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament,'" be now considered.

Lords Message considered accordingly.

Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Resolution. Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

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## COMMONS.

Ordered that a Select Committee be appointed to consider every Report made by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the enclosure or regulation of a Common, and presented to the House during the last or present Sessions, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order,

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power in respect of each such Provisional Order to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament; and, if so, whether with or without modification, and in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Twelve Members, Seven to be nominated by the House and Five by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered that Five be the quorum.—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

And, it being half-past Eleven of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at a quarter before Twelve o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

# HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Wednesday*, 13*th May*, 1908.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

Ammanford Urban District Council Water Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Newry, Keady, and Tynan Railway—(Petition for Bill).—Examiner's Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Wednesday next.

London and District Electricity Supply Bill [H.L.]; London Electric Supply Bill [H.L.]; London (Westminster and Kensington) Electric Supply Companies Bill [H.L.].—Leave given to the Select Committee not to sit again till Friday next.

Rochdale Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments.

Cambrian Railways Bill [H.L].—Committed: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The Orders made on the 20th of February and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) Bill; Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed.

North Eastern Railway Bill; Draycott Gas Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed: The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Gosport Gas Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed.

Leicester Corporation Bill; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed: The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Louth and East Coast Railway (Transfer) Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed.

Tollemache Estate—Moved, That the Order made on the 25th day of March last, "That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after Thursday the 7th day of May next," be dispensed with; agreed to; Judges report received accordingly.

Tollemache Estate Bill [H.L.].—Presented, and read $1^a$.

Tollemache Estate Bill [H.L.].—The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, that in pursuance of Standing Order No. 163A, relating to Private Bills, he had, on the requisition of the Chairman of Committees, appointed Samuel Howard Whitbread, a Member of the House of Commons, as guardian or protector of the infants: Douglas Tollemache Anstruther, Joyce Anstruther, Prudence Sergison, Cynthia Sergison, Beatrice Whitbread, Peter Whitbread, Marguerite Evelyn Keppel, Judith Iris Keppel, Jocelyn Abel Smith, and Veronica Mary Smith named in the Bill, to represent such infants before the Committee on the Bill.

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read $1^a$, and referred to the Examiners.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—Read $2^a$ (according to order).

Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Hurly's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^a$ (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

## *PETITIONS.*

### LAND VALUES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition against; of the Associations of County Councils in Scotland; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Code of regulations for continuation classes providing further instruction for those who have left school, 1908.

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3975. Turkey (Adrianople).
No. 3976. Chile (Coquimbo).
No. 3979. United States (Hawaii).
No. 3988. Russia (Poland and Lithuania).
No. 3993. Mexico (Salina Cruz).
No. 3994. Mexico (Progreso).
No. 3995. Honduras.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (URBAN DISTRICT OF LLANELLY).

Order made by the council of the urban district of Llanelly, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain classes of shops within the urban district.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Order with respect to the urban county district of Larne.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

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### LAND VALUES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Order of the day read for the House being put into Committee.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*Lord Herschell.*)

*VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN: My Lords, I think it may be of advantage to the House, and it would enable us to consider the Bill in Committee with greater facility than we can at present, if before we are confined in our discussion to the particular Amendments that may be proposed we should obtain from his Majesty's Government some general idea, at any rate, as to the precise grievance which they mean to remedy by this Bill, and the reasons why they have chosen this method for remedying it. I say that because this Bill comes to your Lordships under somewhat peculiar circumstances. It is recommended in another place and outside Parliament by the Scottish Law Officers of the Crown as the first step to a very grave and important change in the law of rating and taxation in Scotland. We were practically told, and the country was practically told, that the object of obtaining the information, as it was called, with regard to ground values under the system proposed in this Bill was that the whole amount of local taxation, and I assume, of income-tax as well, levied in Scotland should be charged upon ground values, instead of, as now, upon the composite value of the hereditament—namely, the building and the ground; that practically buildings should be relieved from all taxation. And it was stated that proposals of this kind, if accepted by Parliament for Scotland, would later on be extended to England. I think your Lordships generally viewed that proposition with considerable alarm and repugnance, and I feel very certain that if any intention of the kind had not been entirely repudiated by the noble and learned lord on the Woolsack, and by other Members of His Majesty's Government in the debate on the Second Reading of this Bill, it would never have reached a Second Reading in this House at all. But it was repudiated, and therefore the Bill must be taken as not having any object of that kind in view, but as simply establishing another head in the assessment roll upon which in future rates may be levied as well as upon the heads now existing in that roll.

What was the grievance put forward by the speakers on behalf of His Majesty's Government which this Bill was intended to remedy? I listened to, and I have since carefully read, the speeches of the noble Lord who introduced the Bill, the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I find that according to the noble Lord who introduced the Bill the grievance is this, that agricultural land in or near a burgh may be largely increased in value by the expenditure of the burgh authority and so made available for building, and that, when so made available and largely increased in value, it can at present only be rated in its actual state as agricultural land. It was contended that on this account such land does not adequately contribute to the rates of the authority whose action has increased its value, and that, in fact, the other ratepayers suffer heavily by its only being rated at its present figure. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack went rather further. He pointed to the very great increase of rates in the towns, accompanied by an increase of land values and rents in the centre of the towns, and he expressed the opinion that the high rates tended to increase the land values in those centres, and that both were due to the concentration of people in the heart of the towns. The result was that there was excessive overcrowding, and it was practically impossible for the working classes to obtain proper sanitary accommodation in the centres of the towns at economical rents; whereas all the time the land on the outskirts was kept back from building by its owners, largely because it could only be rated at its agricultural value, which might be very low indeed. I think that practically was the grievance put before your Lordships by the Lord Chancellor.

The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies carried the matter a little further, because he suggested to us that the proposal in the Bill ought necessarily to apply to agricultural land as well as to land in towns, because of the desire of His Majesty's Government to show some special favour to agricultural land in the question of rating. Well, that is a quite novel idea on the part of His Majesty's Government and their supporters. They have shown no symptom of the kind hitherto, and I think it did great credit to the noble Earl that he urged this reason with so much gravity. So far as, I think, the more serious arguments went, the Bill was recommended to us as intended to cure what is purely an urban grievance, and it is said to be a grievance, without any proof being alleged that it is, in fact, a grievance, owing to the withholding of land from building by the owners of sites available for building. The noble and learned Lord on the Wool sack quoted largely from the Reports of Commissions which had dealt with this subject in London and other great towns in England, but, as was pointed out by the noble Earl, Lord Rosebery, at the time, he had no instance whatever of any similar withholding of land from building in Scotland, when such land had become ripe for building.

If this be the only grievance which it sought to remedy, my question to His Majesty's Government is this, Why cannot it be remedied by a much simpler and smaller change in the law than is proposed by this Bill? If you consider it necessary to separate the ground value from the value of the buildings upon the ground, why, in the first place, must you change what has always been the basis of rating in this country—the annual value? Why are you to take the basis of capital value, with what seems to me the almost necessary concomitant of prospective value, which, as I think was clear in the debate on the Second Reading, may, under this Bill, be prospective to an almost illimitable extent, and afford the fullest play to the imagination of the assessor. If His Majesty's Government desire simply to remedy the grievance which they themselves put forward, why could not they have devoted their attention to an amendment of the law with regard to rating at the present moment in Scotland? The law is, I believe, to this effect, that in estimating the yearly value of lands and heritages the same shall be taken to be the rent at which, one year with another, such lands and heritages might, in their actual state, be let from year to year. Such a simple Amendment as that suggested by Lord Balfour of Burleigh might have remedied the grievance by extending the words "in their actual state," and "from year to year," so as to include any other purpose for which the lands could immediately and reasonably be devoted on a longer tenure than a yearly tenure besides that to which they were actually devoted at the moment of assessment. I do not know whether your Lordships would have been disposed to receive that Amendment favourably, but, at any rate, it would have been a simple Amendment in the law of assessment and would not have involved the very serious changes proposed by this Bill, which I think have properly created in the country alarm for the future with regard to the intentions of His Majesty's Government.

I have no intention of detaining your Lordships at any length in asking these questions, but I would say this, I think the promoters of this Bill ought to prove the case for it by actual instances. When they were challenged to do so, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies said—

> "We are asked to tell you when and where land has been held up from building. It is always held up."

That was his answer. Well, any one might have said in reply—

> "It is never held up."

And one assertion, I venture to say, would have been just as good as the other. What we ought to have in this matter is argument rather than assertion, and proof that the argument is well founded. But if no such proof is put before us, and I suppose there is no such proof available because it has not been put before us yet, then I cannot understand why His Majesty's Government insist on proposing that the change in law which they suggest should be made applicable to the whole of Scotland. Unless the case is proved, why, if you are to pass a Bill altering the law of assessment, cannot you allow your scheme to be tested by leaving it optional to the local authorities to adopt it instead of forcing it upon a local authority like the council of the great city of Edinburgh, which has declined absolutely to have anything to do with the proposed change in the law? Those are the points on which, I think, it will be for the advantage of the House that we should have some clear and definite statement from His Majesty's Government before we proceed to the discussion of the particular Amendments to the Bill. First, will they clearly tell us what is the grievance which they intend to remedy, and what are the proofs they have of the existence of that grievance; and, secondly, why, if that grievance exists, it requires so great and far-reaching a change in the law of assessment to enable it to be properly remedied?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN): My Lords, I did not come prepared with statistics such as the noble Viscount requires, because I was not aware until a minute or two before the noble Viscount rose that he proposed to enter upon this subject before the House went into Committee. I have very little difficulty, however, in answering his first question. What, he asked, was the grievance? On the Second Reading of the Bill I endeavoured to explain what appeared to me to be the grievance that called for amendment. It is that under the present system the real value of property is not fairly rated as between the ratepayers. One ratepayer owning property to the value of £1,000 would be rated at £50 a year; a ratepayer next to him, owning property worth as much, but which happens to be unbuilt upon, would be rated at £3, £4, or £5. No statistics are required to establish that fact. It is well known.

The noble Viscount asked me to furnish statistics to show that there were such cases in Scotland. I quoted English statistics because I had them available, and I should have thought everyone recognised that the conditions, as regards towns particularly, in England and Scotland are substantially the same. If I had known that any distinction would be made in regard to English and Scottish figures, I would have tried to get the Scottish figures; but I am not aware that Scottish figures are so readily available or so accurate. I also dealt with the second grievance of the noble Viscount in the Second Reading debate, and dealt with it substantially in the terms of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission, of which Lord Balfour of Burleigh was a member—namely, that land itself was not rated in regard to the benefits it received by reason of improvements in the town or neighbourhood. It is a very difficult subject. I endeavoured to place my views before the House on the last occasion, and I do not wish to enlarge upon what I then said.

The noble Viscount also questioned whether all this elaborate machinery was required for the purposes of the Bill. I cannot help thinking that the machinery is simple enough. At any rate, I do not think it could be more simply done; and if there is anything wrong in that respect we can consider it in Committee, if the House allows the Bill to go to Committee. The noble Viscount seemed to think that there was some short, expeditious, and very simple method by which this result could be achieved in a few sentences. I am not aware of it, and I am afraid that if the noble Viscount had to draft a Valuation Bill, he would find it could not be done in so simple a method as he imagines. We are willing to consider any improvements in the way of making it clearer. I think I have answered the questions put to me by the noble Viscount. So far as the Amendments on the Paper are concerned, I venture to think the subject is largely one of detail when once the principle is established that there ought to be some valuation of land values so as to do justice to the ratepayers by enabling those who own property to be rated according to the value of the property they own.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: My Lords, I hardly think the noble and learned Lord has succeeded in disposing of the question raised by the noble Viscount, and he certainly has not succeeded, in my opinion, in justifying in any way the enormous change which is proposed in this Bill from the standard of yearly value to that of capital value. The noble and learned Lord referred to the Minority Report of the Select Committee, and I would point out that on page 174 the question is dealt with without in the slightest degree even suggesting that it was necessary to make this violent change to capital value. In advocating the change, we expressed the opinion that the definition, even as it stands, ought to cover the rent which a tenant would give for land for building purposes. But we went on to say—

> "The Courts of Law have, however, decided against such a view, on the ground that land must be valued on hypothesis that it is to be used for the same purpose for which it is at present used, or in its present state *rebus sic stantibus.* What our proposal amounts to is, in effect, the removal of the limitation thus put upon the definition of value."

I shall not intervene for more than a minute or two before the House goes into Committee, but as the question has been raised I do suggest that the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has given an extremely inadequate reason for this tremendous change in the whole system of valuation. In England, from the time of Elizabeth, the standard has been what the hypothetical tenant would give. In Scotland annual rent is the main criterion provided for, so long as that rent is not fixed for a longer period than twenty-one years; otherwise, if such a lease as that is shown to the assessor then the standard in Scotland is similar to that of the English hypothetical tenant.

I venture to say that neither capital nor selling value can possibly give a fair criterion of the revenue which a man is receiving or his ability to pay taxation. I do not suppose I need quote works of authority on political economy to establish the wrong which would be done by rating on capital value. It is all very well to take capital value as a test for such a thing as death duties, but there is no single instance, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, of a rate being put upon capital value. Our whole point is that this is a change which it is not necessary to make for the purpose of remedying the particular grievance alleged. Personally, I think there is a distinct grievance, though it has been very much exaggerated for political purposes by the Scottish law officers of the Crown; and the sort of speeches which they have delivered have made a moderate reform very much more mistrusted than it would have been if they had not made those speeches. I agree that their statements were disposed of in explicit terms by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack and by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but, valuable as those speeches were, speeches in this House are not fully reported all over the country and are not generally read.

The Solicitor-General for Scotland has been going through a campaign for the last two years, and I have in my hand extracts from some of the more than thirty speeches which he has made all over this country and in which he has over and over again asserted as the intention of the Government the very policy which the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack described, in one dissyllabic word, as "nonsense." At Boness, in January of last year, the Solicitor-General, speaking as a member of the Government, stated, almost in so many words, that in this point he is a disciple of Henry George, that he intended to carry those principles into effect in this Bill, and that it was the intention of the Government to do so. When that sort of language has been used month after month in Scotland, and in England as well, I think the noble Viscount on the Front Opposition Bench was justified in raising the question and endeavouring to get a definite and explicit interpretation of the meaning of the Government.

I venture to say that the Lord-Advocate has not been much better than the Solicitor-General, because he has held out visions of the most extraordinary amount of revenue he is going to get from this new form of taxation. Speaking in the House of Commons, he said that the unbuilt-on land in Edinburgh was rated on a value of £2,750 per annum and only brought in £344, whereas if it were rated at 4 per cent. on the capital value it would bring in £27,500. I have gone into the figures. There are 3,200 acres of vacant land in Edinburgh, and if it were rated at £10 an acre it would yield a little more than the figure mentioned. But at the rate Edinburgh is extending it will be more than 150 years before the last of these 3,200 acres is built upon, and therefore the injustice of rating this land at the figure stated is obvious. When both of the law officers of the Crown have been making such calculations and holding out such hopes, we are justified in being very careful how we allow new principles in rating to be established. My point is this, that if your grievance is as stated you can do all you want by a slight extension of the definition of yearly value, and there is no reason to make the change to capital value. I think we are fully justified in making quite sure that we are not, without knowing it, being committed to principles to an extent of which even His Majesty's Government themselves are not aware.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, I am very anxious not to stand between the House and the process of going into Committee, and I need, therefore, only say a few words in reply to the point raised by the noble Lord who has just sat down. I am all the more relieved from speaking at length, as we have it on the authority of the noble Lord that our speeches are not reported and are not read in Scotland. I am not surprised that mine are not, but I should have hoped that those of my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack, who is a Scotsman, would have received due attention north of the Tweed.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I said they were not so widely reported as those of the Solicitor-General, because he has been making them all over the country.

THE EARL OF CREWE: The noble Lord who has just sat down has asked us why it is that we desire to make the great change of rating on capital value instead of an annual value. That is, of course, in a sense a great change; but the really great change is not the change from rating on annual value to capital value. It is the change of rating from present and existing value to real or future value; and whether that process is arrived at through taking the number of years' purchase or taking the capital value does not seem to me to be very important. The noble Viscount expressed in perfectly clear terms what our object was in proposing this addition to the Scottish Valuation Roll; and I may say, in passing, that principles which are good for Scotland are undoubtedly good for England as well. We do not desire or propose to transfer the whole burden of the rates from buildings and improvements to the land, but we certainly do desire to transfer a certain proportion of that burden, and our intentions in that respect have never been concealed. Consequently, as I say, the real change is the abandonment of the present value of the land, whatever it may be, as a basis for rating, in favour of what, if you choose, you may call the hypothetical value. I asked the noble Lord on the occasion of the Second Reading whether he and his friends took up the position that under no circumstances ought rates to be placed on the land for anything except the actual rent received at the moment by the landowner, and to that we have never received any reply. If noble Lords opposite admit the principle that some such charge may be made, it simply becomes a question of the amount of the charge, and what is the fair proportion which ought to be laid on the value which might be received from the land. There is no sanctity which we can see about the principle of rating on rental. Rating on rental may be, as noble Lords opposite know perfectly well, of an absolutely misleading character. I imagine that some of the most valuable and most luxurious houses in England have a very small letting value, simply because they are so expensive to live in that people would not pay a large rental; but I do not think anyone would say that a house of that kind should escape rating altogether, which it would do if the purely letting value were taken as the basis for rating. I think the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack fully answered the questions put to him by the noble Viscount, and I hope we may now proceed to go into Committee.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I only interpose for a moment to point out that it is not quite the case that the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has answered the question put to him by the noble Viscount. We have been endeavouring ever since these discussions began to elicit from noble Lords opposite some information as to the basis of ascertained fact upon which these proposals are founded. We have been told again and again that there were cases in which land was held back by the owners in an obstructive manner, in such a manner as to arrest the proper development of our cities, and at the same time to elude the rates to which property of that kind should be liable. We have asked again and again to be supplied with concrete cases in which such abuses have taken place, and although we have tried again and again to get to close quarters with the elusive figure of this obstructive landowner, he invariably escapes our grasp.

The only tittle of evidence which the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, as I understand him just now, was able to produce was derived from the Royal Commission on Housing of 1885; but even those Royal Commissioners merely stated that in their view it was probable that there was building land which produced a smaller return than it would produce if it were let for building. I cannot find in that report any specific evidence of the kind which I think your Lordships are entitled to demand. But we have had an item of evidence within the last few hours which, I think, deserves the attention of the House. If it is true that there are some owners of sites who are reluctant to put them on the market, is it not reasonable to assume that their action is due, to some extent at all events, to a very natural and proper caution on their part? Now only last night Mr. John Burns, when explaining to the House of Commons a very important measure dealing with the question of town planning, mentioned incidentally the fact that there were in London at this moment between 50,000 and 60,000 empty houses. Is there not a moral to be drawn from that? Is it not clear that, with 50,000 or 60,000 empty houses in London, the owners of vacant sites in the Metropolis might think twice before they forced their land upon the market? And if the owners of the sites very often unable to foresee the future demand for houses, is it not probable that these assessors to whom you are going to entrust the duty of rating unoccupied sites, or sites which are not fully developed, will be just as fallible as the landowners?

It is a somewhat singular fact that His Majesty's Government should at one and the same moment have laid before Parliament two measures—one of them designed to prevent the hurried and haphazard and unmethodical development of building sites in the neighbourhood of great cities, and the other, designed to force everyone, whether he likes it or not, to put his land on the market and cover it with buildings, whether they are wanted or not. I shall have something to say later on with reference to the question of capital *versus* annual value. The noble Lord opposite told us frankly what his object was in preferring capital to annual value. He says he wants to get at the real value, and what he means by the real value is the future value. That is what fills us with apprehension. It is these excursions into the regions of prospective value which seem to us so dangerous. If annual value is not necessarily the ideal basis for rating, it has, at any rate, this great merit—that it is founded upon simple and easily ascertainable facts. You can find out what rent a man is paying for his premises, and you can also find out, supposing the premises are vacant, what premises of a similar kind are let for in the neighbourhood; and having ascertained that you have a reasonable clue as to the means of the person upon whom you are going to levy the rate. But once get away from that, once go into these questions of remoter or prospective value, and you find yourself in the region of hypothesis and conjecture, you find yourselves at the mercy of the officials to whom the administration of this Bill will be entrusted, and you find yourselves, I am afraid, within measurable distance of doing a very great wrong to the individuals concerned.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: My Lords, I venture to intervene in this debate because I stand before you as the culprit, if there is a culprit, who drafted the paragraph in the Report of the Commission on the Housing of the Poor which contemplated that land in the neighbourhood of towns might fairly be rated upon its selling value and not upon its yearly product. I still hold that in suitable cases you have a right to look beyond what the land is actually fetching at the moment, its temporary value, in order to consider what its real value is. I think the measure should be, not what the land may hereafter be worth, but what it is worth at the present moment.

I will give an illustration from the old succession duties to show how very inadequate the yearly value may be in testing the real value. I remember that when I first began to study law in the sixties the estate of Lord Sefton, near Liverpool, came to be dealt with. He had unbuilt-upon land, a disused brickfield, but land which, the moment the builder took it, would become of very high value. Within a short time after the then Lord Sefton's death the land was disposed of for building, and the Crown claimed succession duties on the improved value. The Court, however, decided against the Crown on the ground that succession duties were calculated on the value at the moment of death. The more recent law as to death duties has altered that and taken the capital value at the time of death; and in the case of building land near a town capital value is estimated at what the land would yield if put to proper use in the market.

I think the noble Lord opposite has himself recognised, in the Minority Report, that there is propriety in certain cases in looking behind the actual letting value to consider what burdens should be put on the land. Therefore I am anxious that we should go into Committee on this Bill, because I think it is necessary to come to close quarters with the vague terms of the Bill in order to see what can be done consistently with justice, and how far the vagueness of the Bill opens the door to dangerous spoliation in the guise of taxation. I think everyone must see that, as the Bill is drawn, there are two things which will have to be dealt with. One is the treating of all possible building land, particular plots of which, if chosen, might have a high value, as all of the same value. To say, because the owners of a thousand acres near a town are able to sell one acre at £1,000, that therefore their thousand acres are worth £1,000,000 is quite ridiculous. Every one of your Lordships who deals with suburban estates knows perfectly well that an owner would take a much smaller sum per acre for a large portion of land than he would be willing to take if only a small portion were purchased.

There is another point in the Bill which I think will lead to hopeless confusion and expense. I refer to the attempt, in cases where houses and buildings already exist, to sever the value of the land from the buildings and the improvements. The question really of interest to the ratepayers is, What is the land worth now and what will it yield? I think that to rake up ancient questions of how the land acquired its present value and sever it from its improvements is quite useless. With regard to the rating of large mansions, however, I think the low rating of some of these has been a scandal. The reason put forward for the low assessment is that there are very few people rich enough to be able to rent these big houses. Where an owner spends £200,000 or £300,000 in improving his mansion, I think a fair way would be to treat the owner as a hypothetical tenant and rate him on a fair rent.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House in Committee.

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clause 1:

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH moved an Amendment that the additional column under the heading of "Capital Land Value" should be inserted in the valuation roll of "any county" instead of "each county." The effect of this amendment, he said, would be to do away with the compulsory character of the Bill and leave it to the option of each valuing authority concerned as to whether or not they would put it in force. He would like to remind their Lordships very shortly of what it was in this connection that he himself was committed to by the Minority Report of the Royal Commission, upon which so much discussion had taken place. They reported that there were certain grievances in regard to the rating of urban land. They strictly limited their recommendations to urban land. On that basis they concluded that a valuation of sites could be made, and they then dealt with the question of how that valuation should be utilised for purposes of taxation. They discussed and dismissed the scheme, which had now been disavowed by His Majesty's Government, of putting the whole of the rates upon that site value so ascertained; and no one could find the slightest support in anything they said either for abrogating existing contracts or for confiscating what was known as the unearned increment. But they did say, and he still agreed, that here and there site value was enhanced automatically by extraneous causes and was depreciated by others.

To some extent the increase of site value was the direct outcome of the outlay of the ratepayers' money. That was much less so in Scotland than it was in England, owing to the method in which rates were levied in the two countries. For most of the matters which went to improve sites under the Scottish system the whole of the rates were levied upon the owners already. This Bill proposed to make an effort to ascertain the site value as distinct from the whole value of a subject not only in urban districts, but all over the country. He did not object to that, provided they knew what the object aimed at was to be. But he hoped it would not be alleged that anything in the Minority Report committed them to that particular suggestion. Having regard to the conditions of valuation laid down for agricultural land in the Bill, he put it to noble Lords that what would be left as the value would not be very great.

The point of difficulty in his mind upon the matter was two-fold. In the first place, he thought that noble Lords opposite were enormously underrating the cost to which they were going to put not only the local authorities but the owners of the land; and, in the second place, he did not think that any really useful purpose would be gained, commensurate with the expense, by making it compulsory for a series of years and over all the country. No rating could take place upon it until a rating Bill had been passed. Therefore it was surely sufficient that it should be done once for all, and not every year, until it was going to be used for rating purposes. This was a new experiment, and he suggested that, having regard to the difficulties involved in it, it would be wise to leave those local authorities who were mainly interested in the subject to say whether they would put it in force.

As to the cost, he had endeavoured to find out something about the number of entries which appeared in the different valuation rolls. In the city of Glasgow there were 217,000 entries, in the city of Edinburgh 87,000, and in all the counties throughout Scotland there were nearly 600,000 entries. The difficulty of the task which was sought to be imposed on the assessors and the local authorities was one of enormous magnitude, and he suggested that it would be wiser to do it as an experiment in some places rather than make it compulsory all over Scotland at once. He understood that the Government had offered to pay some part of the expense. He ventured to suggest that the only means of getting fairly at what the local authority and the Treasury respectively should pay was to put the local authority in the position of being able to make a bargain as to whether or not they would put the Act in force. The necessity, in his opinion, for making it applicable to counties as well as to burghs, arose from this, that in the case of many of the most growing burghs the valuation authority was the county. That was why he did not think the Amendment of the noble Lord on the bench behind would meet the case. The valuation authority in Scotland was either a county or a burgh, but the only burghs which had authority in rating were what were known as Royal and Parliamentary burghs. An Amendment was down in his name that only the larger and the growing burghs should have the option of putting the Act in force. There were about 120 burghs in Scotland know by the name of police burghs, which had not authority for valuation; and therefore, unless the option was given to the counties as well as to burghs, it would not be possible even to have an experiment made in the case of many growing places. Therefore he held most strongly that if the Government gave the option at all they must give it to all valuation authorities. He would call their Lordships' attention to the definition in the Bill under which land was to be valued. In the case of agricultural land it was to be—

> "divested of buildings, erections or improvements, of whatever nature, on, in, or under the soil, woods, fixed or attached machinery, and work of drainage and of reclamation, making up, levelling, and the like, where the benefit thereof is exhausted at the time of the valuation."

That was no slight task for the unfortunate assessor. To do his duty he would have to find out if every drain under agricultural land was still working. He would like to see the Bill put into force, because in regard to agricultural land it would show the futility of the transaction upon which the Government had embarked. The absurd result of the definitions in Clause 3 would be that rich agricultural land in Mid Lothian and East Lothian would appear in the valuation roll at not much more per acre than the highest hilltop of a deer forest in Sutherland.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, to leave out the words 'each country and,' and to insert the words 'any country or'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

LORD HERSCHELL said there appeared to be several objections to the Amendment which had just been proposed. In the first place, the object of the Bill was to ascertain information concerning the whole of the land of Scotland. They could not take a certain number of examples and from those draw deductions regarding the remainder of the land. The local conditions, which differed in different burghs and counties, would make any such deduction practically valueless. Before proceeding further with this point, he would like to look for a moment at the Amendment on the Paper, to which the noble Lord alluded, defining the word burgh. It read as follows—

"For the purposes of this Act the word burgh shall mean and include only those burghs in Scotland which under the Valuation Acts are constituted a separate authority for valuation purposes, and contained at the last census a population of not less than 100,000 persons."

This confined the word burgh exclusively to Royal and Parliamentary burghs, for police burghs for valuation purposes came under the county. So that the police burghs were not to be given the choice of adoption.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: The Bill does not give them any power by themselves.

LORD HERSCHELL said that might be so, but under the Bill they would all be valued. They would be valued by the county. The point he wished to make was that, although they were most important and very large communities, they would not be in a position, under the Amendment, to have a choice of adopting the Bill, except in so far as they were represented on the county council. The fact remained that they would have no individual choice in the matter. The main point really was this. The Bill they were considering was a Valuation Bill, and the principle of adoption did not seem quite applicable. The object of the Bill was to secure information with a view to the consideration of future rating proposals. Once this information had been secured, it would be perfectly possible, should subsequent rating proposals be introduced, to make the adoption of those proposals optional. But this being purely a Valuation Bill, there would not appear to be very much inducement to burghs and counties to adopt its provisions, even though they might heartily and entirely approve of them. Would not the tendency rather be for each valuation unit to leave the preliminary to others, in the belief that if and when subsequent rating proposals were introduced everybody would be placed on the same footing? As the object of the Bill was to secure a national valuation, this, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, could only be obtained by making its provisions apply generally.

VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN said he gathered that the reason which largely influenced his noble friend in moving this Amendment was the remarkable nature of the system which the Government proposed to substitute for the present system of assessment. He had shown that it was expensive, that it would be extremely difficult for the assessors to decide on what the assessment should be, and that, so far as agricultural land was concerned, it was practically an absurdity. His noble friend's desire was that the adoption of the Bill should be optional, in order that different authorities in Scotland might make experiments and see whether this remarkable system could be made operative throughout the country. The object of the Government was to obtain information which should form the foundation of some subsequent rating Bill. Therefore, there could be no real difficulty in making the adoption of this Bill optional. It was difficult to decide upon this Amendment without knowing what course the Government proposed to take in regard to subsequent Amendments relating to the system of assessment which might be introduced.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said he would do his best to reply to the noble Viscount. He did not answer in detail in the discussion on the Motion to go into Committee because he would have an opportunity of dealing with the different points as they arose. He hoped the Committee would not insist upon this Amendment. It was better to have no new valuation at all than a chess-board valuation. The Government desired to obtain information for the purpose of seeing what equitable change in rating might take place. If this Amendment were carried they would not have the machinery for imposing such a change except in those parts of the country which had been included in the valuation. There were strong reasons, as it seemed to him, for doing either nothing or the whole thing. The work of valuation would not be extremely difficult, and as noble Lords who had had experience of appeals in valuation cases would be aware, the questions that would arise had been satisfactorily dealt with, and were not unusual. In regard to the expense that was supposed to attend the valuation, there was evidence given before the committee. It was stated by Mr. Harper, the experienced officer of the London County Council, that he could value the whole of London for £25,000 the first year, and for £5,000 in subsequent years, and the estimate for the valuation of Glasgow was £5,000.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said varying estimates were given and he could mention others of a higher amount.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR thought they might regard the figures as liable to a little expansion. He admitted there was some obscurity in the words of the definition clause as it stood. Originally the improvements that were to be excluded were limited in the Bill to twenty years, but in the House of Commons Mr. Balfour objected and had the twenty years struck out—an elimination which he ventured to think was a mistake. There were words at the end of the subsection referring to the improvements to be eliminated as being exhausted improvements; but the clause itself very likely required revision, although the wound in its side was not due to its friends but to its opponents. On the Report Stage he would suggest words that would show that it was not what was called "prairie value" that was to be arrived at. He would not now go into the distinction between yearly value and capital value, but would reserve this point until it arose upon a later Amendment. For the present he would merely say that it was better to have no new system than to have a system which was only a piecemeal one. They wanted a national system, and they did not think the difficulties or the expense considerable.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said they could only deal with the Bill as it stood; the intention of the Government was another matter. Under the Bill it would be quite possible to divert the whole rating from the annual value and place it upon the capital value. Whether or not the Government would be foolish enough to propose this was a question he was not called upon to answer, but some members of the Government had said they would be prepared to support such a proposal. He hoped the House would take care not to admit anything into the Bill that would work in that direction. The cost of the valuation mentioned in the evidence before the Committee represented only the valuer's part of the business. Each owner would have to incur considerable expense in having his property valued for the purpose of the return. Then there came the question whether the assessor would accept that valuation, and then they embarked upon appeals. To say that Glasgow could be valued for £5,000 seemed to him absolutely absurd. There were very powerful bodies in all these cities who were opposed to the principle of capital value, and was it thought that they would allow land to be valued in this way and have nothing to say? Two or three counties had petitioned against this valuation. If the Government wanted a national valuation they should carry it out themselves. In any case local authorities should not be obliged to pay the cost. He would certainly support the Amendment.

*The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Lord Tweedmouth) pointed out that this Bill did not propose any rating at all. It merely laid the basis of valuation, and another measure would be required before taxation could follow on the basis. In Scotland they had exceptional opportunities for assessing, for in every county they had an assessor already. Therefore the machinery for obtaining an opinion as to value was already in existence.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN: Do these assessors value capital value?

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: They can value anything.

*Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH said Mr. Harper had revised the calculation of £25,000 referred to by the Lord Chancellor and had substituted £40,000; and it referred to yearly value, not to capital value, which it would be much more costly to ascertain. It had been stated before Mr. Ure's Committee by the Assessor of Glasgow that to value that city on the basis of this proposal would cost something like £16,000. There were 217,000 entries in the valuation roll of Glasgow, and, assuming that one-seventh of them had to do with land, that would give, roughly, 33,000 different entries for site valuation in Glasgow alone. He thought £16,000, which was only 10s. apiece, an extremely moderate sum. From his experience of valuation he was convinced that those who thought the valuation could be carried out for the sums on which the Lord Chancellor had relied were living in a fool's paradise. If there was any hope of the Government accepting annual instead of capital value he did not say that it would not moderate his view; but, if they insisted upon the enormous change from yearly to capital value, it would be most unsafe to rely npon the estimates put forward by the noble and learned Lord.

Lord SALTOUN, who had an Amendment on the Paper on similar lines, stated that though he still thought his Amendment the better one he would not press it, on the understanding that Lord Balfour went to a division on the Amendment before the House. His (Lord Saltoun's) Amendment would allow police burghs to be included, but would exclude country districts. His firm opinion was that rural districts should be left out. As to the cost, there could be no doubt that tremendous expense would be thrown upon owners and local authorities under the Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said he was prepared, in answer to Lord Balfour, to discuss capital and yearly value if the House desired, although he deprecated their doing so at this stage.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE also rather deprecated it as running the risk of discussing several questions at once. There was now a distinct issue—whether the Amendment should be adopted or not. If the object of the Bill was to prevent people who now escaped their fair share of rating from continuing to do so, it was reasonable to leave it to the local authority to decide whether the Bill should be set in operation or not, as the local authority would be the first to desire that people should not escape taxation which should properly fall upon them. If it was so easy to set up the machinery of assessment, that was another argument for waiting the result of experiment before extending the system proposed all over Scotland. He was sceptical as to the cheapness of this new arrangement. They were always coming across that assessor who declared his readiness to value anything or anybody. He did not like to raise an Irish grievance during a Scottish debate; but they had a sad experience in Ireland of assessors and valuers who, on no principle and admittedly without any sufficient instructions from headquarters, were at this moment revising the whole rental of Ireland. It might fairly be asked why it was really necessary to impose this inconvenience and this expense on the local authorities and on the owners of site values, if both of them wished to be spared the necessity of accepting anything of the kind. This was another of those cases of which they had had a good deal of experience during the last year or two, where a Liberal Government was ready to deprive the local authorities of the discretion to which they were entitled. He hoped his noble friend would press his Amendment.

On Question, that the words proposed to be left out stand part—

Their Lordships divided:—Contents, 32; Not contents 119.

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LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH explained that his next Amendment was consequential upon the one which their Lordships had just accepted.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Scotland,' to insert the words 'which has adopted this Act in the manner hereinafter provided.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH moved to amend the subsection—providing that in the valuation roll of each county and burgh a new column should be inserted under the heading, "Capital Land Value"—by substituting "yearly" for "capital." He said that this Amendment, although it made a very small verbal change, really raised the whole point of principle between yearly and capital value; and upon this Amendment it would probably be better to take the discussion as to whether yearly or capital was to be the standard of value. In the rating system, as it at present existed, the test of the standard value of what was to be rated was the yearly value, and he could not conceive of a more fundamental change in the system than to set up the capital value as the standard. The capital value was, in one sense, only the yearly value multiplied by a number of years purchase. But let them look at the differences of opinion which prevailed as to the number of years that ought to be taken. In Scotland there were thirty-three counties and eighty-one burghs each with its own valuer; and it was possible that, if the Bill were passed in its present form without any direction as to the number of years purchase to be taken, leaving the question entirely to the sweet will of each valuer, there would be an enormous amount of litigation which would throw the whole valuation system into confusion. The Government desired to get rid of a comparatively small grievance within and around the outskirts of some towns and cities where owners held up land from the market, and accordingly did not pay annual contributions in accordance with the real value. He admitted there was a grievance in certain cases, but to remedy it without the risk of injustice and hardship on others was not easy. It would be better to try to amend the definition of yearly value rather than to uproot our whole system altogether. The capital value of property was not really the fair gauge of taxable capacity. For such purposes as the death duties it was reasonable to make a charge on capital, but the proper criterion for rating was either the ability of the individual to bear the taxation or the amount of benefit he received. For all those rates which were known as burdensome rates, such as the poor rate, the burden ought to be laid on the shoulders best able to bear them—in other words, according to the ability of the individual. He was sorry that Lord Courtney was not in the House, because it would be very interesting to hear his view. He would be very much surprised indeed if Lord Courtney, with his reputation as an economist, would give the slightest support to the idea of rating on capital value. But when they passed to rates which were productive, such as the water rate and the sanitary rate, which were really payment for certain definite services, the absurdity would be seen of attempting to estimate them by capital value. Annual value, fairly and properly ascertained, was the only possible criterion. No reason whatever had been given their Lordships for the great change proposed in this Bill. He attached greater importance to this Amendment than to any other, and he sincerely hoped that they should keep their well-tried system of rating on the annual value and not substitute for it the capital value.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 9, to leave out the word 'capital' and to insert the word 'yearly.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR thought that if the Committee could get rid of the idea that what was intended was to take the whole value of the land and appropriate it for public purposes, the passage of the Bill would be easier. The whole question of annual as against capital value might well be discussed on this occasion. It seemed to him that it was really a very short point when once ascertained, but it had been confused by other considerations. He would try and put it as clearly as he could. The present system was to look at a piece of land and say what it would bring in year by year if let by the landlord to a tenant. Let them take a plot of grazing land close to a town or city. On the owner's statement that he let it at £3 an acre for grazing, that was the sum at which it was rated. But for building purposes that land was really worth £1,000 per acre, and that was the sum for which anyone would buy it tomorrow if he got the chance. What the Government wanted was to say that instead of rating that land at £3 per acre, it ought to be rated at something like £40. That would be fair play as between one ratepayer and another. It was not fair play that the owner of one acre should be rated at £40 while the owner of the acre next to him should be rated on only £3. Why did they rate the man who was the occupier of this acre at £3? Because they took the value for a particular purpose from year to year. To do that they must limit it to a purpose for which some one would take it from year to year. That was the reason why one piece of land, which was not improved or used for building purposes, was rated for a small sum and another piece was rated at a large sum. That system was not fair to the other ratepayers. The Government wanted to get the property rated as if it were let for £40. How were they to do it? The simplest way was to find the true value of a piece of land. Nobody would hire from year to year at £40. What they would do would be to find out the capital value and upon that would be paid a fair and equitable percentage.

*VISCOUNT MILNER hoped the noble and learned Lord would not suspect him of thinking that His Majesty's Government had any confiscatory intentions because he was somewhat unconvinced by the Lord Chancellor's argument. Nor was he out of sympathy with what he considered to be the objects of this measure, in so far as it was to carry out that separation between the different interests in land, especially building land, upon the importance of which the Minority Report of the Royal Commission had, as he thought, justly insisted. But he was rather alarmed lest what he believed to be a really useful and necessary reform in rating should be, if he might use a common-place expression, choked off at first start by its being overloaded with an attempt to give effect to certain very extreme and visionary doctrines. He was not sure that this insistence upon capital as against yearly value was not connected with some influences of that kind. The noble and learned Lord had spoken eloquently with regard to overcrowding in great cities, and he personally felt great sympathy with what the noble and learned Lord had said. He believed there was public advantage in some cases in inducing landowners to give their land for building, but there was enormous public advantage in innumerable cases in keeping land free from buildings. He knew that land kept open might rapidly appreciate in value, and he was the last person to say that this appreciated value should escape its fair contribution to the national revenue. But that contribution should be made when the landowner realised the appreciated value. They should not exercise on him year by year a pressure he might not be able to resist to put his land on the market, although he did not wish to do so, and it was in the highest public interest that he should not do so. He had no desire to save rich people from contributing their full share to the national Exchequer, nor did he desire to prevent the valuable reform of rating which would result from the separation of the permanent interest of the landlord in the site from the temporary interest of the tenant in the building. It was in order, if possible, to preserve that valuable reform that he asked the Government to consider whether it was not possible to meet this Amendment. This Bill was not one of very great extent or importance, but it was the first attempt, so far as he knew, in the direction of this reform and for that reason he would like to save it. But if the Government were determined year by year to tax landlords upon the value that unoccupied land would have if it were occupied then the case of the Bill was hopeless. Having regard to the prejudice against capital value which existed on the Opposition Benches, it would be evidence of the indifference of the Government to the fate of the Bill if they did not attempt to meet this Amendment.

*VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN said he was anxious to address himself to the instance which the noble and learned Lord had given of the necessity for insisting on capital value, and to the particular reasons given for that insistence. He suggested that all the noble and learned Lord wanted could perfectly well be met by altering the definition of land let from year to year, and allowing it to be assessed on what it could be reasonably expected to fetch if it were used at that time for any purpose for which it could be reasonably used. If he wanted more than that, the desire of the Government was wrong and grossly unfair to the owners of the land. He dealt with a piece of land which if put on the market would have a capital value that would bring in £40 a year. It would fetch that on account of its prospective value, and not on account of anything the owner would get at the time of the assessment. That proposition meant that they were to assess a man to local taxation and to income-tax, not on the income it was then possible for him to obtain from his property at that particular moment, but upon what might be the prospective value which somebody would give for that property, expecting that he would recoup himself in future years. That was nothing short of compelling the owner to put his property in the market in order to realise the sum on which they were proposing to assess him. That was grossly unfair. If that was the basis on which the Government proposed to go, he hoped their Lordships would not allow the Bill to become law. If what the Government wanted was merely what was involved in the argument of the noble and learned Lord as exemplifying the hardship which other ratepayers suffered, he hoped they might be able so to amend the Bill that it might become law.

*LORD ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH thought it would be conceded by the Committee that one of the great desiderata of taxation was that there should be some tangible acknowledgment of its justice, although, of course, there would always be objection to taxation. It seemed to him that the great drawback to the system of rating on capital value was that it necessarily implied a hypothetical value. There was nothing so misleading as a valuation based upon what a property might sell for under this or that condition. If they admitted the principle of hypothetical valuation, taxation and rating would at once become arbitrary. It would depend upon the ideas and will of the valuer and of the authority who appointed him. There would always be discontent and a feeling of injustice, and they would create more difficulties than they removed. Morever, they would forge a dangerous political weapon which in unscrupulous hands at a future time might be used to the detriment of the community.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said he would deal first with the criticism of Lord Milner. He did not know that the noble Viscount had said anything with which he would not himself agree. The noble Viscount was apparently under the impression that the Government would insist upon all property being valued at its full value, with the result of driving all open spaces into the market. When they came to a Rating Bill open spaces, and certainly spaces that were in any way dedicated to the public convenience, would have to be specially considered. They were not, of course, proposing any rating now. All they were doing was laying down a basis of valuation. There was an Amendment on the Paper, in the name of Lord St. Aldwyn, to insert a proviso that—

> "In the case of lands and heritages used in a manner conducive to the well being of the community, including all lands and heritages used as a garden, park, open space, or recreation ground, and lands and heritages upon which dwellings for the working classes, or any buildings of historical or architectural interest are situate, the yearly land value shall be estimated without regard to any other purpose to which such lands and heritages could presently be devoted."

The Government would consider that Amendment with a desire to meeting it so far as that might be compatible with a Valuation Bill. The noble Viscount, Lord St. Aldwyn, seemed to be apprehensive that a prospective value might be the basis for rating purposes, but what was meant was not future value, but present value; what land would sell for to-morrow. The words in the Bill were—

> "'Capital land value' in reference to any lands and heritages includes the value of any common interest in land, and means the sum which such lands and heritages or common interest might be expected to realise if sold by a willing seller in the open market at the time of the valuation."

VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN: That includes prospective value.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: As I understand this language, it means what property would fetch if sold to-morrow.

VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN: Does not that mean prospective value?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said they seemed to be using language in different senses. Take a piece of land worth £1,000; that was the amount it would fetch if sold at once, and it could not, therefore, be called future value.

LORD BELHAVEN AND STENTON: If there is a purchaser.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Of course, if there is no purchaser he cannot get the money. No one would put a value on land which nobody would buy. I do not understand how it can be said that that involves prospective value.

*LORD LEITH OF FYVIE said that the evidence of valuations in Scotland, as made by valuators upon land, was shown by the history of mortgages in the last ten years, in which the property had not only failed to bring the value of the market, but in many cases it had failed, and still failed, to find buyers for it.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said there must be reliance on the judgment of the valuer. The value would be tested by the amount land would fetch in the market. Greater precision than that could not be attained. In a sense it was true to speak of hypothetical value; at the present time hypothesis was constantly present in valuation. He hoped the Bill could not be used for any such purposes as had been indicated by the noble Lord opposite, but the danger could not arise under this Bill, which did not propose to tax anybody.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH put a concrete case. The noble and learned Lord had said that he would rate upon what an owner could sell the land for in the market to-morrow. Would he propose to rate the site of Holland House and its garden upon the amount it would realise as building land?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I think the case of reserved spaces and open spaces which are in any way dedicated to the public convenience is one we ought to consider when we come to the Amendment standing in the name of the noble Viscount, Lord St. Aldwyn.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN could not follow the argument of the noble and learned Lord that it was fair o rate on purchase value. Take a piece of land not far from a town, which had coal under it, but was not capable of development at that time. The price given for that land would include what the purchaser might consider the prospective value, but rating upon such value would be rating capital not yet developed.

THE EARL OF CRANBROOK said that a poor man, by being compelled to put his land into the market by imposing rates he could not pay, would be unfairly deprived of his property, and forced sale would lessen the value of surrounding property.

LORD BARRYMORE gave an illustration of the effect from his experience in America. There was an estate just outside New York which brought no income to the owners, but which had a prospective value, upon which it was rated. These rates the owners were unable to pay, and the result was that the land was sold to a rich capitalist speculator able to wait until the value matured. That did not stop the holding up of that land, and, as a matter of fact, it was held up for some years. In America they already had the system which this Bill would set up, and if the Bill were passed that kind of thing would probably happen here. Other evils of the system were that houses were built much too closely together, a great deal too high, and without gardens.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said the observations of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack failed altogether to reassure him. It was quite true, as the noble and learned Lord said, that they had already in some cases to resort to hypothetical values. An assessor might have to put a hypothetical value on an unoccupied house, but his hypothetical valuation was based on an estimated yearly rent, and that made all the difference. The assessor had no difficulty in ascertaining what a similar house was let for at the present time. The noble and learned Lord had told them that it was not the intention of the Government that the future or remoter value should be taken into consideration, but he said the valuer would determine what the premises would sell for to-morrow.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: At the time of valuation?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Well, at the time of valuation. What they would be selling, however, was something which was prospective, for the imaginary buyer would calculate his price by discounting the remote value. Prospective value, therefore, clearly entered into a transaction of that kind. He took the case of three buildings immediately adjoining one another in a part of London with which he was intimately acquainted: one of them was nine or ten storeys high, another consisted of a couple of storeys of stable buildings, and the third of an old-fashioned house of four storeys. How would the assessor set to work in such a case? Was it not clear that if he based his valuation on the selling value he must take into consideration what the premises might sell for on the assumption that the site was put to the most profitable use possible? He saw no escape from that. The moment they got away from actualities they found themselves in that region of perplexity in which the House was floundering at the present time. He hoped, therefore, that they would stick to the safe and sound ground of annual instead of capital value.

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part"—

Their Lordships divided:—Contents, 22; Not-Contents, 84.

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Fortescue, E.
Halsbury, E.
Harrington, E.
Jersey, E.
Lauderdale, E.
Lichfield, E.
Lovelace, E.
Malmesbury, E.
Mansfield, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Morton, E.

Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Onslow, E.
Orford, E.
Powis, E.
Shaftesbury, E.
Vane, E. (*M. Londonderry.*)
Verulam, E.
Waldegrave, E. [*Teller.*]
Westmeath, E.
Churchill, V. [*Teller.*]
Falkland, V.
Goschen, V.
Halifax, V.
Hampden, V.
Hill, V.
Iveagh, V.
Milner, V.
Ridley, V.
St. Aldwyn, V.

Abinger, L.
Ampthill, L.
Ashbourne, L.
Balfour, L.
Barrymore, L.
Belhaven and Stenton, L.
Blythswood, L.
Broderick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Calthope, L.
Carysfort, L. (*E. Carysfort.*)

Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Clinton, L.
Colchester, L.
Dunboyne, L.
Fairlie, L. (*E. Glasgow.*)
Heneage, L.
Hindlip, L.
Kilmarnock, L. (*E. Erroll*)
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Lawrence, L.
Leith of Fyvie, L.
Lovat, L.
Manners, L.
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Newton, L.
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Ormonde, L. (*M. Ormonde.*)
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Rothschild, L.
Saltoun, L.
Seaton, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Sinclair, L.
Somerhill, L. (*M. Clanricarde.*)
Stanmore, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Waleran, L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

House resumed, and to be again in Committee To-morrow. The Committee to have precedence of other business.

### SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].

Amendment reported (according to order), and Bill to be read $3^a$ To-morrow.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Wednesday*, 13*th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

### LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (MONEY) BILL (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—London County Council (Money) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Derby Gas Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill.—Read a second time; and ordered to be considered upon Friday.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—" To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Abergavenny, Newport, Newton Abbot, Stockport, and Waterloo-with-Seaforth, and the Wirral Joint Hospital District," presented by Mr. Masterman; supported by Mr. Burns; read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 225.]

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 8) Bill.—" To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to Crewe," presented by Mr. Masterman; supported by Mr. Burns; read the first time; to be referred to the Ex miners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 226.]

London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Blackburn Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to:—Dublin and South Eastern Railway Bill; City of Glasgow Bill, without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under The Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Manchester Corporation Tramways." [Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, " An Act to extend the time for the completion of certain works by the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company; to authorise certain street works in the borough of Worthing, and to confer certain powers upon the Corporation of Worthing with reference thereto; and for other purposes." [London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [Lords].]

Tramways Order Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 227.]

London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

## PETITIONS.

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Hove; and Paisley; to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Allanton; Amington; Arley; Baddesley; Birch Coppice; Brook Drift; Chilvers Coton; Cwmllynfell; Exnall; Farnworth and Kearsley; Gwauncaegurwan; Henllys Vale; Kingsbury; Newdigate; Pooley Hall; Tame Valley; Whateley; and Wyken; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Castle Hedingham; Eaton Socon; Greatham; Malvern; Thornton; and Wellingborough; to lie upon the Table.

Petition from Hove, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdeen (three); Barmouth; Barnstaple; Bedminster; Beech Grove; Birmingham; Bitterne; Blackley; Brighouse; Bristol; Brixton; Brynteg; Builiffe Bridge; Cadman; Castleton; Childrey; Cogan; Dumbarton (three); Dyce; Edinburgh; Elland; Ettrick; Featherstone; Gendros; Glais (two); Glasgow (four); Glyn Ceiriog; Gnawden; Gorseinon (two); Great Yarmouth; Gunnislake; Halifax; Haworth; Hove Edge; Huddersfield; Inverleithen; Keighley; Kemnay; Kilmarnock (three); Leeds (two); Llanfrynach; Llantwit (three); Lockerbie; Lothian; Lwynyrodyn; Mansfield; Maxweltown; Northampton (two); North Shields; Norwich (three); Ossett; Paisley (two); Peebles; Pontardawe; Pontardulais (three); Poplar (two); Queensbury; Radcliffe; Ramsbottom; Renfrew (two); Runswick; Rutherford; Rutherglen; Saltley; Sholing; Sketty; Stockport; Sunderland; Tayport; Upper Tooting; Walkeringham; Wareham; Whitby; and Wibsey; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions against: From Dumbartonshire; Paisley; and Peebleshire; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour: From Annan; Baillieston; Darnick; Dumfries; Edinburgh; Ellon; Haugh of Urr; Hilton; Morebattle; Morningside; Pollokshaws; Port Glasgow; and Stewarton; to lie upon the Table.

### PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICERS BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### PUBLIC-HOUSES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Edinburgh, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

## RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

### SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Urban District of Llanelly, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain classes of Shops [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Code of Regulations for Continuation Classes providing further instruction for those who have left School, 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade on their Proceedings and Business under the Weights and Measures Acts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 142.]

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Order with respect to the Urban County District of Larne [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3975 to 3976, 3979, 3988, 3993 to 3995 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

### Cost of Living for Bideford and Ilfracombe.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can yet state the cost of living index number for Bideford and Ilfracombe.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I am not yet able to do so.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Mary Casey.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have taken any action to have Mrs. Mary Casey, of Ballygran, in the county of Limerick, evicted tenant on the estate of C. F. Drew, reinstated; and, if so, with what result.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have considered the application of Mrs. Mary Carey (not Casey), and her name has been noted as that of a person suitable to receive a holding in the event of the Commissioners acquiring untenanted land in the locality.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Mary M'Donnell.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have considered the case of Mrs. Mary M'Donnell, of East Wood, Glin, in the county of Limerick, evicted tenant on the estate of the Knight of Glin; and, if so, with what result.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have considered the applications of Mrs. M'Donnell, who is the wife of a medical doctor, for reinstatement in three holdings, and after full investigation have refused the applications.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Michael Hartnett.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say what has been the cause of the delay on the part of the Estates Commissioners in reinstating Michael Hartnett, evicted tenant, on the estate of C. F. Drew, of Ballygran, in the county of Limerick.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have noted the name of Michael Hartnett as suitable to receive a holding in the event of their acquiring untenanted land in the neighbourhood.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Claim of John FitzGerald.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have considered the claim of John FitzGerald, of Clounriesk, Askeaton, in the county of Limerick, representative of Maurice FitzGerald, deceased, evicted tenant, for some untenanted land in lieu of his evicted farm.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have ascertained that the present tenant of the evicted farm in question is the wife of the applicant, and that the applicant himself lives on the holding with his wife. In the circumstances the Commissioners have decided to take no action upon the application.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of James Power.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will bring under the notice of the Estates Commissioners the case of a poor man named James Power, of Kilbreedy, Kilcornan, in the county of Limerick, who was evicted on title nine years ago by the Earl of Dunraven from a holding consisting of about 27 acres of bog land, of which the former was in occupation for over forty years, on which he spent years of toil endeavouring to reclaim, and for which he paid a rent of £5 annually; and whether, having regard to the fact that Lord Dunraven subsequently gave this land to a man named Millar, and further to the hardship of the case, he will cause the Estates Commissioners at once favourably to consider the claim of Power for some untenanted land in the county.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estate Commissioners have fully investigated the case in question, and, after consideration of all the facts. have decided to take no action in it.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Patrick Creedon.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say what has been the result of the Estates Commissioners' investigation into the case of

Patrick Creedon, of Monegay, in the county of Limerick, evicted tenant on the estate of the Earl of Devon.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners will consider the question of providing Patrick Creedon with a holding in the event of their acquiring any untenanted land in the locality.

### School Attendance in Ireland.

MR. J. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he proposes to introduce a Bill dealing with school attendance in Ireland this session, in accordance with the numerous requests made to him to do so.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer my hon. Member to my Answer to the Question put by the hon. Member for the Ossory division on 3rd March, to which I cannot at present add anything.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Cases of T. Buckley and M. Buckley.

MR. J. MURPHY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Leiutenant of Ireland it the Estates Commissioners are now in a position to deal properly with the claims of Messrs. Timothy Buckley and Morty Buckley, two evicted tenants on the Morrogh Bernard estate, County Kerry, who have been reinstated by the landlord.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) A purchase agreement, signed by Timothy Buckley, has been lodged with the Estates Commissioners, and an inspector has been directed to arrange for the expenditure of the free grant which the Commissioners have sanctioned in the case. The Commissioners will not be in a position to take any further action in the case of Morty Buckley until a purchase agreement signed by him has been lodged.

### Irish University Senates.

MR. J. MURPHY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will consider the question of adding a fair number of persons directly connected with Irish primary education on the first Senates and governing bodies of the proposed new Universities and their constituent colleges; and whether he is aware that the omission of any such representatives in the published lists is likely to lead to dissatisfaction.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The senates and governing bodies have already attained substantially the maximum size, and, as at present advised, I do not propose to add to the number of members in the manner suggested.

### Inspection of Irish Dairies and Cowsheds.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the Local Government Board received a deputation of veterinary surgeons in reference to the appointment of a central veterinary authority to look after the dairies and cowsheds in Ireland; and if it is contemplated to appoint a veterinary surgeon for this purpose, or is it intended to transfer this department of the Board's work over to the veterinary branch of the Board of Agriculture.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Local Government Board will not be in a position to make any final recommendation on this subject until they have had some six months experience of the working of their new order.

### Purchase of Untenanted Land at Beaufort.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether an agreement has now been come to between Mrs. Shelton, the owner of the untenanted lands at Beaufort, in the county of Limerick, and the Estates Commissioners for the purchase thereof.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The owner has intimated her willingness to accept the Estates Commissioners' estimated price for the lands in question, and formal proceedings for the sale have now been instituted accordingly.

### Post Office Servants—Private Medical Certificates.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Postmaster-General whether instructions have been issued to the effect that Post Office officials of certain ranks who may receive sick certificates from a certain duly qualified private medical practitioner in the north-western district of London shall be allowed sick leave but no pay; will he say whether this medical officer had any charge preferred against him in which he was given an opportunity of defending himself; if not, will he say why these instructions have been issued; and, seeing that the Post Office Medical officers have frequently been in conflict with private medical practitioners on the question of sick leave of Post Office officials, and that several cases of death have occurred in which these official medical officers have refused sick leave shortly preceding such deaths, will he now grant an inquiry into this subject.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The acceptance of private medical certificates in justification of sick leave is in the nature of a concession to the Post Office staff, for whom competent medical attendance is provided at the expense of the State. It is obvious that this concession must be subject to certain restrictions and limitations if a proper check is to be maintained upon the sick absence of the staff. Circumstances came to my notice which threw doubt upon the reliability of the certificates issued by the doctor to whom the hon. Member is understood to refer, and I felt it right to lay down that such certificates should not be taken in future as conferring a title to sick pay. The doctor was given an opportunity of explaining the circumstances. I see no reason for granting an inquiry into the subject.

### Sugar Refineries in the United Kingdom.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what is the number of sugar refineries and the number of hands employed therein in the United Kingdom in the years 1902 and 1908 respectively, and what is the annual cost of conducting these refineries in bond.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The supervision of sugar refiners in the United Kingdom by the Customs Department commenced on 1st September, 1903, when fifteen were placed under bond. The number of refineries now under bond is thirteen. The estimated annual cost to the Crown of conducting refineries in bond is £15,245. There is no official information as to the number of persons employed in the sugar refineries.

### Sugar Imports.

MR. LOUGH: To ask the President of the Board of Trade, what was the quantity of raw beet sugar produced during the year 1907 in the foreign countries set out in Table IV. of the Sugar Return, No. 334, issued in August, 1907; the imports of unrefined and refined sugar as shown in Table V. (A); the total estimated consumption per head of the population as shown in Table VI (B); the British West Indian exports as shown in Table IX.; and the declared average value of raw and refined sugar imported into the United Kingdom for the year 1907 as shown in Table X., and the same average prices for each month of the year, 1908.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The figures given with regard to the production and consumption of sugar in Europe in the Return (No. 334, of 1907) referred to were compiled for the years 1898 to 1906, from particulars collected by the Permanent Bureau attached to the Permanent Sugar Commission. Authoritative information of the same kind for 1907 is not yet available, but unofficial estimates of production can be given as follows—

I.—Estimated Production of Raw Beet Sugar in the undermentioned Countries during the Sugar Season of 1906–7, (Estimate of the "Association Internationale de Statistique Sucriere").

| Country. | Estimated Production of Raw Beet Sugar. Tons. |
|---|---|
| Russia | 1,410,855 |
| Germany | 2,206,013 |
| Holland | 176,517 |
| Belgium | 277,271 |
| France | 735,093 |
| Austria-Hungary | 1,309,215 |
| Sweden | 153,198 |
| Denmark | 65,923 |
| Italy | 113,152 |
| Spain | 88,357 |
| Other European Countries | 43,785 |
| Total Europe | 6,579,397 |
| Total United States | 433,019 |
| Total | 7,012,398 |

As regards the further information asked for, the following statements embody such particulars as are available—

II. Statement showing the Quantity of Raw and Refined Sugar imported into the United Kingdom during the year 1907, distinguishing the principal Countries whence imported (in continuation of Table V. (A).

(a) Imports of Unrefined Sugar.

| Country whence imported. | Imports of Unrefined Sugar. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Beetroot. | Cane and other sorts. | Total. |
| | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. |
| From Russia | — | — | — |
| „ Denmark (including Faröe Islands) | 195* | — | 195* |
| „ Germany | 7,964,935 | 34,878 | 7,999,813 |
| „ Netherlands | 262,465 | 345,638 | 608,103 |
| „ Java | — | 1,178,342 | 1,178,342 |
| “ Dutch Guiana | — | 7,038 | 7,038 |
| „ Belgium | 622,600 | 2,183 | 624,783 |
| „ France | 192,536 | 249,177 | 441,713 |
| „ Austria-Hungary | 428,002 | — | 428,002 |
| „ Egypt | — | 40,188 | 40,188 |
| „ United States of America | — | 238,485 | 238,485 |
| „ Philippine Islands and Guam | — | 229,535 | 229,535 |
| „ Cuba | — | 91,113 | 91,113 |
| „ Mexico | — | 37,363 | 37,363 |
| „ Peru | — | 514,575 | 514,575 |
| „ Chile | — | 45,459 | 45,459 |
| „ Brazil | — | 192,196 | 192,196 |
| „ Argentine Republic | — | — | — |
| „ other Foreign Countries | 2 | 134,221 | 134,223 |
| Total from Foreign Countries | 9,470,735 | 3,340,391 | 12,811,126 |

* Of French origin.

| Country whence imported. | Imports of Unrefined Sugar. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Beetroot. | Cane and other sorts. | Total. |
| | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. |
| From Mauritius and Dependencies - | — | 528,910 | 528,910 |
| ,, British East Indies: | | | |
| Madras - - - - | — | 116,136 | 116,136 |
| Straits Settlements - - | — | 213,624 | 213,624 |
| Other parts - - - - | — | — | — |
| ,, British West India Islands - - | — | 772,632 | 772,632 |
| ,, British Guiana - - - - | — | 487,223 | 487,223 |
| ,, other British Possessions - - | — | 30,521 | 30,521 |
| Total from British Possessions - | — | 2,149,046 | 2,149,046 |
| Total - - - - | 9,470,735 | 5,489,437 | 14,960,172 |

### (b) Imports of Refined Sugar.

| Country whence imported. | Imports of Refined Sugar or Sugar rendered by any process equal thereto. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | In lumps and loaves. | Other sorts, including Sugar Candy. | Total. |
| | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. |
| From Russia - - - - - | — | — | — |
| ,, Germany - - - - - | 1,403,492 | 11,807,044 | 13,210,536 |
| ,, Netherlands - - - - | 1,156,785 | 1,461,452 | 2,618,237 |
| ,, Belgium - - - - - | 53,374 | 594,557 | 647,931 |
| ,, France - - - - - | 281,456 | 2,928,818 | 3,210,274 |
| ,, Austria-Hungary - - - | 980 | 994 | 1,974 |
| ,, United States of America - - | — | 18 | 18 |
| ,, other Foreign Countries - - | 3 | 90 | 93 |
| Total from Foreign Countries - | 2,896,090 | 16,792,973 | 19,689,063 |
| ,, British Possessions - | 18 | 522 | 540 |
| Total - - - | 2,896,108 | 16,793,495 | 19,689,603 |

III. Average Value per cwt. of Raw and Refined Sugar imported.

Statement showing "Average Declared Value of Raw and Refined Sugar imported into the United Kingdom" in the under-mentioned Periods:—

| Period. | Average Import Price of Sugar. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Refined. | | Unrefined. | |
| | Lumps or Loaves. | All other refined, including Sugar Candy. | Beetroot. | Cane and other Sorts. |
| | Per cwt.<br>s. | Per cwt.<br>s. | Per cwt.<br>s. | Per cwt.<br>s. |
| 1907 (average for the year) - - - | 13·02 | 11·81 | 9·61 | 10·14 |
| 1908: | | | | |
| January - - - | 13·28 | 12·22 | 9·83 | 10·81 |
| February - - - | 13·38 | 11·86 | 9·81 | 10·17 |
| March - - - | 13·61 | 12·40 | 10·52 | 11·43 |
| April - - - | 14·25 | 13·01 | 11·18 | 11·87 |

No complete information is yet available as to heads 3 or 4 of the Question, viz., the total estimated consumption per head of the population, as shown in Table VI. (B), and the British West Indian exports, as shown in Table IX.

### Dumping of Hops.

Mr. TIMOTHY DAVIES (Fulham): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can give any official information as regards the alleged dumping of 8,000 tons and 15,000 tons of hops from the United States in this country; and will he give the quantity in tons of hops received from America in the month of April, also for the four months of this year.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) No such quantities of hops as stated in the Question have been imported into this country from the United States during the current year. The following are the quantities actually imported from the United States—

| | Tons. |
|---|---|
| In January, 1908 - - - | 1,414 |
| In February, 1908 - - - | 873 |
| In March, 1908 - - - - | 1,470 |
| In April, 1908 - - - - | 2,716 |
| Total for the four months - | 6,473 |

### Petitions of Customs Second-Class Examining Offices.

Mr. McARTHUR (Liverpool, Kirkdale): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Board of Customs have received three petitions from the examining officers, second-class (1881–8 entrants), drawing attention to the inequalities in pay and prospects of the petitioners in comparison with other entrants; whether he is aware that, at an interview on 6th November, 1907, a representative deputation complained to the Board that through a series of reorganisations the conditions of their entrance to the service had been altered to their detriment; and whether, in view of the failure of the present classification to provide satisfactory advancement for the petitioners, the Treasury will give effect to the ameliorative measures suggested by the examining officers' representatives in their recent communications with the Secretary to the Board of Customs.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The petitions were received by the Board of Customs; but I understand that the Board discontinued their consideration of the question when a large number of officers withdrew their support from proposals which had been put forward. It is in contemplation, as announced in the Budget speech, to transfer the Excise work of the Inland Revenue to the Customs Department, and it would not now be convenient to deal with the matters at issue pending that transfer.

### New Licences.

MR. MOND (Chester): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what are the total number of new licences granted since the Licensing Act of 1904; what number of such licences were granted for one year and what number for seven years; what was the amount received for monopoly value for such licences; and what was the average amount received for the monopoly value of the new licences granted annually.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) All available information on this subject will be found in Table IV. of the volumes of Licensing Statistics for the years 1905, 1906, and 1907. It appears that 165 new licences were granted and confirmed under the provisions of Section 4 of The Licensing Act, 1904. Of these, 114 were granted for one year and 10 were granted for terms of seven years. As will be seen on reference to the Tables, the amounts and the conditions of the payments taken on account of monopoly value vary so much that they cannot usefully be totalled or averaged in the manner suggested in the last two paragraphs of the Question.

### Unfunded Debt.

MR. ASHTON (Bedfordshire, Luton): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the present amount of the Unfunded Debt; of what issues does it consist, and what Exchequer Bonds are now current issued for capital expenditure and classed among other capital liabilities; and what was the amount of the like issues at the same time last year.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Unfunded Debt at the present date amounts to £42,729,400; on the same date last year it amounted to £50,674,500, made up as follows:—

| | 13th May, 1907.<br>£ | 13th May, 1908.<br>£ |
|---|---|---|
| Treasury Bills - | 10,713,000 | 12,000,000 |
| Exchequer Bonds - - | 9,961,500 | 7,000,000 |
| War Stock and War Bonds - | 30,000,000 | 23,844,400 |
| | 50,674,500 | 42,844,400 |

The following are the Exchequer Bonds, now current, which were issued for capital expenditure, and are classed among "Other Capital Liabilities":—

| | 13th May, 1907.<br>£ | 13th May, 1908.<br>£ |
|---|---|---|
| Exchequer Bonds under The Capital Expenditure (Money) Act, 1904 - - | 6,000,000 | 6,000,000 |
| Exchequer Bonds under The Cunard Agreement (Money) Act, 1904 - - | 2,200,000 | 2,600,000 |
| | 8,200,000 | 8,600,000 |

## QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

### Admiralty Portland Cement Contracts.

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether any or all of the contracts for the supply of Portland cement to the Admiralty this year have yet been completed; whether all the firms and companies which have supplied cement to the Admiralty during recent years were invited to tender; if not, for what reason the omissions were made; and whether such firms or companies will be allowed to tender before the contracts are completed.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. McKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The contract for the supply of Portland cement to the Admiralty this year has not yet been completed. All the firms and companies which have supplied cement to the Admiralty during recent years were not invited to tender on this occasion, because the general conditions of the contract have been changed; but most of the principal manufacturers have been invited and have submitted tenders, and these are now under consideration.

MR. COURTHOPE: What is the change in the conditions of contract? Also why was it considered necessary to omit invitation to certain firms?

MR. McKENNA: The quantity required was so large, and in excess of what some of the firms now omitted were capable of offering. Generally speaking it was the smaller firms which were not invited.

MR. COURTHOPE: Can the right hon. Gentleman say roughly the quantity required?

MR. McKENNA: Not without notice.

### Rosyth Docks.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he can now state if Scottish or foreign granite is to be used for Rosyth docks.

MR. McKENNA: It will not be possible to say until the contract for the construction of the works is let. When tenders for this contract are invited, the firms concerned will be asked to quote alternative prices for British or foreign stone.

### Alderney Harbour and Breakwater.

MR. TIMOTHY DAVIES (Fulham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what was the annual cost during the three years ended 31st March, 1908, of keeping the harbour and breakwater of Alderney in serviceable condition and repair; and what use is made of the harbour by the vessels of His Majesty's Navy.

MR. McKENNA: The annual cost of keeping the harbour and breakwater of Alderney in serviceable condition and repair has been as follows, during the last three years:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| 1905–6 - - | 4,157. |
| 1906–7 - - | 3,933. |
| 1907–8 - - | 3,720 (estimated). |

Alderney is visited from time to time by His Majesty's ships, and was used as an important centre during the naval manœuvres of 1906.

### Naval Accidents.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will say whether the number of accidents to ships and other craft of war during manœuvres is on the increase, and what are the causes alleged; will he state what is the total Admiralty loss in men and money due to accidents during manœuvres and generally for the past seven years.

MR. McKENNA: With regard to the first part of the hon. Member's question, it may be roughly said that the number of accidents to ships during manœuvres is not on the increase, but to obtain the information accurately, a number of facts would have to be investigated and papers examined, which would occupy the Department a very considerable time. With regard to the second part of the Question, it would not be possible to assess the cash value of the total loss to the Admiralty due to such accidents, and the figures with regard to the loss in men owing to accidents generally during the past seven years are not readily available; but I will endeavour to obtain the Return on this last point if the hon. Member wishes to press for it.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the information in the form of a Return?

MR. McKENNA: As to men I shall be happy to give it, as regards cash it would not be possible.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): Is not this particular item asked for in the Return which stands in my name on the Order Paper and cannot that be granted in that form ?

MR. McKENNA : I cannot give the information as regards the cash value of the accidents. There is no means of assessing the cash damage done to individual ships.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis) : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a Return actually exists at this moment, and has been moved for in several years giving this information ?

MR. McKENNA : I am dealing with the cash value, which is not included in the Return.

### Scottish Coastguard Stations.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the coastguard stations in Scotland have an average coast line of 10 miles to look after, and that several of such stations are and have for two years past been 50 per cent. short of their proper complement ; and whether he will take steps to bring up these stations to their proper strength without delay.

MR. McKENNA : The total coastline in Scotland in which the fifty-six coastguard stations at present existing are stationed, is about 420 miles. Without further inquiry, it is not possible to state what extent the complements have been modified during the past two years ; but since April, 1906, the total strength of the coastguard in Scotland has been reduced from 253 to 208. The numbers now borne are considered by the Admiralty adequate for the duties required.

### Coastguard Station Detachments.

MR. NIELD : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what coastguard stations there are in the United Kingdom, excluding detachments, whose complements have been reduced by 33 per cent. or more, either temporarily or permanently, with the names of each class respectively ; and whether it is in the contemplation of the Admiralty at some future date, and approximately how soon, to have these stations filled up to their proper complements.

I beg also to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty when the respective coastguard stations excluding detachments, whose complements have been reduced by 33 per cent. and upwards, were so reduced respectively ; and whether, in the opinion of the Board of Admiralty, the continuance of these stations in their present state of reduced numbers is compatible with the efficient performance of the many important and arduous duties which devolve upon the service.

MR. McKENNA : To answer the hon. Member's Questions fully, it would be necessary to call for Returns from all coastguard stations ; but I suggest that it would be desirable to postpone these and similar Questions until the Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference promised by my right hon. friend the Lord President of the Council, has been presented to Parliament.

### Lieutenant-Colonel Baden-Powell's Newcastle Lecture.

MR. BYLES (Salford, N.) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to a public lecture lately delivered in Newcastle by Lieutenant-Colonel Baden-Powell of an alarmist character and couched in language likely to be offensive to a friendly Power ; and whether he will do anything to restrain such utterances by senior officers in His Majesty's Army.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington) : I have seen General Baden-Powell. My hon. friend is mistaken in supposing that this was a public lecture. The gallant officer in question was lecturing to a uniformed meeting of the Territorial Force, and was given to understand that no reporters were present. He prefaced his remarks with a few words on the German Army in view of its special standard of efficiency, which was a natural object of attention on the part of all keen soldiers. These remarks could not be construed as in any way offensive to the German nation, and it is to be regretted that any one present should have made such a report to the papers.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside): Does the right hon. Gentleman assure us that the report is substantially inaccurate?

Mr. HALDANE: Yes, I asked about that. But I am told that it is just the few words at the beginning, where he introduced a comparison between the two Powers, and on which the gallant officer hung the rest of his lecture.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON: Was he justified in speaking of Germany as the natural enemy of this country and in predicting a desperate and bloody war between the two countries?

Mr. HALDANE: I do not think that he said that. Certainly he did not tell me of it.

### George Ravenhill, V.C.

Mr. C. B. HARMSWORTH (Worcestershire, Droitwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is now in a position to say what action, if any, is proposed to be taken by the War Office to relieve George Ravenhill, V.C., who is, or was recently, an inmate of Erdington Workhouse, of the necessity of taking advantage of public charity.

Mr. HALDANE: The case is still under investigation. As soon as a decision has been reached, it shall be communicated to my hon. friend.

### The Army Council.

Mr. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state of how many persons the Army Council consists; what is the official designation of each of its members; and how many of its members are soldiers and how many civilians.

Mr. HALDANE: The Army Council consists of seven members, viz., the Secretary of State for War, the four military members being the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, and the Master-General of the Ordnance; the civil member being the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, and the finance member being the Financial Secretary to the War Office.

Mr. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state, in case a difference of opinion arises among the members of the Army Council as to any matter of military policy or administration, how the decision of the Council on that matter is arrived at; is it ascertained by a vote of the majority of all its members, by a vote of the majority of the members present, or how otherwise; and, if by vote, how many votes are allotted to the Secretary of State, and how many to each of his fellow members.

Mr. HALDANE: By Order in Council the Secretary of State is made responsible to Parliament for all the business of the Army Council, and is given the power of specially reserving to himself any part of it. So far as my experience has gone there has been no difference of opinion in the Council such as has necessitated a decision by the rather formal methods suggested by the hon. Member.

Mr. BOWLES: Has no vote ever been taken in the Army Council?

Mr. HALDANE: No, I do not think so.

*Mr. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland Appleby): In the event of a difference of opinion between the Secretary of State and the Army Council, will the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman outweigh the opinion of the other members?

Mr. HALDANE: We do not put these constitutional things in that form. Under the terms of the Order in Council and under the terms of the Bill there is specially reserved to the Secretary of State the power of withdrawing all business from the Army Council and of apportioning any part of it he likes. The House of Commons has control over the Secretary of State.

*Mr. LEIF JONES: The question is whether the Secretary of State has ample control over the Army Council.

Mr. HALDANE: That question will be considered when it arises.

### Army Cordite.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, what weight of cordite known to contain mercuric chloride has been issued by his Department to the troops during the last twelve months.

MR. HALDANE: The amount of cordite known to contain mercuric chloride which has been issued to the troops cannot be ascertained without reference to the various stations.

### Indian Garrison Churches.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE (Dumbartonshire): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, in view of recent events, he will now take the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, or of any independent counsel of suitable standing, as to whether the ecclesiastical law of England as to the effects of consecrating churches applies in British India, and as to whether, according to the law of British India, the fact that a Government church has been consecrated with the permission of the Government confers the exclusive right to use it for Anglican services, placing before Parliament these opinions and the reasons on which they are based.

I beg also to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he will consider the advisability of maintaining the rights of general use in any Indian garrison church which has been recently consecrated merely by permission of the Indian Government and without any undertaking as to its future use, unless and until those who claim the exclusive use of that church have established that claim in the Courts of Law.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BUCHANAN, Perthshire, E.): I may perhaps answer these questions by referring the hon. Member to the Memorandum presented to Parliament before Easter, which gives the purport of the opinions obtained from the law officers of the Crown, and from independent counsel of standing. The Secretary of State does not think it necessary to take further legal advice, and, in view of the opinions already given, and of the considerations referred to in the Memorandum, he does not think it advisable to take the course suggested in the hon. Member's first Question.

*MR. DUNDAS WHITE: Are we to understand that the advice of the law officers is to the effect that the English ecclesiastical law as to the effects of consecration applies in British India?

MR. BUCHANAN: That is not exactly the point which was referred to the law officers. It was what was the exact legal position of the Government of India after it had allowed the consecration of the churches under the regulations which have been set forth.

*MR. DUNDAS WHITE: Will the right hon. Member take steps to ask the opinion on the question whether that ecclesiastical law applies in British India?

MR. BUCHANAN: No, I do not think we can ask the law officers for an opinion on that somewhat general question.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India, how many Indian Government churches have been consecrated since 1st January, 1901, stating in each case the place of the church, the date of the consecration, whether that consecration was effected at the request or merely with the permission of the Indian Government, and, in view, of the reference to private subscriptions in the recent memorandum, whether private subscriptions for the building or maintenance of the church had been asked from and received from Presbyterians and other non-Anglicans; and whether in the applications for these subscriptions it was stated that the church was to be used exclusively for Anglican services.

MR. BUCHANAN: I understand the hon. Member's Question to apply to Government churches at military stations. Of these three have been consecrated since 1st January, 1901, viz., at Ranikhet, at Jhansi, and at Cherat. At the first and last-named of these places the churches had been built, with the aid of private funds, before the decision not to allow any more garrison churches to be consecrated was arrived at; and at both of these places unconsecrated churches are now being built. At Jhansi a consecrated church already existed, and when the new church was consecrated, the old church was made over for the use of non-Anglican Protestants. In all these cases the churches were consecrated with the permission, and not at the request, of Government. The Government of India have no information as to the denomination to which the subscribers belonged, nor as to the statements made by those who applied for subscriptions.

### Rifle Shooting in the Colonies.

Mr. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies what grants are made by Colonial Governments to rifle associations and other organisations for the encouragement of rifle shooting.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Colonel Seely, Liverpool, Abercromby): The information required by the hon. Member is not easily put within the limits of an ordinary answer, but if he will move for a return the Secretary of State will be happy to have it prepared.

### Trinidad—East Indian Immigrants.

Mr. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the cost to the Colony of Trinidad of prosecutions of East Indian indentured immigrants in cases of felony and murders for the years 1905–6–7–8; and also the number of such immigrants convicted and acquitted for the same period.

Colonel SEELY: The Secretary of State has just received from the officer administering the Government of Trinidad a statement showing the prosecutions of East Indian immigrants for breaches of the Immigration Ordinance and offences against the ordinary law for the two years, ended 30th June last, as suggested in the hon. Member's Question of 17th July. A copy of this statement will be sent to the hon. Member. The cost of prosecution in these cases is borne by the Government, but, as it is distributed amongst several Departments, and is, to some extent, of an indirect character, the actual cost cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy.

*Mr. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): Is there anything in such statistics as are available to show that these indentured immigrants are other than law-abiding citizens?

Colonel SEELY: I am afraid that is a general Question I cannot answer.

*Mr. REES: I will put it down.

### Trinidad Sugar Industry.

Mr. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the exact quantity of sugar on which duty has been paid by sugar planters of Trinidad employing indentured East Indian immigrants towards the reimbursement of expenses for their collection and introduction during the years 1905, 1906, and 1907; the exact quantity of cane cultivated by cane farmers and sold during these years to sugar factories in which such immigrants are employed; and whether separate accounts are kept in such factories of the quantity of sugar manufactured and exported, and an account given to the local Government of such portion in which indentured labour is not employed.

Colonel SEELY: Duty is only imposed on sugar exported from Trinidad. The revenue derived from the sugar tax has been: in 1904–5, £19,543; in 1905–6, £15,009; in 1906–7, £16,873. The further information asked for by the hon. Member cannot be obtained except from the individual planters, but no account of the nature indicated by the hon. Member is, so far as the Secretary of State is aware, given to the Colonial Government.

*Mr. REES: Can it be maintained that the planters do not contribute their fair share to the revenue? Is it not on their industry that the prosperity of the island is chiefly dependent?

Colonel SEELY: That is another Question I cannot answer off-hand.

*Mr. REES: I will put it down.

### East Indian Coolies in Jamaica.

MR. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has received from the annual assembly of the Jamaica Baptist Union a communication protesting against the continued introduction of East Indian indentured coolies into Jamaica, and pointing out that the labouring and small settler classes, who contribute the bulk of the revenue of the Colony, are unable to obtain regular and paying employment on the sugar estates and fruit plantations, and are, therefore, under the necessity of emigrating to Central America and other places to seek work, and that thereby a great injustice is done to these classes and the island generally in taxing them to introduce East Indians to compete with the superabundant labour market of the country; and, if so, can he state whether it is the intention of the Government to restrict the introduction of such coolies, and to place the entire cost of the same on the planters requiring such labour.

COLONEL SEELY: The petition has been received. The Secretary of State has had an opportunity of communicating with the Governor, and Lord Crewe is not prepared, at any rate at the present, to disturb or vary an arrangement which recently received the approval of the Legislative Council by a vote of twenty to two, and my hon. friend will, of course, understand that the Secretary of State is not prepared to admit the accuracy of all the statements in the Memorial from the Jamaica Baptist Union.

*MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Did not the late Charles Kingsley state that all the East Indian coolies whom he saw in Trinidad had the manners of ladies and gentlemen?

The reply was inaudible.

### Dr. Lane Sansom.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the record of service of Dr. C. Lane Sansom in the Transvaal; what positions has he held during the last seven years; what pension or compensation has been granted him; and whether employment will be found for him in the Colonial service or in some Department of State in this country.

COLONEL SEELY: Dr. Sansom was appointed to be District Medical Officer of Health for the Witwatersrand on 16th November, 1901, at a salary which was latterly fixed at £1,200 a year, with a horse allowance of £180, and he held that appointment until recently. He was also medical officer of the Foreign Labour Department. I am not aware on what terms he left the Transvaal service, but the post was not pensionable. The Secretary of State has had a note made of Dr. Sansom's name, and it is hoped that some suitable opportunity may present itself of offering him some employment.

### Medical Inspection of Transvaal Natives.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether anyone has been appointed to take the position of Superintendent or Controller of the Native Health Department for the Transvaal, from which Dr. C. Lane Sansom was lately retrenched; and whether, in view of the results produced by Dr. Sansom in reducing native mortality and in bettering the condition of the natives in the mines, this Government is satisfied that the abolition of his appointment, made upon grounds of economy, is in the best interests of that native population for whose well-being, under the constitution of the Transvaal, it is directly responsible.

COLONEL SEELY: I am not aware of the arrangements which the Transvaal Government have made or propose to make in consequence of Dr. Sansom's retrenchment, but I have no reason to suppose that the Transvaal will fail to maintain a high standard of administration, and, therefore, trust that the health of the natives will receive no less attention than during Dr. Sansom's tenure of office.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): Will the Government, in view of the special obligations resting upon them in respect to native labour, make inquiries what the Transvaal Government intend to do ?

Colonel SEELY : The Secretary of State has made inquiries, and it is for that reason I have been able to make the statement contained in the last part of my Answer.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth): Is there any doctor at present attending to the natives ?

Colonel SEELY : Yes; the district doctors are in attendance. Dr. Sansom had general supervision. May I here add that the Colonial Office and the Transvaal Government fully appreciate the excellent services which he rendered ?

### Transvaal New Gold Law.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been drawn to the Transvaal Government Gazette Extraordinary of 30th March, 1908, containing the draft of the new Gold Law of that Colony, and particularly to Sections 127 and 128; and whether the effect of the proposed new law will be to deprive coloured persons, including British-Indians, of the right they now possess to trade and reside in the mining districts of Johannesburg, Boxburg, and Krugersdorp, and compel them to remove for both trade and residence into compounds, locations, or bazaars.

Colonel SEELY : Yes, sir. I do not think that the law will deprive Indians of the rights which they now possess, but the Secretary of State is communicating with the Governor with regard to these clauses.

### The Sugar Duty.

Mr. GIBBS (Bristol, W.) : I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the fact that many merchants have heavy stocks of sugar on which duty has already been paid, he can extend the time to 1st June.

Mr. JOYNSON-HICKS (Manchester, N.W.) : I beg at the same time to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if his attention has been drawn to the hardships which will be incurred by many traders in sugar owing to his proposal that rebate on duty-paid stocks of sugar unsold on the 18th instant will not be allowed; if he is aware that in consequence of insufficient accommodation for bonding duties have already been paid on large quantities of sugar which otherwise would have remained in bond; whether, under the circumstances, he can prolong the period of ten days, or else allow a drawback upon stocks held on the 18th of this month; and whether he would be prepared to receive representations on the subject from the traders affected.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs) : I have undertaken to receive representations this afternoon on the subject both from those who desire a postponement of the date at which the reduced duty comes into force and from those who deprecate such a course.

Mr. WATT (Glasgow, College) asked whether those dealers who had sugar in bond would get a rebate, but that there would be no rebate on stock in the warehouses.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE : That is so.

Mr. FELL asked whether manufacturers who held large stocks of preserves made by duty-paid sugar would have their case considered.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE : Their case is being considered.

### Old-age Pensions.

Mr. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) : I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether a person who is in receipt of an annuity or pension from a friendly society or insurance company, which will bring up his total income to over £26 a year, will be excluded from participating in the proposed scheme of old-age pensions.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE : Yes, sir.

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) : Will the Old-Age Pension Bill be introduced before Whitsuntide ?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: That Question should be addressed to the Prime Minister.

### Fraudulent Traders.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will say whether the *Police Gazette* contains a list of firms which have been connected with fraudulent transactions or are specially noted in the *Gazette* for exceptional police attention; and will he supply a list of the names and location of these firms.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): A list of firms concerning whose methods many complaints have been received is published annually in the *Police Gazette* for the information of police forces. The information this *Gazette* supplies is strictly confidential and privileged, and there would be grave objections to publishing

### Danish Tariff.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can give the House any information with regard to the reductions about to be made in the Danish tariff; and whether he will issue a Memorandum comparing the duties levied on important articles of British manufacture by Denmark under the new tariff with the duties levied upon British goods of the same class by Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. CHURCHILL, Dundee): A copy of the new Danish tariff has just been received and it is hoped to issue a translation of it, comparing the new and former duties, very shortly. As the main portions of the other tariffs mentioned have already been published in the Colonial Import Duties Return (Cd. 3708 of 1907), my hon. friend will be able to make for himself the comparison which he suggests, without the aid of an official Memorandum.

### Port of London Bill.

MR. SEAVERNS (Lambeth, Brixton): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that in the debate on the Second Reading of the Port of London Bill no expression of views was given by those representing importers, exporters, and manufacturers, upon whom the entire financial burden of improving the port is to fall; whether he will see that these interests are represented upon the Joint Committee appointed to consider the Bill; and whether he will consider the advisability of placing a portion of the burden upon other interests which are equally to profit by the improvement of the port.

MR. CHURCHILL: I think that some of those who took part in the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill represented directly or indirectly those who will under the Bill contribute to the funds of the port authority. It would not be possible, even were it expedient, to attempt to give representation on the Joint Committee to the different interests likely to be affected by the Bill. The Committee will no doubt give due consideration to any evidence which may be submitted to them on behalf of such interests.

### Enlistment of Chinese Crews.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will cause instructions to be issued to the officers of the Board of Trade to prevent Chinese boarding-house keepers from having access to Board of Trade premises for the purpose of supplying crews of Chinamen to British ships; whether he is aware that it has been the practice for many years to prevent British seamen and others from using the waiting-rooms of Mercantile Marine Offices unless they can produce certificates of discharges to prove that they are *bona fide* seamen; and whether he will cause this rule to be stringently applied to Chinamen in the same manner that it is applied to other seamen.

MR. CHURCHILL: Chinese boarding-house keepers are not and will not be allowed access to the Board of Trade premises for the purpose of supplying crews of Chinamen. Any case in which sufficient evidence is available of a boarding-house keeper having supplied a crew, Chinese or otherwise, would be considered with the view to legal proceedings being taken under Sections 111 or 112 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894. I have no knowledge of the practice referred to in the second part of my hon. friend's Question. The waiting-rooms of Mercantile Marine Offices are open to all persons desiring to obtain employment on board merchant ships whether they produce certificates of discharge or not. Loafers or undesirable persons are of course liable to be excluded.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): This reply is very important. Will the right hon. Gentleman have it put in all the shipping offices?

MR. CHURCHILL: No doubt having been given in this House it will obtain wide publicity.

### Poplar Mercantile Marine Office.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the excitement which prevailed amongst British seamen at the Mercantile Marine Office, Poplar, on Saturday and Sunday, in consequence of the owners of the steamships "Zambesi" and "Strathness" endeavouring to ship crews of Chinamen; whether he is aware that the Chinamen in question were unable to pass the language test as required by the Merchant Shipping Act; whether it has been brought to his notice that, when Chinese crews are being signed on, duly qualified and independent interpreters are not provided by the owners; whether he is aware that these crews are being found by well-known Chinese crimps; and what action, if any, does the Board of Trade intend to take to put an end to these practices.

MR. CHURCHILL: My attention has been called to disturbances at Poplar on Saturday and Monday last in connection with the proposal to engage Chinese crews for the steamships "Zambesi" and "Strathness." I understand that it is the case that the leading seaman No. 1 was unable to pass the language test. There is no legal obligation on owners to provide interpreters, but care is taken by the superintendent that the various clauses in the articles of agreement are explained to the seamen by some person competent to do so before they are engaged. I have nothing before me to prove that the crews in the cases referred to by my hon. friend were supplied by Chinese crimps; but if any evidence of an infringement of Sections 111 or 112 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, is forthcoming the question of instituting legal proceedings will be considered. I may add that the recent unusual increase in the number of Chinese seamen shipped in United Kingdom ports requires and is receiving prompt and searching attention, and must be regarded as a matter of serious concern.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Merchant Shipping Act provides that the articles of agreement shall be read over to each seaman, and that it is the duty of the superintendent to see that each man understands the agreement? Is he aware that No. 1 leading fireman and No. 1 leading seaman were absolutely unable to explain the agreement, and will he see that proper and competent interpreters are present when Chinamen are engaged?

MR. CHURCHILL: I can hardly pledge myself to any statement as to facts with which I am not familiar, but I can assure the hon. Member the law will certainly be enforced.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received any Report from the police authorities with regard to the disturbances which have occurred at the Mercantile Marine Office, Poplar, in consequence of the contemplated engagement of crews of Chinamen for the steamship "Zambesi" and "Strathness"; if he can state the number of inspectors and policemen who were on duty in this connection; whether he is aware that the police prevented British seamen from having access to the waiting-room of the Mercantile Marine Office, whilst the Chinamen were freely admitted; and whether he can state who gave the police instructions to prevent British sailors from using this waiting-room.

MR. GLADSTONE: One sergeant and six constables were on duty at the Board of Trade Office, Poplar, on Monday afternoon; and this number was increased owing to the gathering of a considerable crowd, to three inspectors, two sergeants, and thirty constables, in order to enable the police to maintain order. At the request of the superintendent at the Mercantile Marine Office, the police secured admission to the office for nineteen Chinamen who were desirous of signing on. The police did not knowingly prevent any British seamen who had business there from going into the waiting-room, but in such a case there must always be some difficulty in distinguishing individuals who are there on business from the rest of a large crowd.

### Llandaff Council School.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education when the notice under Section 8 of the Education Act, 1902, was given in respect of the proposed council school at Llandaff, and what were its terms; whether the proposed school is to be provided on the ground that it is necessary; and, if so, why a grant is being made towards it from the £100,000 voted for new schools last year.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury): Notice was given by the local education authority on 31st July, 1905, to provide two new public elementary schools at Llandaff and Llandaff Yard for the areas within three miles thereof and with accommodation for 560 and 215 children respectively. The Board have sanctioned a school for 300 children being provided at Llandaff on the ground that such a school is, in their opinion, necessary within the meaning of Section 9 of the Education Act, 1902. No building grant will be paid in respect of those school places which the local education authority would, in any case, be under a statutory obligation to provide.

MR. COURTHOPE: Are we to understand that no grant has been made?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I replied that no grant would be paid in respect of those school places which the local education authority would in any case be under a statutory obligation to provide.

LORD ROBERT CECIL: Was notice given in 1905 in respect of two schools, and is the legal adviser of the Education Department of opinion that that notice was a good notice in respect of the provision of one school of a very different character and much smaller scope?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I do not know that it is of a different character. The advice given is that the notice for the schools covers the case of the one school to which a grant is being made.

MR. COURTHOPE: Do not the regulations preclude the spending of any of that money on schools like these?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I have said that no portion of the grant will be in respect of school places which the local education authority are under an obligation to provide.

LORD ROBERT CECIL: And how many places are they under an obligation to provide?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I must ask for notice of that Question.

MR. COURTHOPE: Did not the right hon. Gentleman inform us that the school was considered to be necessary?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I have said so. I do not think the hon. Member realises that while the school is considered necessary no grant will be made in respect of places which the local authority must provide.

### Single School Parishes.

SIR GEORGE WHITE (Norfolk, N.W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he will publish, uniform with the List of Public Elementary Schools in Single-School Parishes (Cd. 3990), a list of schools in parishes where there is only one public elementary school available for boys, or for girls, or for infants, but which are not single-school parishes as defined by

Section 3 of the Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1908, because the departments for boys, girls, or infants are in separate buildings and are recognised by the Board of Education as separate schools.

I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he will publish, in continuation of the List of Public Elementary Schools in Single-School Parishes (Cd. 3990), a similar list of schools which would be in single school parishes as defined by Section 3 of the Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1908, but for the fact that the parish is an urban district or municipal borough, and therefore technically is not a rural parish as mentioned in that section.

MR. RUNCIMAN: Yes, Sir; I am having Papers prepared giving the information asked for in these Questions, so far as the Board are able to supply it, and they will be laid on the Table as soon as possible.

**Queen Mary's Grammar School, Walsall.**

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he has any control over the methods of punishment adopted at Queen Mary's Grammar School, Walsall; whether he is aware that one form of punishment is flogging; and, seeing that this form of punishment is prohibited in the Army and Navy and is only allowed in His Majesty's prisons and that then the infliction is administered to criminals, he proposes to take steps to secure more humane methods by those responsible for the above school.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The system of discipline, including the methods adopted for enforcing it, is one of the matters which is considered by the Board in determining as to the efficiency of the school. I think the hon. Member will find that prisons are not the only institutions in this country in which corporal punishment is permitted and I have no reason to suppose that the conduct of Queen Mary's Grammar School is wanting in humanity. As I have previously stated, the facts before the Board do not appear to call for any action on their part.

*MR. REES: With reference to the statement that corporal punishment is only allowed in prisons, may I ask if it is not only allowed, but is even popular, except with the immediate recipient, in English public schools.

MR. LUPTON: Is it not the fact that in University College School and in most of the best managed public schools in England corporal punishment is not used?

[No Answer was returned.]

**Wages on Post Office Building Contracts.**

MR. CLYNES (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that men are employed in connection with the new sorting warehouse, Newton Street, Manchester, doing the work of concretors at 6½d. and less per hour; whether the rules of the Master Builders' Association in the district provide for the payment of 8d. per hour for such work as the men named are engaged on; and, if so, can some step be taken to bring the contractor within the scope of the fair contracts regulations and secure for the workmen the recognised rates of pay.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. HARCOURT, Lancashire, N.E., Rossendale): I have been giving careful attention to this matter, and cannot find that the working rules for the district provide for the payment of 8d. per hour for such work as these men are doing, which is ordinary work similar to that usually carried out by labourers in connection with concrete floors and does not involve special or skilled labour of concretors properly so called. I do not see any reason to interfere, as the men are undoubtedly being paid the full wages current in the district for work of this kind.

MR. CLYNES: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the rules of the Masons' Society provide for the employment of skilled labour on this work?

MR. HARCOURT: Not on this particular form of concrete work.

### Cattle Importing Industry.

Mr. BOWERMAN (Deptford): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the fact that in 1907, 93,410 less cattle than in 1905 were imported for slaughter into Great Britain from North America, and 20,824 less during the four months ended 30th April, 1908, compared with the same period in 1907; whether he is aware that consequently the supply of hides and offals of freshly-slaughtered animals used as raw material in many manufactures has very seriously decreased, to the detriment of British trade, to the loss of work and wages of thousands of British workmen, and to the rise in prices to the consumer of all commodities affected; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the remedies for increasing the supplies of hides, offals, and freshly-killed meat of imported foreign animals, with especial reference to the plan for establishing a foreign animals wharf and abattoir in the Island of Alderney, and to the advisability of relaxing the restrictions now placed on the landing at the foreign animals wharves at Deptford and Birkenhead of all animals except those from North America.

The TREASURER of the HOUSEHOLD (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire, S.): My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this question. We are aware of the decrease in the importation of cattle from North America in 1907 as compared with 1905. On the other hand there has been an increase in the quantity of hides imported in 1907 as compared with 1905 by some 92,000 cwts. As regards prices we have no statistics, but we understand that the price of hides has declined considerably during the last four months. No special inquiry into these questions appears to be necessary.

### Imports of Meat.

Mr. BOWERMAN: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether his attention has been called to the Report of the Markets' Committee of the Corporation of the City of London, in which it is stated that fewer live cattle are coming from Canada and the United States, causing a reduction in the quantity of freshly-killed meat, which is made up by increased importations of preserved and frozen products, and lessening the circulation of wages in the meat-producing and kindred industries; and whether he will cause independent inquiry to be made as to relaxing the regulations of the Board with regard to the landing of animals for slaughter in Great Britain, and as to other methods of increasing, with due regard to the safety of native flocks and herds, the supply of freshly-killed meat to British markets.

Sir EDWARD STRACHEY: Our attention has been called to the Report to which my hon. friend refers, but as there is no evidence to show that the meat supplies of the people are in any way curtailed by the existing law affecting the importation of cattle there seems to be no necessity for the institutions of an inquiry as suggested.

### Glasgow Typhoid Fever Epidemic.

Mr. WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether his attention has been called to an epidemic of typhoid fever in Kelvinside, Glasgow; whether this outbreak has been traced to the selling of milk from a farm where there was a typhoid patient; at what date did his Department or the local authority become aware of these facts; on what date was the first action taken to stop the sale of milk from that farm; and whether, in view of the number of deaths that have resulted he will issue instructions which will in future prevent delays between the knowledge of the facts and the action resulting from them.

The SECRETARY for SCOTLAND (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire): I have made inquiry and have been informed by the Local Government Board that the source of infection in the earlier cases was traced—not to a typhoid patient, but to a healthy woman, who had had typhoid fever sixteen years ago, and was still capable of spreading the disease, thus acting as a "carrier" case. This woman was employed on a farm, but her condition was not discovered until some weeks after the beginning of the outbreak. The first notification was received by the city authorities on 17th December, and two others followed on 18th and 19th. On the last-mentioned date a large milk supply was suspected in Glasgow, and on the following day one of the sources of supply was reported to the county medical officer for inquiry. The farm was visited on Saturday, 21st December, by the assistant medical officer, who found a dairy worker being treated for pneumonia. The time between this date and the 24th was fully occupied in completing a very difficult diagnosis, with the result that the case was found to be one of typhoid fever complicated with pneumonia. This patient, to whose illness some of the later cases in the city were due, was removed as soon as typhoid symptoms were detected to hospital on the evening of 24th December, and the premises were disinfected. For some days the milk was sterilised by the city dairyman, who then ceased taking milk from the farm. The milk however, was sold in another dairy in Glasgow without any bad result. The difficulty, therefore, in controlling this short epidemic was due mainly to (1st) the impossibility of discovering, without prolonged investigation, typhoid germs in the healthy woman; and (2nd) the complications involved in ascertaining the true nature of the illness of the patient removed to hospital on 24th. But once the disease and infection were recognised, and the patient removed to hospital, there was no need to stop the milk supply. The facts show that the city and county authorities conducted their investigations with promptitude, and that no delay occurred between the knowledge of the facts and the action resulting from them, and, accordingly, I see no ground for issuing instructions to any of the authorities concerned.

### Cattle-Drives in Ireland—Tuam, Mitchelstown, Delvin, and Loughrea.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that cattle-drives took place on Sunday, 3rd May last, from the farm of Mr. Robert Blake, Ballyglunin Park, Tuam, from the grass farms of Moyne, belonging to Mr. R. W. Waithman, and of Mullaghmore, owned by Mr. O'Rorke, as well as from other farms in the neighbourhood; whether numerous droves of horses, cattle, and sheep were found on the road from Tuam to Moylough, making it almost impassable for vehicular traffic, on Monday morning, 4th May, from the farm of Mr. O. C. Donelan, Sylane, near Tuam, on the same date from the lands of Southill, Mitchelstown, and Robinstown, Delvin district of County Westmeath, when 200 head were driven, and on Tuesday, 5th May, from Gralla Farm, near Loughrea; how many arrests were made in each case, and can the police attribute any motives for the outrages; whether he can make a statement as to what steps, if any, the Government intend to take to meet the very grave state of affairs which at present exists; and whether he will lay the whole facts before the Cabinet, with a view to bringing into force the Crimes Act.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The cattle-drives referred to in the Question took place on the several days from 1st to 5th May. In all, 104 persons were arrested, of whom 88 have been bound over to keep the peace, and the proceedings against the remaining 16 are pending. The question of taking proceedings against other persons in connection with these cases is under consideration. In reply to a Question put by the hon. and gallant Member on 7th instant, I stated the steps which are being taken to protect the persons and property of those who are affected by the agitation against the grazing system. The reply to the concluding inquiry of the Question is in the negative.

### Alleged Incendiarism at Elphin.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Peter O'Ryan's stables, Carrowreagh, near Elphin, County Roscommon, were burned to the ground on Sunday, 3rd May last; whether the police reports attribute the outbreak to incendiarism, and, if so, can they give any reason for the outrage.

MR. BIRRELL: Mr. O'Ryan's outhouses were burnt down on the date mentioned. A man has been arrested upon the charge of arson, and the case is pending.

### Ballintubber Cattle-Drive.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an extensive cattle-drive took place on Sunday morning, 3rd May last, at Knockalaghla, near Ballintubber, five miles from Castlerea, county Roscommon; can he state how far from the farm the cattle were when discovered by the police, and in what condition; can the police attribute any reason for the outrage; and how many arrests have been made.

MR. BIRRELL: Eight head of cattle and thirty-three sheep were driven off this farm during the night of 2nd May. The cattle were found about three miles away and were taken back to the farm. None of them had sustained any visible injury; but one cow which was in calf appeared to be in pain. The police cannot say what the motive for the offence may have been. No arrests have been made.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that the Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture said some time ago that cattle-driving did no harm to man or beast?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Mr. J. W. Leahy's Aghatubrid Estate.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the actual terms of the purchase agreement entered into between the late Mr. J. W. Leahy and his Aghatubrid estate tenants on 8th January, 1907; whether he is aware that the tenants have fulfilled their side of the agreement, but that since the death of Mr. Leahy all efforts to have the purchase agreement carried into effect have been blocked by the new agent of the estate; can he state how many communications have passed between the agent and the Estates Commissioners on the subject of the completion of the sale; and whether, in view of the fact that by the terms of the agreement the fixing of the purchase price was left unconditionally in the hands of the Estates Commissioners, he will now state what further steps will be taken by the Estates Commissioners.

To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now state what answer has been received by the Estates Commissioners from the agent of the estate of the late Mr. J. W. Leahy, at Aghatubrid, near Cahirciveen, with reference to the purchase negotiations; whether the terms of the agreement signed by the late Mr. Leahy, and the hon. Member for South Kerry, acting on behalf of the tenants, will now be carried into effect by Mr. Leahy's representatives; and what steps have been taken by the Estates Commissioners since this House adjourned for the Easter Recess.

MR. BIRRELL: The agreement arrived at between the late Mr. Leahy and his tenants can scarcely be described as a purchase agreement. The agreement was that the prices to be paid by the tenants were to be left to the decision of the Estates Commissioners, but, as I have already explained to the hon. Member, the death of the owner led to a suspension of the negotiations. The Estates Commissioners have made four communications to the agent or solicitor of the present owner with reference to the completion of the sale. No reply has yet been received from the agent to the Commissioners' last letter asking for a definite reply to the question whether the present owner is prepared to continue proceedings for sale at their estimated price. The Commissioners, however, understand that Canon O'Riordan, who is interested on behalf of the tenants, has received a letter from the agent to the effect that he is advising the present owner to accept the price offered by the Estates Commissioners.

### Illiterates in Ireland.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in calculating the percentages of illiteracy in Ireland, officially given to the public in every Census Report, every child of five years old and upwards is counted as an illiterate if unable to read and write, and that this age limit, adopted on the authority of the Census Commissioners of 1841, has been continued in every census since that time; why, having regard to the fact that according to the compulsory clauses of the Irish Education Act of 1892 six years is the age at which children are bound to attend school, is every child who happens to be five years old on the day of the census entered as illiterate if unable to read and write; and whether, inasmuch as this age limit for illiteracy is calculated to convey an erroneous impression, the Census Commissioners will be directed in their next Census Report to adopt ten years as the limit of age for illiteracy, or if it be judged desirable to keep, for the purposes of comparison with former Census Returns, the percentage of illiteracy on the old lines of five years old and upwards, will directions be given to the Census Commissioners to furnish a new column, giving the percentage of illiteracy on a new basis of counting only the population ten years of age and upwards.

MR. BIRRELL: I am informed that the fact is as stated in the first part of the Question. I agree that the classification of illiterates at the last census in Ireland appears to have been somewhat anomalous. It would be premature to give instructions upon the subject at present, but the matter will receive attention when the next Census Act, and the instructions to be issued thereunder, are being dealt with.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that since 1841 the percentages of illiteracy in Ireland have been officially given to the public in every Census Report, but that no corresponding percentages of illiteracy have been published by the Census Commissioners of England and Scotland; why, having regard to the desirability of an official record of the state of education in Ireland as regards illiteracy, has a similar information of the state of education in England and Scotland as regards illiteracy been withheld from the public; and what is the reason that the favour extended to Ireland in having an official record of illiteracy is not conferred on England and Scotland.

MR. BIRRELL: I have no information as to the reasons why an educational census has not been taken in England and Scotland. I understand that the census for Great Britain is conducted under the supervision of my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board, to whom the hon. and learned Member should address his inquiry.

### Police Costs for Cattle-Drives.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the cost of car hire for conveying extra police to and fro in connection with cattle-driving and other agrarian outrages is charged to the county concerned; and, if so, what has been the charge under this head for the various disturbed counties during January, February, March, and April of this year respectively.

MR. BIRRELL: The cost of conveying extra police is borne by the Constabulary Vote. Under the statutes governing the matter, local authorities are charged for extra police according to the average cost of the entire force, and independently of the distance from which the particular extra force may come.

AN HON. MEMBER asked if there was any real advantage in drafting a large force of police from one part of the country to another in connection with cattle-drives, and if it would not be better when damage was done for the graziers to claim compensation, to have the amount assessed by arbitration, and the sum awarded to be paid by the county concerned?

MR. BIRRELL: I should like to have notice of that Question; it is a very difficult problem.

### Cattle-Drives and the Universities Bill.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any instructions have been issued by the executive to the effect that in cases of cattle-driving and other agrarian offences where arrests are made, that the prisoners are only to be bound over to keep the peace and not to be more severely dealt with pending the passage through this House of the Irish Universities Bill; and whether he will now adopt more stringent methods to vindicate the law in Ireland and secure the lives and property of law-abiding persons.

Mr. BIRRELL: No, Sir.

### Midleton (County Cork) Shooting Outrage

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has information respecting a shooting outrage at the house of a farmer at Rathcanning, near Midleton, county Cork, on the 4th instant; and whether any arrests have been made in connection with the occurrence.

Captain CRAIG: May I also ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the dwelling-house of a farmer named William Colbert, of Rathcanning, near Midleton, County Cork, was fired into on Tuesday, 5th May last; whether the police evidence goes to show that injury was intended to the sleeping inmates or whether the direction of the shot merely indicates an intention to intimidate; and what steps have been taken to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Mr. BIRRELL: The house of William Colbert was fired into on the night of 4th May. The greater part of the charge, which consisted of small shot, struck the outside wall of the house near the window, and only three pellets of shot went through the window. The facts elicited by the police point to the conclusion that intimidation and not personal injury to the inmates was intended. No arrest has been made. The police are using all possible efforts to discover the offender.

Captain DONELAN (Cork, E.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the district in which this took place is a very quiet and peaceable district?

Mr. BIRRELL: I believe it bears that general character.

Captain CRAIG: Does not the definition of quiet and peacable depend on the political views of the man who uses the term?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Killarney Labourers Cottage Scheme.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the labourers cottage inquiry finished in Killarney on 17th January, 1908, and the inspector's Report was due on 17th February, but that the same has not been received yet, which means that the cottages cannot be built this year, as, when the Report comes down, there is a month for appeal, and between the arbitration and the three weeks notice of sitting that would take till 1st September, and a contractor cannot be got to do the work in the winter; and whether steps will be taken to have the inspector's Report sent on at once.

Mr. BIRRELL: Copies of the inspector's order were despatched by the Local Government Board to the district council on 7th May. There was no avoidable delay in the matter. The scheme was a large one, embracing 370 cottages and plots and fifty-six additional allotments.

### Loughrea Disturbances.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a report of the riotous proceedings at Loughrea on Friday last; how many times had the police to charge the crowd with batons; and what was the cause of these disturbances.

Mr. BIRRELL: On Friday last, 8th May, a large number of trespassing cattle which had been driven on to a grazing farm at Aille were removed by the owner under police protection and impounded at Loughrea. A large crowd assembled in the evening and attacked the police with stones and bottles, and some of the men were struck.

The police thereupon charged the crowd with their batons which, as I am informed, they used freely. There was only one baton charge, which lasted until the mob was dispersed and the streets cleared.

### Ballinasloe Disturbance.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received particulars of an assault committed by a crowd of men upon a farmer named Dolan and his two boys, near Ballinasloe; whether he is aware of the reason for this attack; whether any policemen were present; and how were they treated by the crowd.

MR. BIRRELL: On the morning of 4th May a party of men were driving cattle off the farm of Martin Dolan, when the owner and his two sons opposed the drivers, and blows were exchanged. Two policemen were present. Five of the offenders were arrested at the time and twenty-one were arrested subsequently, and all of these, except one, a youth, have been bound over to keep the peace. Proceedings against other persons are pending. No attack was made upon the police.

### Irish Grazing Lands.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state how many acres of grazing land have been purchased by the Estates Commissioners during the past fifteen months for division among the applicants for small holdings; in how many cases had cattle been driven off these lands; and how many persons who have shared in the division of the lands are known to have taken an active part in cattle-driving.

MR. BIRRELL: During the past fifteen months the Estates Commissioners have purchased 38,500 acres of untenanted land which has been used for the enlargement of existing holdings or the creation of new holdings. The Commissioners are not aware of any case in which cattle had been driven off any of the lands so purchased by them, and they have no knowledge that any of the persons to whom allotments were given had taken part in cattle-driving.

MR. LONSDALE: Does the right hon. Gentleman adhere to the promise he gave to a deputation on 13th December last that persons who took part in cattle-drives should be considered unsuitable tenants for these grazing lands?

MR. BIRRELL: Certainly.

### Woodquay Cattle-Drive.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that sixteen men, charged at Tuam with having driven the cattle of Patrick Newall off his farm at Woodquay, admitted the offence; whether these men were in negotiation for the sale of this farm; and whether, in accordance with the pledge that persons who have taken part in cattle-driving will not be permitted to share in the distribution of lands, he will draw the attention of the Estates Commissioners to the fact that these men are disqualified.

MR. BIRRELL: It is the fact that the sixteen persons who were charged with having driven cattle off the farm in question admitted the offence. These persons, who were mostly boys, were not in negotiation for the purchase of the farm. I have referred the hon. Member's Question to the Estates Commissioners, who inform me that they cannot identify the matter as one in which proceedings for sale have been instituted before them.

### Lismonaghan Labourer's Cottage.

MR. C. MACVEIGH (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Local Government Board has been called to the application of James Deveney, of Lismonaghan, Letterkenny Union, county Donegal, Ireland, and for whom the rural district council selected a site for a labourer's cottage on the farm of Robert Wylie, of Carrygauley, which site was visited and approved by the Local Government Board inspector during an inquiry held in Letterkenny in November, 1907; whether he is aware that the farmer, Wylie, brought an action against Deveney at Quarter

Sessions, which was defended by the rural council, and Judge Cook gave Deveney the site by giving judgment in his favour; if he can state why the arbitrator, in the face of the approval of the inspector and the judgment of the Court, has failed or refused to give the site to Deveney; and will he direct that steps be taken to provide a cottage for this man.

Mr. BIRRELL: The facts are substantially as stated in the Question. The arbitrator referred to was, however, appointed merely to determine the compensation to be paid for the plots against the taking of which no petitions had been presented. The particular site in question is the subject of an opposed order, and in this case an arbitrator must be separately appointed unless the council and the parties concerned can come to terms as to the amount of compensation. In the opinion of the Local Government Board such a settlement should be feasible upon the lines of the arbitrator's reward in the unopposed cases.

### Finvoy Afforestation Dispute.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can say if any complaints have reached the police as to the injury to trees on a plantation at Finvoy, near Ballymoney, County Antrim; whether he can state the names and addresses of the landlord and of the lessee; and whether notice has been given of any claim for compensation.

Mr. BIRRELL: It was reported to the police on 24th April that about 300 trees in a plantation at Finvoy had been damaged by having holes bored in them. Five of the trees were shattered by explosion. The landlord is Mr. Edward Cole M gennis, of Boyle, county Roscommon, and the occupying tenant is Bryce Beattie. The trees had been sold by the landlord to an English firm, who had resold a portion of them to a local buyer. The purchasers have lodged claims for compensation amounting to £90.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: Can the right hon. Gentleman say if this Mr. Edward Cole Magennis is the man who some months ago alleged that his house had been attacked by a band of moonlighters, and that when inquiry was made, at the instance of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin, it was reported that no outrage had taken place and that the shots had been fired from inside the house?

Mr. BIRRELL: There is a similarity of names, I confess.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the local authorities in County Antrim will have to resist this man's claim, and will he therefore consider the desirability of giving them a complete biographical sketch of Mr. Edward Cole Magennis?

Mr. BIRRELL: I expect they know all about him.

An HON. MEMBER: Are disputes like this calculated to encourage afforestation?

Mr. BIRRELL: I can assure the hon. Member I deeply regret the occurrence.

### Ballytrasna Cattle-Drive.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on Monday, 4th May last, a cattle-drive took place off a farm grazed by Mr. T. Lynskey, of Ballytrasna, Tuam, County Galway, and off Balreagh Farm, between Elphin and Carrick-on-Shannon; what arrests have been made; and what sentences, if any, have been passed on the perpetrators of these outrages.

Mr. BIRRELL: The police are not aware that any cattle-drive has taken place at Ballytrasna, but on the night of 26th April, twenty-five head of cattle were driven off the Balreagh farm. There is no evidence against the offenders, and consequently no arrests have been made.

### Riverstown Cattle-Drives.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a cattle-drive took place off Mr. M'Clintock's farm, Riverstown, County Leitrim, on Sunday, 3rd May last, and off a farm in the neighbourhood of Bohs, Tulsk, on the same day, and off the farm of Mr. John Macnamara, of Gort, at Coxtown, on Monday 4th May, and off the farm of Mr. Flynn, of Caroreagh, near Ballinasloe, County Roscommon, and off the farm of Mr. Dolan, in the same district and on the same date; and what arrests have been made.

Mr. BIRRELL: On 27th April cattle were driven off a farm of Colonel M'Clintock at Riverstown. No arrests were made. On 4th May cattle were driven off the farms of Messrs. Flynn and Dolan. Twenty-six persons were arrested, of whom twenty-five have been bound over to keep the peace. No cattle-drive has taken place from Mr. Macnamara's farm, and no case of cattle-driving has occurred in the district of Tulsk for some months past.

### Enniskillen Labourers' Cottage Scheme.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will say whether the Enniskillen No. 2 Rural District Council has yet lodged a scheme under the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1906; and, if so, how many cottages and extra allotments does it propose to deal with; and when will the inquiry be held.

Mr. BIRRELL: The scheme has not yet been received by the Local Government Board. The delay in the matter must be attributed to the clerk of the rural district council, whose neglect of duty is at present the subject of correspondence between the Board and the council.

### Irish Fishery Leases.

Mr. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, where fishermen have held a several fishery under lease for a long term of years and, where such lease has expired, still held a tenancy from year to year, and where such tenancies have even been held for over 100 years, facilities will be given such fishermen who may so desire to purchase those fisheries, under the Land Act of 1903 as if they were estates within the meaning of the Act.

Mr. BIRRELL: The question raised by the hon. Member is governed by Section 99 of the Act of 1903, which provides that the Act shall not affect sporting rights which are not in the possession or enjoyment of the vendor at the time of the sale of the estate. The expression "sporting rights" includes fishery rights. If any question relating to fishery rights should arise in connection with the sale of an estate, the Land Commission will consider the matter in connection with the section quoted and Section 13 of the Act.

Mr. JOYCE: What protection have these poor fishermen against being evicted from the rights they have enjoyed so long?

Mr. BIRRELL: I can give them no better protection than the law allows.

### Grant Estate, Waterford, Evicted Tenants.

Mr. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have an application from Edward Coleman, an evicted tenant, of the Grant Estate, County Waterford, for reinstatement on their files; how long have they had the application; whether he is aware that Mr. Coleman has died since the application was lodged, and that his children are still awaiting restoration to his former holding; whether the same is in the possession of the owner; and what steps have been taken to acquire the lands in order to reinstate them.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners received an application in 1904 from Edmond Coleman, then resident in New York, for reinstatement in a holding from which he was evicted in 1880. The Commissioners decided to take no action in the matter. Coleman died in 1906, and his daughter subsequently made a application for the holding, which is held under lease by another tenant. The Commissioners do not propose to take any action upon this application.

### Wall Estate, Monaghan, Evicted Tenant.

Mr. LARDNER (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application for re-instatement from John Greenan, of Cladowen, an evicted tenant on the Wall Estate, County Monaghan; and, if so, the date on which it was received, and if the Commissioners have considered the application; and has an inspector been sent to visit the holding from which John Greenan was evicted.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners received the application in question on 5th February, 1904, and the case was subsequently investigated by an inspector. The Commissioners upon full consideration of the facts decided to take no action in the case. The farm from which the applicant was evicted is in the occupation of a tenant purchaser.

Mr. LARDNER: Was the result of the Commissioners' inquiry communicated to the tenant at the time?

Mr. BIRRELL: I will inquire as to that.

### Irish Intermediate Examinations.

Mr. HAZLETON: (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the average marks obtained on the special papers set in algebra at the Irish intermediate examinations in June, 1907; whether a number of honourmen, prizemen, exhibitioners, and at least one medallist taking algebra as a main subject, failed to score a single mark on the special algebra paper; and whether, in view of the provisions of the Intermediate Act, intended to encourage the study of mathematics in intermediate schools, he proposes to take any, and, if any, what action in the matter.

Mr. BIRRELL: I am informed by the Intermediate Education Board that the special test paper in algebra referred to in the Question was set for mathematical exhibitions. The average marks obtained were: In the junior grade, ninety-two; middle grade, eighty-five; and senior grade, 134; the maximum being 400. The average obtained by the successful students were 259, 239, and 218 in the respective grades. All the mathematical exhibitioners obtained marks on the special paper in algebra, with the exception of one student who did not take the paper but took the two other mathematical subjects of the course. The Board point out that the Intermediate Education Act was not intended to encourage the study of mathematics otherwise than as one of six subjects enumerated in the Schedule to the Act. Moreover the special papers in algebra are not intended for the average student, but only for those who are making a special study of mathematics. The matter is not one for the Government. It rests with the Board to fix the standard of the papers set in the various subjects.

### Contempt of Court Bill.

Mr. McHUGH (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether the Bill promised in relation to committals for contempt of court has been drafted; and can he say when it will be introduced.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Cherry, Liverpool, Exchange): The Bill has been drafted and I hope to introduce it in the course of next week.

### Irish Agricultural Schools.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether he can name the counties in Ulster in which it is intended to instal new agricultural schools and experimental farms.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the DEPARTMENT of AGRICULTURE for IRELAND (Mr. T. W. Russell, Tyrone, S.): The Department have decided to establish an agricultural school for the north-west, and have under consideration a proposal for another in the north-east, of the province of Ulster. The former will be located in County Tyrone. The location of the latter has not yet been decided.

Mr. LONSDALE: While I congratulate Tyrone on the prospect of having an institution of this kind, may I ask the hon. Gentleman to bear in mind the strong desire of Armagh for one?

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: The schools are not being established for counties but for districts, and I hope Armagh will be included in one of the districts.

### Irish Treasury Remembrancer.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any public announcement was made of the resignation of the late Treasury Remembrancer for Ireland, and, if so, when, where, and how was it announced; what was the date of the resignation and the date of the appointment of Mr. Hewby to the vacancy; if no public announcement was made of the vacancy, what opportunity had Irishmen to apply for the position; whether he will inquire if this may be the reason why no Irishman applied; and will he see that in future such vacancies are duly announced and reasonable time afforded for Irishmen to apply.

Mr. MULDOON (Wicklow, E.): I beg also to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what was the date of the retirement of Sir Robert Holmes, lately Treasury Remembrancer for Ireland, and on what date was his resignation accepted; what was the date of the appointment of his successor; and whether any person responsible for the government of Ireland was consulted before the present Remembrancer was appointed, and, if so, what person.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Hobhouse, Bristol, E.): No official announcement was made of Sir Robert Holmes's resignation. His retirement takes effect from to-day, and his successor enters on the duties of the office to-morrow. The names of several persons, both in Great Britain and Ireland, were considered for the appointment; and I do not think that any advantage could have been gained by giving wider publicity to the vacancy in the Office.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Was any Irishman consulted as to whether he would accept the post, and if not, why not?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I have said that several names were considered of persons both in Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Did any Irishman have an opportunity of applying for the appointment?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: Several names were considered.

Mr. MULDOON: Did the hon. Gentleman consult any person responsible for the government of Ireland before the appointment was made?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: No, sir.

Mr. LONSDALE: Does the hon. Gentleman suggest there was no Irishman capable of filling the post?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I have suggested nothing of the sort.

Mr. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): Will the Government consider the advisability of abolishing the office altogether, and thus relieving Ireland of one burden?

[No Answer was returned.]

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## SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir William Brampton Gurdon reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Colonel Seely; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Masterman.

Report to lie upon the Table.

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## *NEW BILL.*

### CORONERS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To provide for the appointment of Deputy Coroners in counties and boroughs in Ireland," presented by Mr. Ffrench; supported by Mr. Clancy, the Marquess of Hamilton, Mr. James

O'Connor, Mr. John Gordon, Mr. Lardner, Mr. Kettle, and Mr. Moore; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 228.]

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## PROSECUTION OF OFFENDERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a third time."

**Sir F. BANBURY** (City of London) said he was glad to see the hon. and learned Gentleman, the Attorney-General, in his place, because he desired to ask him a few questions with regard to the office of Director of Public Prosecutions. He thought he was correct in saying—and he hoped the Attorney-General would correct him if he was wrong—that when that office was divided some years ago it was found not to answer, and when a Report was made on the division, it was strongly recommended by eminent counsel that the sub-division should no longer be allowed to exist. As far as he could remember the hon. and learned Gentleman had said that matters had altered very considerably since the Report and that the passing of the Criminal Appeal Bill had rendered it absolutely necessary that further assistance should be given to the Treasury. It had been pointed out on his side of the House that further assistance might be given without dividing the office. They all knew that if they had two chiefs of two offices they must both be good men and paid salaries commensurate with the dignity of the two offices set up, whereas if they only had one chief they only had to give one salary, and they could give a lower salary for the second post and still have the work well and properly done. He was sure the Attorney-General would agree with him when he said that it was absolutely necessary now that every economy should be practised; that could not be denied on either side of the House, and therefore he wanted to know if it was too late to retain the office as it was at present, with one head, receiving an adequate salary. He would be the last to object to an adequate salary being paid to anyone, least of all to a prominent legal official. He did not wish in any way to prevent the Attorney-General filling the office in a proper manner, but he would like to ask whether he could not, by having one head, effect a saving, without injury to efficiency. He had listened to the speeches on the Second Reading of the Bill and also upon the Expenses Resolution, and he had not heard any adequate reason why the office should not be held under one chief, with a certain number of capable assistants under him. The Attorney-General would remember that a question arose as to what the cost would be under the Bill, and that he could not inform the House at that time what it would amount to, but he thought he gave an undertaking or said that as far as he could he would see that no further appointments were made than were absolutely necessary, and that, as they could not tell how many appeals were going to be made under the Criminal Appeal Act, to commence with he would proceed carefully and not appoint more than a small number of new officials. Some time had elapsed since that statement was made, and he would like to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he had seen anything to induce him to vary that opinion, and whether, after consideration, he could give them any indication as to the cost, at any rate for the first year. He did not want to bind him beyond the bounds of reason, and he quite admitted that in two or three years time they might have a great number of appeals or very few appeals; much depended on the decisions of the Judges, and on other circumstances over which neither the hon. and learned Gentleman nor that House could possibly have any control; but, in view of all those circumstances, he thought it was advisable to proceed cautiously in the first instance. He saw the Chancellor of the Exchequer opposite, and he was sure he would agree that in view of all the expenses which were going to occur next year it would be advisable for the moment not to overburden the finances of the country by appointing too many distinguished lawyers to these particular positions. It was a little awkward, as both the hon. and learned Gentleman and the right hon. Gentleman opposite belonged to that great profession, but he was certain their public spirit rose above their profession, and that they would desire to minimise, as far as possible with efficiency, the emoluments of the office. He was not quite sure, with regard to the qualifications in subsection 4, Clause 1, what people were to be appointed. The Director of Public Prosecutions was to be a barrister or solicitor of not less than ten years standing. He did not know that that was long enough. He would have thought that fifteen years would be a very much better time, because it was difficult to learn all the intricacies of the law in ten years. Then again, the Assistant Director must have seven years experience, and he would like to know why they should not both have the same number of years experience. The Assistant Director would be nearly as responsible as the Director himself, and it was very necessary that he should have ample qualifications and experience for fulfilling that post. He was talking about something of which he had not had a very great experience, and he was quite willing to accept the answer of the hon. and learned Gentleman whatever it might be. The hon. and learned Gentleman might tell him that these words were only put in as a safeguard, and that he would see to it that the best possible men were appointed. If that was so, he did not think he had anything further to say, but in an Act of Parliament it was best to leave nothing to the people who had to carry it out. They might not always have to deal with people so capable as the hon, and learned Gentleman, and therefore he would rather not leave anything to be decided by the people who would have to carry out the Act. If that had been done in the years past they would not have had so much trouble as they had now. Sub-section 4, Clause 2, read—

> "It is hereby declared that the provisions of any Act requiring or authorising any Court to make on order for the payment to the prosecutor of any expenses of or incidental to the prosecution of any offence apply with respect to the payment of those costs to the Director of Public Prosecutions, as they apply with respect to the payment of those costs to a private prosecutor."

*Sir F. Banbury.*

He presumed that that was a just thing. He did not know to what it committed them, but he presumed it was necessary.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs) said he did not know whether the splitting of the two offices portended the resignation of Lord Desart, who had carried out his duties to such great satisfaction for so many years. He hoped that if it did he would retain one of those offices, which he rather understood was the case, and if the Attorney-General would tell the House that, he would satisfy legitimate curiosity on the subject. He did not know why the hon. Baronet took exception to the qualification provided by subsection 4, Clause 1, because not only was the qualification considerable in itself, but he understood that such technical qualifications were not altogether necessary, but that it was more a safeguard, a counsel of perfection, than of necessity. Either of the officers holding these offices was in a position to obtain the best possible legal advice, including that of the Attorney-General himself, whenever he wanted it, and not only had the office been held to public satisfaction by Lord Desart, but one of his predecessors, the late hon. Member for Sheffield, whose loss the House so much deplored, was also by no means unsuccessful in carrying out his duties, though he might have been properly described as an amateur lawyer. Nor could he see why the hon. Baronet objected to the lesser qualification in the case of the Assistant Director, because, except in regard to politicians, it was presumed that the senior officer was more likely to hold the senior place and to be the more capable to perform the duties. He did not suggest that that was a law of universal application, but he thought it applied to offices of this character. Would the Attorney-General tell them what was going to be the salary of the two offices after they had been divided as was proposed in the Bill?

MR. RAWLINSON (Cambridge University) said that on the Second Reading he made a strong appeal to his friends to allow the Bill to go through, understanding that it was urgent and necessary, but he would like to make a small point of complaint about it. It was said to be urgent then and was urgent then. It was absolutely essential that it should be brought into force before the Criminal Appeal Act came into force on 18th April. The Third Reading had not been brought on till now, and the Criminal Appeal Act had been in force for some considerable time. When they were appealed to to allow to be pushed through before a particular date a Bill which never came upon the Notice Paper again, that seemed to be a fair subject for criticism. It was only because he was friendly to the Bill that he dared to take up the position of a candid friend of the Government. As, however, delay had occurred the Government could give them information now which they could not do on earlier stages. They must know now, of course, what the arrangements were, and what staff it was proposed to have for the Public Prosecutor in future, and probably they could give details in regard to the expenditure, etc., which on the Second Reading of the Bill they had no right to ask for because of the urgency of the case. He fully agreed with what had been said of the virtues of Lord Desart, though why such a distinguished servant should be referred to as an amateur lawyer he did not know. He thought it would probably be agreed that the qualification in Section 1, subsection 4, would be amply sufficient. The qualification for barristers and solicitors he held was always founded by their enemies upon the well-known Latin motto "*Nemo fuit repente turpissimus.*" It might apply possibly to those being called to the Bar or seeking admission to the ranks of solicitors, but not to those who had become barristers or solicitors. The object of a qualification of this kind was probably to prevent the appointment, if such a thing were possible, for political reasons, of a person who was not a lawyer at all to a post of that kind—a course of action which was, he believed, known some thirty or forty years ago. The minimum qualification of seven years was amply sufficient. This was an important Bill and was necessary to the working of the Criminal Appeal Act, and no doubt it was desirable that the House should pass it. At the same time, they were now in a position to receive further information than they had on the Second Reading. The Government were to be most sincerely congratulated on the appointment of Sir Charles Matthews as director of the new office.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD (Liverpool, West Derby) said they had been strongly appealed to on the Second Reading not to go into the merits of this important Bill on the ground that it was absolutely necessary that it should be passed before the Court of Criminal Appeal Act came into operation. But as the Criminal Appeal Court had come into existence, and no attempt had been made in the meantime to put this Bill on the Statute-book, they might take the opportunity of looking at it again on its merits, and ascertaining whether there was any real necessity for it. This subject was really very important. This was the third time within the last twenty-five years that it had come before Parliament, and if he understood the effect of the Bill aright it simply meant putting back the law as it stood between 1879 and 1884. The office of Director of Public Prosecutions was established by the Prosecution of Offences Act of 1879, with a salary of £2,000 a year, and the patronage of making the appointment was left with the Secretary of State, but the Attorney-General had the right to appoint six assistants to the Public Prosecutor, to divide the country into districts, and generally to make arrangements for public prosecutions. That Act had not been in operation five years when it was referred to a Committee to consider the whole subject, and to say whether it was really necessary to maintain this army of special officials. As a consequence of the Committee's Report the Act of 1884 was passed, the effect of which was that the whole of the appointments made under the Act of 1879 were revoked, and the Solicitor to the Treasury became, thereupon, the official Director of Public Prosecutions, and it was provided in that Act that any assistant solicitors in the Treasury Office would be competent to take up and discharge those duties. By Section 3 of the Act the police had to send particulars of all their prosecutions to the

Treasury, and Section 4 repealed the Act of 1879 with the exception of the second paragraph of Section 2, and Section 6, which was now repealed by this Bill. Substantially, what was done by the Bill was that the procedure set up by the Act of 1879, and condemned by the Committee in 1884, was to be put in force again. The Secretary of State had now to appoint a Director of Public Prosecutions. That was exactly the section of the Act of 1879 which the Act of 1884 revoked. But it was to be put back in a worse form with regard to the assistants. In the Act of 1879 the number of assistants was restricted to six, and, of course, they could not get more than £2,000 a year, which was the amount paid to the chief, and therefore they had some sort of an idea of what it was going to cost. That was not the case in the present Bill. There might be practically as many of these officials as the Government chose to appoint. By Clause 2, Section 6 of the Act of 1879 was repealed. That was an exceedingly valuable clause. Why had they gone out of their way to repeal it? The effect of the section was that when a prosecution had been undertaken by private people, or by a person duly qualified under some statute to prosecute, and had been taken out of his hands by the Director of Public Prosecutions, who had a right to intervene in any prosecution whenever he thought fit and take it up, and the Director of Public Prosecutions had withdrawn the prosecution, it should be competent for the original prosecutor to apply to the Judge on an affidavit to get the prosecution reinstated. It was sought by this Bill to take away that very useful and proper clause, and the effect would be that if the Director of Public Prosecutions thought certain proceedings ought to be put an end to all he had to do was to intervene and take the matter up, and then decline to go any further with it, and the original prosecutor had no right to go on. He entirely failed to understand upon what conceivable grounds it was sought to repeal such an exceedingly important provision. He had looked up *Hansard* and found that the debates did not last two minutes altogether either on First, Second, or Third Reading or in Committee on the Bill of 1884. They also found in the excellent Report to which reference had been that the prosecution itself fell into the hands of the Treasury and therefore the Committee recommended that in the interest of efficiency and economy it would be much better if the decision as to the prosecution and its carrying out was in the hands of one person instead of two. On the recommendations of the Committee the House passed the Act of 1884. Now, the House was asked to put an end to the Act, and to revive the procedure which that Committee condemned, because there was a change consequent upon the new law of Criminal Appeal. It was difficult to see why Criminal Appeal should have anything to do with it. He had intended on the occasion of the Second Reading to have gone into the merits of this Bill, but, so strong was the appeal made to the House to pass the Bill on the ground of urgency, that he refrained from so doing. Now they found there was nothing in the point of urgency, and unless he could get some satisfactory assurance from the right hon. Gentleman he should certainly be disposed to vote against the Third Reading. It was a stupid departmental measure, the only result of which would be to create a lot of patronage, and in his opinion no useful purpose could be served by it.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth) said he was glad the hon. Baronet representing the City of London had given the House an opportunity to say a few words upon this subject. This work had been very successfully handled by the Treasury Solicitor and Director of Public Prosecutions and his assistants, one of whom was especially selected for the purposes of taking these prosecutions. Under the old system no difficulty had arisen to prevent the Treasury Solicitor getting further assistance if he required it, and that could still be done and he could still remain the head. It was a somewhat extraordinary thing that two days before this Bill was to be read a third time a paragraph should have appeared in the public Press giving the name of the gentleman who had been approached by the Government and offered the new appointment of Public

Prosecutor. It would almost look as if the Government already regarded the Bill as law. He was quite prepared to believe that this must have been a slip, but if it was it was a slip that should not have been allowed to occur. He was glad to have this opportunity of raising the question, so that some explanation might be given of why that announcement appeared in the Press, and unless that explanation was satisfactory he should oppose the Bill.

*MR. GEORGE D. FABER (York) said the Second Reading of this Bill had been allowed to go through without discussion, because of the appeal which had been made on the ground of urgency; that the Criminal Appeal Act was coming into operation, and that these two measures should run *pari passu*. But the Criminal Appeal Act he pointed out became law some weeks ago. He thought the Government must be under a misapprehension. They must have forgotten that this Bill had not yet been read a third time, because it had actually got into the Press that a certain eminent gentleman had been approached as to whether he would accept the office of Public Prosecutor. He hoped there would be some explanation given of how such a serious mistake took place as to approach anyone with such an offer before the Bill creating the appointment became law. He would like the hon. and learned Gentleman to tell the House at the same time what the salary of this new official was going to be, because that question must also have been raised when the appointment was offered to this eminent gentleman. The Government must know by this time how many minor offices and officers there were to be, and perhaps the Attorney-General would tell the House that also. It was quite a new departure for a Government to take, bringing in Bills in this way, and asking as it were for a blank cheque for appointments, as they had done in this instance, and in others recently. Surely the House of Commons had a right to know before they allowed a Bill to leave their control what the expense incurred under that Bill would amount to.

THE ATTORNEY - GENERAL (Sir W. ROBSON, South Shields), who was indistinctly heard was understood to say that he thought that hon. Gentlemen opposite were attributing rather undue importance to the newspaper reports with regard to the learned gentleman who was likely to be appointed to the office of Public Prosecutor. It was inevitable that there should be some kind of negotiation as to terms, but no arrangement of a final character could possibly be made until the Bill passed. It was not unusual for the Government to communicate privately to hon. Gentlemen opposite the names of gentlemen they might think of appointing to offices, and that was done in this case. It was inevitable, perhaps, that such communications should get into the newspapers, but he did not think the Government were in any way to blame. These negotiations had to be entered into, and then a binding engagement could be effected as they might be advised. Another objection had been made in regard to urgency. It was quite true that on the First Reading of the Bill he had laid stress on the point of urgency. The Criminal Appeal Act was coming into force, and they were very anxious, indeed, that the new Department should be properly equipped in readiness. But the House was well aware that circumstances had intervened which had rather disturbed the ordinary course of business. There were first the holidays, and then there were important political events which caused the adjournment of the House over a longer period than usual at that period of the year. Though the delay was regrettable it was inevitable, and it had interrupted the progress of the Government business. When the House reassembled, hon. Members would remember, business of a very important character arose, which it was difficult and not very safe to postpone, even for a non-controversial Bill, because non-controversial Bills sometimes gave rise to a deal of discussion. He did not say such a thing was likely in this instance, but he had known non-controversial Bills put in front of some very important Bill develop a capacity for controversy undreamt of by their framers. Sometimes that was done to postpone the consideration of important matters subsequently put down. However, he was only putting that as a philosophic and academic consideration, which was not likely to be the case in the present instance. So much for the question of urgency. The hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London had reopened the question of the general principle of the Bill. He was under the impression that he had dealt with that adequately on previous occasions; still, hon. Members were well-entitled to demand at this stage of the Bill a restatement of the general principle, and, if necessary, a fresh defence of it. The hon. Baronet had said that under the Act of 1879 a separate department was created for public prosecutions, and it was put under a separate head. It was found in 1884 that a mistake had been made, and a Committee which inquired into the subject made a Report which led to the Act of 1884. The Report recommended that the Act of 1879 should, in fact, be undone, and that instead of a separate department for public prosecutions the Solicitor to the Treasury ought to do the whole work. Under the Act of 1879 a very distinguished man was appointed Director of Public Prosecutions, with a limited staff, and he so construed the Act, and rightly construed it, that he gave his duties practically no more scope than that of deciding what cases should be prosecuted by the Public Proseutor. He did not carry out the prosecutions himself; he sent them to the Treasury. That was not found to be a very satisfactory plan, and very properly Parliament said that the Act of 1879 had not carried out their intentions, and that the Treasury had better take over the whole work. Therefore, the Solicitor to the Treasury, who was the responsible head of this particular department of the administration of the criminal law, was appointed to do the work, and he thought he had done it very successfully for a long period. But the growth of public business had brought about a new and much more difficult state of things. The Solicitor to the Treasury had to perform a number of duties of which the public were scarcely conscious. He was not merely Solicitor to the Treasury in the narrow sense of that word, if it could be applied to anything so considerable as the Treasury, but he was also Solicitor to the Home Office, the War Office, the Admiralty, the Board of Works, and the Education Office. He had also a department which brought him frequently in contact with the Attorney-General. He was Solicitor for the charity work of the Attorney-General, a department which he could assure the House was one of very great responsibility and importance, devolving not merely great labour on the head of the department, but in a still greater degree on the able subordinates who saw to the details of the charity work which had to come under the purview of the Attorney-General. The Solicitor to the Treasury had also a minor department connected with the Stationery Office and the British Museum. He was also King's Proctor, an office which entailed upon him real personal and individual work to a very much larger extent than was thought. He never intervened except by the Attorney-General's fiat. Each case had to be carefully considered before it was presented to the Attorney-General, and he was the person who had to act when the Attorney-General issued his fiat. The duties of the Solicitor to the Treasury were accompanied by a mass of supervisional and detailed work. Take, for instance, the Admiralty and the War Office. He thought the House might well avail itself of the present opportunity to acquaint itself with the actual working of the great departments. The increase in the Admiralty work had been enormous. The building of docks and of ships caused the Solicitor to the Treasury a great deal of work, for nearly everything was affected by litigation. There was no field of human activity in which was not seen the shadow of the lawyer somewhere. The Admiralty at one time, comparatively speaking, was a small department; there was a smaller number of ships, and they were put in commission in a far smaller way; but the work had enormously increased, and gave rise to numerous arbitrations. The latest Admiralty arbitration had lasted something like twenty days. This involved an elaborate inquiry, and the head of the department had to possess not only a general but a detailed knowledge sufficient to enable him to answer questions on the part of the Government. All that made a growth in his work. Take, again, the Education Department. In 1884 it was a much more simple department than it was to-day. The growth of work meant that Lord Desart had been obliged to delegate much of his work, but he now found that the delegation was getting beyond the scope of proper and adequate supervision. Lord Desart said he could delegate his work to able men up to a certain point, but in the last few years his duties of supervision had been practically impossible of adequate performance on account of the immense number of the delegated duties. He was King's Proctor. At one time the King's Proctor mainly dealt with certain domestic differencies of an interesting character, but he also had attached to that office certain duties connected with international law in cases of crime. All these duties had become more urgent every year, so that what was workable in 1884 was now no longer workable. The whole purpose of the Bill was really to deal with that state of things. From this general consideration he would now pass to one or two minor points. The hon. Baronet the Member for the City had remarked that he had not told them anything about the expense. He did not know much more than before. There had not been a great many assizes or sessions. The exact number of criminal appeals up to date was fifteen, which rather justified the observation he had made previously, that he did not think that at first there would be many appeals. He had given the House the exact number of persons employed in the existing Department devoted especially to criminal business. First there was Lord Desart, the director, one assistant solicitor, who acted as assistant director, two chief clerks, one first class clerk, two assistant chief clerks, and five other clerks. They proposed to add to that number the new director, and additional clerks and shorthand clerks. At present difficulties were being surmounted by the existing staff with a magnificent energy which one very often found among public servants, who were never asked in vain, especially in the higher departments, to give extra labour, and they gave it with a greater readiness than frequently was experienced in the case of the employees of private firms. They had not seen, at any rate up to the present moment, any reason to suppose that the estimate they were making was either extravagant or underneath the demand. Of course, when the Summer Assizes began to be held, and they got the sittings of Quarter Sessions in a larger number throughout the country, they might receive some disagreeable surprise. They might find that there were a great many appeals which would lead to a heavy strain on our judicial system, but up to within the last few days they had not had any reason to suppose that they had not made adequate provision. They had no intention whatever—in fact they were too closely watched by the Treasury for that—of appointing new officers or clerks, or assistant directors, until it became absolutely necessary. As to what number might be absolutely necessary they were very largely in doubt. As to the period of qualification of any barrister who might be appointed, the limit was put at seven and ten years, and he knew of no reason why it should not be nine or eleven years, except that the limit of seven or ten years appeared to have been generally accepted. Then with regard to Section 2 which repealed Section 6 of the Prosecution of Offences Act, 1879, that was a very small and simple matter. The clause provided that where a prosecution was undertaken by a private individual, and it was taken over by the Director of Public Prosecutions, when the latter abandoned it, the private prosecutor should be able to apply to the Court for leave to go on. The hon. Member for the West Derby Division of Liverpool had described that as a very valuable clause, but they had had twenty-eight years experience of it, and it had never been acted upon once. It was a clause which it was thought must occasionally give use to some degree of oppression in cases where the Public Prosecutor had reason to think that the prosecution was being urged on by private persons from personal or indirect motives. It must be remembered that there had always been that danger in our system of criminal law, which left so much to the initiative of private individuals. Generally speaking, our law was left to be enforced by the intervention of the private citizen and the public prosecution was the exception. We did not, like other countries, put all prosecutions into the hands of the Public Prosecutor. The prosecution was put in his hands only in exceptional cases, but it was found both in other countries and in our own that very often the name of the King was used in a prosecution for some quite indirect and personal purpose; they saw it quite recently in a great prosecution in a police court, where undoubtedly the prosecution was instituted against a man who was grossly wronged, and who suffered in purse and health from motives which were not of a kind that would commend themselves to the country at large. They were collateral to the carrying on of a civil litigation. In such cases it had always been held that the Public Prosecutor should have the right to abandon such proceedings, and it had never happened or at all events very seldom happened, that the private prosecutor had desired to carry them on. They were discussing an academic question, as the clause had never been put in operation. It had been thought, however, that by the repeal of that clause it might be possible to prevent the occurrence of injustice, and as the clause had never been operative for twenty-eight years it was thought desirable as this Bill was being drafted to take the opportunity of effecting the repeal.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD said the effect of the clause was that where a prosecution was undertaken by a private individual, and it was afterwards taken over by the Director of Public Prosecutions, when the Director of Public Prosecutions abandoned it the prosecutor could apply to the Court for leave to go on, and the fact that there had been no case under this clause was because its being upon the Statute-book prevented the necessity arising.

SIR W. ROBSON said he quite understood the effect of the clause, and had stated it, and the hon. Gentleman had just repeated it. Of course the clause was drafted with a view to give the Public Prosecutor the right to take up a prosecution, and if he abandoned it the private prosecutor could take it up. But that power, which it gave to the private prosecutor, was thought to be a source of danger in certain cases, and so they had put this provision in the Bill. But it was a small matter and not of great importance; it could not be held that the clause was an extremely valuable one, as the hon. Member for West Derby had said.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

*Sir W. Robson.*

## PUBLIC OFFICES SITES (EXTENSION) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. HARCOURT, Lancashire, Rossendale): Although I sacrifice my right to reply to any criticisms which may be made by hon. Gentlemen opposite, I think they would really wish that I should shortly explain the object of this Bill, and having done so I shall ask them to pass it practically without objection through this stage. Its object is in fact a continuation of the late Government's plan, which is founded on the Report of the Committee of 1897. It is a plan to complete the block of new public offices which has just been finished and uncovered at the corner of Whitehall down Great George Street as far as St. James's Park. In the process we shall abolish Delahay Street, which will be no longer wanted as a public thoroughfare. We have acquired the building of the Institution of Civil Engineers, making an arrangement to rehouse them on the south side of Great George Street, at the corner of Princes Street, a small accommodation road leading from Storey's Gate to Westminster Hospital. We shall take advantage of that operation to widen Princes Street, which will be a considerable public convenience. The whole terms of purchase of the Institute of Civil Engineers have now been settled by friendly negotiation between them and myself. I was obliged to give notice of this Bill, which is in the nature of a hybrid Bill, under the Standing Order last November. At that time the agreement with the Civil Engineers was not complete, and therefore I was obliged to include in the Bill a notice which would apply compulsion to the acquisition of their site, though I never had any intention of using compulsion, because, as hon. Members know, the Institution of Civil Engineers have always had the impression that they had had some undertaking from the Government that their site would not be required. The Office of Works has never been able to accept that contention, nor is there any written proof of it, but the final and friendly agreement I have described having been come to, the compulsory clause may disappear from the Bill in Committee upstairs.

In the new building we shall house the Board of Trade, and, if possible, some of the smaller offices, such as the Office of Works or the Board of Agriculture, which are greatly in need of further accommodation, though, of course, I cannot pledge myself as to what at the completion of the building four or five years hence may be the requirements of the Board of Trade, or of the Education Office or Local Government Board, which are going to be placed in the new building now complete. What perhaps will interest the House most is the fact that the money for the acquisition of the whole site is available under the loans provisions of the Public Buildings Expenses Act, 1903. Most of the freeholds have already been acquired by agreement and voluntary sale, though there are a few leaseholds and some freeholds still to be acquired. The cost of erection is provided for in the Budget, and a clause setting aside £600,000 out of the realised surplus of last year will appear in the Finance Bill. Under the arrangement, therefore, no capital outlay at all will be entailed upon future years. In addition there is a provision for making an enlargement of the Patent Office, which is required owing to the greater amount of work entailed upon them by the Act of 1907. This addition of site and building is estimated to cost about £90,000. That is to be provided for out of annual Votes, and the House in Committee has already provided £10,000 this year on account of that sum. Then there is one other provision of interest relating to Scotland yard. The Bill takes power to stop up part of a nominal road in Scotland yard, really a service or accommodation road which passes behind a disused police building, and by an agreement which the Commissioners of Woods have been able to make with the Westminster City Council we shall have an improved thoroughfare through old Scotland yard leading to Whitehall and the Embankment for the use of the public. By doing this and stopping the part of the disused road and using the old police building I shall be able to accommodate on the site a new Army recruiting station, and in that way I shall get rid of a large remnant of St. George's Barracks and of the recruiting station behind the National Gallery. I shall remove from the neighbourhood of the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery a building which has always had some element of risk from fire, and I shall gain a site also for the extension of both these galleries in the future. Persons interested will be able to appear before the Select Committee, upon which I shall myself sit, by counsel or agents. I beg to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for giving the details of the proposals in this Bill, and I should say in the first place that the scheme to extend the public offices down to St. James's Park is one which possibly will be approved of generally throughout the House, and one which is necessary owing to the growth of Government Departments. But the point which impresses people irrespective of the needs of these public departments, is as to the financial liabilities that may be involved. I understood the First Commissioner to say that this Bill will cost no money.

MR. HARCOURT was understood to say that there were no future capital liabilities.

LORD BALCARRES: Of course, it is rather important to make oneself clear on that point. In saying that it involves no capital liabilities the right hon. Gentleman must, in looking at the present year, see that it involves a capital liability of £600,000, which is capital belonging to the nation, and it is going to be diverted from one branch of the national service to another. There is a precedent for intercepting money which would otherwise pass to the reduction of the National Debt, and that is the case of the erection of public buildings. These public buildings are, happily, of a substantial nature and likely to increase in value. In view of the enormous increase which is likely to take place in the value of sites it would probably pay the nation better to spend this half-a-million upon public buildings than to devote it to the repayment of the National Debt. I am quite ready to approve of the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman and his colleague the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he must not state that this Bill involves no capital charge. The initial capital charge is £600,000, and that has to be found during the present year. It has been the policy of the Government for the last ten years to acquire as many sites as possible with a view to the ultimate and inevitable increase of departmental requirements. I do not think that the whole of these sites belong to us at present. Then there is the provision of a new building for the Institution of the Civil Engineers. I should like to point out to the House—and I am limiting myself to the financial aspect of these questions—that it is a very serious thing when a Government has to come forward with a proposal of this nature that it should have to pull down a building which was erected only about ten or twelve years ago. It is a building of a most substantial character, and the cost of its erection was something fabulous. In this Bill, while we take the right to demolish that structure, the Government undertake the responsibility of finding an alternative site elsewhere. The site found already belongs in part to the Government; that is to say the new building will be placed upon land upon which some capital outlay has already been incurred. But this Bill only provides for the site. I presume the Government is going to erect the new building, and I wish to know what it is going to cost. Let me here congratulate the right hon. Gentleman upon having adjusted rather a delicate operation with the Institution of Civil Engineers. I understand that we are going to pull down their building and use their site, and we are now providing a new site for their new building to be erected upon. Who is going to erect that new building? The Civil Engineers are not, because they paid a quarter of a million for the erection of a structure from which they are now going to be removed. I presume that we shall have not only to pay for the erection of our own Government building upon the site of the Civil Engineers' building, but also to rehouse that assembly in a building equal to that which they now occupy. I cannot help thinking that the cost of that will amount to a very substantial sum. How is that money provided? My right hon. friend beside me and Lord Windsor passed three Bills in 1895, 1898, and 1903, providing money for public sites analogous to these and buildings for public purposes. I do not think that in any of these three years—certainly not in the last—we took power to borrow money for the erection of buildings other than public buildings. I cannot help thinking that a somewhat pessimistic tone ran through the right hon. Gentleman's speech. He declared that no capital outlay was to be incurred in future years. We recognise that as a doctrine strongly supported by the present Administration. Rosyth, which by means of a loan would have been concluded within three or four years, has been placed upon the Votes and it is going to take ten years. Barracks, which used to be built out of loan money, were rapidly completed and the troops placed in them; but now, owing to the abandonment of the loan system, we have not got the barracks at all, for they have been sacrificed to this new canon of financial purity, although it is extremely bad for the service. If the right hon. Gentleman precludes us from borrowing money and no financial outlay is to be incurred, he runs a very serious risk of checking the development of these buildings. When is the new building for the Institution of Civil Engineers to be commenced? The building at present occupied by this institution will, in the course of the next few months, be pulled down. It is rather alarming that in ten years a Minister should have to come to this House to pass Bills of this character, because it marks what is really an alarming growth in the numbers and *personnel* of our public service. I agree with the Attorney-General as to the efficiency, zeal, and good spirit shown by our public servants, but at the same time I think we can be over-governed. During five years we covered five or six acres with public buildings within 300 yards of this Chamber, and in the subsequent two years we have built over more than two acres, not to mention vast expenditure on public buildings under the supervision of the right hon. Gentleman all over the country. That very fact in its political and social aspect is one which is well brought home to the community by Bills of this character. I know that is not the responsibility of the First Commissioner of Works, because the various departments have turned to him for accommodation, and this has stimulated him to activity. With regard to this question of finance, I do not remember in the last three Bills what the total outlay was, but I rather think it ran into millions. As a rule I know the estimates are exceeded. I should like to say that the Office of Works is not responsible for the fact that estimates are often so largely exceeded; the Treasury is primarily to blame for cutting down those estimates to the minimum figure. The House ought also to remember that when you deal with interests of this character and this size, when you undertake to erect buildings on from two to four acres of ground, the scale of operations is so enormous, and the period necessary for their completion is so long, that it is difficult and in many cases impossible for the contractor correctly to estimate what the rise or fall in wages and materials may be during the years he is carrying out his contract. I wish to have a more specific statement as to the cost. We have not very great confidence in this Government and its economical supporters on questions of finance. Pledged to economy, the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues, reinforced and stimulated by his hon. friends behind and around him, have now committed the country to an expenditure little short of gigantic, and exceeding by many millions annually the total sum which it fell to the lot of the late Conservative Government to submit to the House of Commons. In the last two days we have learned that their financial righteousness is going to be somewhat sullied next year, when in order to meet all these obligations principles are to be abandoned and the sinking fund raided.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I think the noble Lord had better postpone those criticisms until we reach the Finance Bill.

Lord BALCARRES: I think it is desirable that so far as possible the right hon. Gentleman should tell us actually what the annual expenditure is which he anticipates apart from this present capital outlay upon the block of buildings and upon the buildings to be placed upon the site in Princes Street during the five years which it will probably take to complete them. There is one small further comment I should like to make. In Clause 6 the Commissioners take power to erect an archway over Downing Street. I have no doubt there is a good technical reason for putting that clause in the Bill, but I cannot help thinking that the First Commissioner had the right to erect this arch without taking a clause to entitle him to do so. The First Commissioner acting as he does in harmony and co-operation with the Commissioners for Crown Estates and Woods and Forests seems to me to possess powers over these Government and Crown Estates far in excess of the powers belonging to the ordinary private individual, and, although the latter part of the clause is obviously necessary to authorise him to close the street while the structural alterations are being made, I cannot help feeling that in the other part he is asking for a right which he already possesses, and to that extent he is prejudicing or discounting the rights and privileges which, as First Commissioner, he already holds. So long as the right hon. Gentleman in making this arch does not endanger the life and limb of London citizens, I think he has the right to make the arch, and unless it is necessary to have this provision in the Bill, I think it would be on the whole wise to omit it.

Mr. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD moved that the Bill be read a second time upon this day six months. The Bill appeared to him to be one to carry out an ambitious and costly scheme for the erection of public buildings on sites that were extremely valuable. Within 300 yards of this House there was land available for the purpose of housing the most important Departments of the State, and that could be obtained for less than a tenth of the value of the particular sites now proposed to be acquired. A very great change had during the past two or three years come over the appearance of the surroundings of this House. Owing to the praiseworthy action of the London County Council large portions of slum property which stood on land to the west of the Houses of Parliament had been pulled down, and there were now sites which could be acquired for the purpose of public offices quite as near this House as most of the expensive and elaborate buildings put up in Parliament Street. One would have thought that a Parliament pledged to retrenchment and economy in every possible way would have considered whether they could not make some improvement on the unnecessarily extravagant plans of their predecessors. When in opposition they said they were going to do it, and yet when they got into office one of the very first things they proceeded to do was to carry out schemes which, when initiated by their predecessors, they had described as extravagant. Moreover, they were doing so in a very much more extravagant manner than there was any occasion for. If those responsible for the housing of the public departments would look at the marvellous sites which were made available in the neighbourhood of the Church of St. John they would find there ground sufficient for any reasonable extension of most of the public departments for years to come at a very small outlay. One reason why he very much objected to this Bill was that it involved the acquisition and pulling down of buildings which had not been up for twenty years. He referred to the Institution of Civil Engineers. Everything that skill from the engineering and architectural point of view could do in connection with that building had been done, and yet, forsooth, because it was supposed to stand in the way of some set of plans it was proposed to pull it down and, at enormous cost, to erect another building in its place. One could hardly imagine how, without regard to the common feelings of ordinary property owners, a Bill of this kind could be brought before the House. For instance it was proposed by subsection (a) of Clause 2 that—

> "The provisions relating to the sale of superfluous land and access to the special Act and section one hundred and thirty-three of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845 (relating to land tax and poor rate) shall not be incorporated with this Act."

On the face of it that looked harmless enough, but what did it amount to? If these most valuable sites were acquired for public offices, and if a few yards of land were left unused at some corner or at the side of the property, the Government would, under section 128 of the Lands Clauses Act, be obliged within a specified period to allow the previous owner of the property to take back the unused portion. Subsection (a) meant that the Government would be placed in a position superior to the ordinary law of the land, and that they would not be obliged to give the previous owner the offer of the unused portion. What was the meaning of the words "access to the special Act" in the sub-section? Section 133 of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act would oblige the Government if, having acquired these sites and pulled down buildings, they caused a temporary loss on the land tax or the poor rate, to make good the amount of the loss. By slipping the words of the sub-section (a) into this Bill the Government would be relieved from that obligation with respect to the land tax and the poor-rate. Sub-section (c) was in the following terms:—

> "The bond required by section eighty-five of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, shall be under the common seal of the Commissioners, and shall be sufficient without the addition of the sureties mentioned in that section."

He did not think the Government when they acquired sites for public offices should be relieved from the obligations to which public bodies were subjected by Section 85 of the 1845 Act. Why not bring in a measure to strike out that clause in the main Act, if that was a proper thing to do, but why should the Government solemnly seek to be relieved from a statutory obligation which they imposed on every private citizen? But the most objectionable clause was in sub-section (e), the effect of which was that if a claimant did not send in his claim at a particular time, and with the particulars of his demand in a statutory form, to enable the Commissioner to make a proper offer, he was saddled with the whole costs. He had had experience of these matters for forty or fifty years, and he had never seen a suggestion equal to that in its audacity from a property point of view. When he saw Bills like this—Post Office Sites Bills, for instance—and saw a public department, for petty purposes of their own, trying to relieve themselves from the statutory obligations which private citizens and other public bodies were under throughout the whole kingdom, he was inclined to resent it. These were minor or subordinate grounds for moving the rejection of the Bill, but there was a much larger question involved. In housing our public departments, when sites could be got for a trifle compared with the cost of the land proposed to be taken, it was the duty of those concerned with the administration of the country to have some regard to economy as well as efficiency. Cheaper sites should be selected, and the departments housed in a less gorgeous manner. In the present case that was all the more necessary as the proposed buildings would shortly require to be altered or pulled down altogether, because of the utterly inadequate supply of light to many of the rooms. The whole project was capable of being criticised and condemned on other grounds than those to which he had referred, but he would content himself with these observations, and formally move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

SIR F. BANBURY said he had much pleasure in seconding the Amendment. He was glad to see the hon. Member for Sutherland in his place, for that hon. Gentleman should have something to say on the proposals of this Bill on the ground of economy. He knew that the hon. Member had no fear of criticising his own Party, and as he would show the House that the expenditure proposed by the Bill was extravagant, he trusted to have the support of the hon. Member in the division lobby. He objected to the Bill because he was inclined to think that it was unnecessary. It was a self-evident proposition that up to the present time they had got on very well without this building. He did not know that the efficiency of the public officers had, in any kind of way, been lessened on account of the inadequacy of the housing provision. They seemed to have got on very well with their work. He did not gather from the remarks of the First Commissioner of Works that he considered the accommodation now existing not sufficient for the staff, but rather that the proposed building would be part of a finished plan and no doubt would be more comfortable for the staff. So far as he could see, the work carried out by the First Commissioner had been extremely good and very artistic, but he was afraid very expensive. He was inclined to think from the observations he had made of the right hon. Gentleman's career, that from his love of art and his desire to get his own way he was rather apt to outrun his discretion, and to spend more money than was absolutely necessary. He really thought that they should be careful before they sanctioned any expenditure of this sort. The object of the Bill, of course, was to acquire sites, but before acquiring sites they must fix upon a plan. Nothing was so expensive as a London building. There was nothing nicer than to look at a plan and see how it could be carried out in an excellent way. It was very charming and very seductive; but when it was all carried out and they found that the expenditure had exceeded the estimate, the taxpayer would be inclined to say that he would rather see the older building retained than a new building erected and great expense incurred. He wished to ask what the right hon. Gentleman proposed to do with the existing Board of Trade buildings. They were very good buildings and had been in existence for a very considerable time. He was not at all sure that the buildings put up years ago were not, if not so ornamental, more simple and more suited to their purpose than the new buildings. Take, for instance, the Law Courts, which had been described in very strong terms by the people who passed their lives in them. The present Board of Trade buildings were very excellent for their purpose and were much quieter than the new building would be. Then, it had to be remembered that there was a tendency to increase the public service with the erection of new buildings; and the bigger the buildings the more that tendency increased. New buildings had a direct tendency to create new posts and on that account he would rather see the present buildings somewhat congested. The right hon. Gentleman had not used the argument that there was no room in the present buildings for the existing Government officials. He asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he was aware that there was a public-house at the corner of Princes Street, and what compensation he was going to give to the owner?

*MR. HARCOURT: We are not going to touch it.

SIR F. BANBURY: Oh! I am very glad.

*MR. HARCOURT: Hear, hear.

SIR F. BANBURY: For the sake of the Government and of the owner of the public-house. The question of the cost of the new building had been dismissed in a very airy way. The right hon. Gentleman said that that was to be sanctioned out of capital expenditure. He was rather surprised at that. He would have supposed that the right hon. Gentleman would have put the cost on the Estimates, for his Party always said that that was the proper way of carrying on the finances of the country. After all, it came to this, that when he and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had a desire to do something their financial purity disappeared and they took the way that was open to the least resistance and obtained the money by borrowing rather than by putting it on the expenditure of the year. There was an important provision in the Bill alluded to by the hon. Member for one of the Liverpool divisions; and that was as to the question of rates. He was not a lawyer, but, as he understood, the right hon. Gentleman had introduced some very innocent-looking words in a clause which would deprive the City of Westminster of a large amount of rates. Pending the construction of the building on the site, the Government would not be liable for the rates. That was rather a good thing for the Government, but was rather hard upon the citizens of the City of Westminster. Why should the Government put themselves in a different position from that which would have to be occupied by a private person, and by an alteration of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act evade the payment of rates during the erection of the building? One of the reasons he objected to this Bill was the destruction of the building of the Civil Engineers, and he would like to know why that building could not be adapted. It was a very fine one, it was erected only some ten or twelve years ago, and might be made suitable for the Board of Trade. The ornamental outline might not be as fine, but in these days, even if their finances were better than they were, they might sacrifice ornament for utility. The President of the Board of Trade was going to have an increased salary, and he did not think he wanted a very ornamental building; he might content himself with the office which had been suitable for the Civil Engineers, and at a very much less cost than was provided for in the Bill a very suitable office might be obtained. He did not propose to ask any questions about Clause 2, because it was all legal and he did not understand it. This again was one of those Bills which were full of references to other Acts. The meaning of the Bill could only be learnt after one had gone through all those Acts, and referred to all the clauses. He thought that was a very bad way of drawing up a Bill, and right hon. and hon. Gentlemen when they were on that side complained of it, but when they were on the other side they continued the bad practice, and it was waste of time to endeavour to get them to alter it. He wanted to know why subsection 2 of Clause 3, which gave power to stop up public thoroughfares, was inserted. The power to stop up public thoroughfares was a very great one to give even to the right hon. Gentleman. It looked quite simple, and gave the Commissioners power to do this, but provided that they should not exercise it in respect of any thoroughfare unless they were owners in possession of all the houses and land along both sides of the thoroughfare. On the face of it, it looked a very reasonable provision, but he would like to know what advantage it would be to the public that the Commissioners owned the land on both sides of the street. The public did not want to go into the houses on both sides of the street, but to walk down the street, going in at one end and coming out at the other. He believed that this statement about the Commissioners owning both sides of the street was one of those extraordinary things which were put into Bills, but he could not see that it had anything to do with the stopping of public thoroughfares. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them an assurence that this power would not be exercised if it was in any kind of way objected to by the people who were likely to use the street. Then, again, he saw in Sub-section 3, the Commissioners of Woods might stop up part of Scotland Yard, but he understood from the right hon. Gentleman that this really did not stop up the thoroughfare practically and that he was going to give a thoroughfare to Whitehall. Therefore, as far as that was concerned, his objection fell to the ground. Then he came to Clause 5, which dealt with the extinction of rights of way and other easements. The Bill was exceedingly full of provisions about rights of way being vested in the Commissioners, but it was provided that men might recover from them such compensation, if any, as they were entitled to. But people might want to retain their rights and not want to be compensated for them, and he did not see why the right hon. Gentleman should take these particular rights away from the holders. Clause 9 seemed to him to be a very extraordinary clause, giving power to the Commissioners to widen a portion of Princes Street within certain limits. The cost of repaving that portion of the street when widened, it was provided, should be borne by the council of the City of Westminster. Why should not the Commissioners pay for the repaving of the street which they wanted to widen for their own objects, instead of seeking to put it upon the council of the City of Westminster? He did not know whether there was any hon. Member who represented the City of Westminster present, but if there was he hoped that he would have his attention drawn to this clause and endeavour to get the Government to delete it when it went to a Committee. He thought that the Bill was unnecessary, and would cost a great deal of money and, so far from its doing any good, he was inclined to think it might do a great deal of harm, because it might induce the Government to create a large number of officials to fill up the beautiful rooms. Under these circumstances he would prefer not to have any officials or beautiful rooms, but to keep what little money was left in his pocket by the right hon. Gentleman. He begged to second.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. W. W. Rutherford.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS (Kent, St. Augustine's): I desire to say only a few words, and I am afraid not in support of my hon. friends who have moved and seconded the rejection of this Bill. I think the Bill is a desirable and necessary Bill, and I do not think it is open to the charges which my hon. friends made in disparagement of it. I think that for its purpose the cost is extremely moderate. The First Commissioner said that the whole cost of the site had already been provided for by the Act of 1903, which also provided for the removal and rebuilding of the Institution of Engineers. We have also heard from the Prime Minister and the First Commissioner of Works to-day that the funds for the new building are largely if not entirely provided for by this £600,000 out of the Budget surplus of the present year. If any culpability attaches with regard to this policy I am as fully culpable as the right hon. Gentleman opposite. This Bill is carrying out the policy which it appeared to me to be my duty and my pleasure to initiate some ten or twelve years ago in this House. If I in most things share the views of my hon. friend the Member for the City of London, I certainly do not share his views as to æsthetic matters. He would like to go back to the time when King Street existed and the condition of Parliament Street was such that it was almost impossible to get to the House of Commons; there was always a great block of traffic, and certainly one of the most beautiful thoroughfares in London had not been created. I do not wish to go back to those days. I think the policy which was put forward some ten or twelve years ago really satisfies me, and I am only anxious to support the right hon. Gentleman in the effort he is now making to complete that building, and also the wing which is to extend to St. James' Park. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment suggested that there were much cheaper sites, which might be obtained in the neighbourhood of the House, and rather suggested that we should purchase slum property in the neighbourhood of Millbank in order to erect these buildings. But he has entirely, I think, overlooked the convenience of public offices, that they ought at all events to be handy to each other and in the same neighbourhood, and he has entirely set aside the whole æsthetic part of the question. Then the hon. Gentleman complained of the buildings which had been erected, and for which I was responsible, by saying that they were badly planned and that there was a great want of light and accommodation. Certainly that is news to me. I have always heard from those who moved into those buildings that the arrangements were extremely good and that the accommodation was of a character which spoke well for the work of the department. Then the hon. Gentleman said that he thought the old buildings were as suitable for public offices as the new buildings that were going to be erected. If he had served, as some of us have, in temporary offices, I think he would find he is mistaken. The Minister who is generally housed in the drawing-room in an old house has a very good office, but the unfortunate clerks and draftsmen who are in cellars and attics certainly would not be so comfortable. The work will also be carried out better in a building where you have your staff ready to hand. I remember, in regard to one of the former Bills, being able to state to the House that one of the recommendations was that it was convenient, from the staff point of view, to bring them all under one roof; in the case of one office the staff was under seventeen different roofs. It is quite impossible that business can be properly administered under such circumstances. I do not see much force in the remark of my hon. friend that we should do better to remain as we are. I maintain that all the chief administrative departments ought to be close together. By placing them close together the general efficiency of the service would be promoted. I wish to make one or two remarks with reference to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in moving the Second Reading of the Bill. The First Commissioner told us that he has taken power in this Bill to connect the public offices in Downing Street by an archway. That would be extremely convenient, and will tend to improve the alignment of Whitehall. I am glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman has come to a friendly settlement with the Institution of Engineers. There was an impression prevalent that there had been some sort of promise made to them, but it was not made through myself, nor has there been any understanding of that character given with my sanction. I am glad that we have not had to use compulsory powers, and I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman upon having arrived at a friendly settlement. It will be a great improvement if, during the re-building of the new Institution for the Civil Engineers, Prince's Street is widened, because that will tend to relieve the congestion of traffic a good deal, and will certainly improve that locality.

*Mr. HARCOURT: I thank the right hon. Gentleman for what he has said about my negotiations with the Institution of Civil Engineers. I ought first to correct a misapprehension which might arise from my previous speech. In relation to the Institute of Civil Engineers, what I intended to convey was that a friendly agreement having been arrived at with them I hoped that there was no prospect of the compulsory powers of the Bill having to be put into operation against them. But owing to the terms of our agreement it is desirable that the Bill should be passed in the form in which it is presented, and no amendment will be necessary. I hope that after I have replied to the various points which have been raised the House will be willing to come to a decision upon this measure. The hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London made several observations and asked several questions, and I should have been glad to have given him the information personally, if he had been here to receive it. He said it was an extraordinary proposition that the cost of re-paving Prince's Street, consequent upon the widening of that thoroughfare, should be paid by the Westminster City Council. I may point out that we are offering to the City of Westminster a valuable accommodation for which we have to pay, and all we are asking in return is that the council shall undertake the paving of the piece of ground we are offering them for the convenience of the traffic. The idea that it would be the more economical course to adapt the building of the Civil Engineers to the purposes of the Board of Trade would, I think, be dispelled by a visit to that institution. Unless it had been found absolutely necessary it would not have been proposed to destroy so valuable a building. I regret that owing apparently to some misunderstanding it should have been erected on a site which to many people must have seemed more or less earmarked for Government purposes. The present distribution of the work of the Board of Trade among many private houses in many parts of London greatly hampers the efficiency of the office. When the Board is accommodated in one building, there will be a saving of the rent of other buildings which will be surrendered. The hon. Member for the West Derby Division of Liverpool asked several legal questions on Clause 2, but I should have thought, from the point of view of convenience, they would have been dealt with best in Committee, because they were mere technical points of procedure. With regard to the point raised on subsection (*a*) of Clause 2 by the hon. Member, I may say, if it is any satisfaction to him, that there will be no superfluous land, and if there is it will go into the street. There is no departure under subsection (*a*) from the ordinary course. The hon. Member also made an allusion to subsection (*e*) of Clause 2, which he thought was unusual. I can assure him that is not so, for the provision is a common one. The noble Lord the Member for Chorley put some questions to me, and he expressed some doubts as to whether it is necessary that I should take power to construct an archway over Downing Street. I am not sure that it is necessary, but I have certainly not sacrificed or prejudiced any right in the future by inserting this provision. I have, however, made the position of my successors easier. If they wish to construct an archway, no doubt can be cast on their power to do so. The noble Lord also referred to the proposal to pull down the building of the Institution of Civil Engineers as an extremely costly course. It has been suggested that the building probably cost £200,000. I do not know what the original cost was, but I know how much is being accepted for it. [AN HON. MEMBER: How much?] Roughly, £40,000. This money has been provided out of the Public Buildings Expenses Act, 1903, passed for that purpose by hon. Gentlemen opposite and their Government. It is not the case that out of that money the Government are constructing a new building for the Civil Engineers. With the money paid to them, the latter will erect a new building. It is not the erection of a new building which the Government undertook, but the purchase of a building which for our own purposes we wish to destroy. It is a mistake to suppose that I am arranging in this Bill for some borrowing in the future. The borrowing is all done under the Act of 1903. The £600,000 from the realised surplus of last year produces without borrowing the money necessary for building on the site when it has been acquired. The moment the Bill passes I will proceed to the acquisition of the site, after which the demolition of the old buildings and the erection of the new one will follow without delay. The building, which will be completed in accordance with the designs of the late Mr. Brydon, will not be in addition to existing accommodation. It will take the place of a large number of existing buildings, but it will provide better accommodation than they do. The cost of the buildings—which I hope may be completed in a few years—with other incidental expenses included, will be covered by the £600,000. I think I have answered the questions put to me by hon. Members, and I hope the House will now be not unwilling to go to a division.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie) said he did not think very much remained to be said on the merits of this proposal, but, after the criticisms they had heard, it appeared to him that there was some evidence of what they might call bungling. He thought the Office of Works ought to have had their eyes open to the fact that this site was suitable for a public building, and could have been obtained ten or twelve years ago, when it came into the market. It was allowed to go to the body of Civil Engineers, and £40,000 had been entirely thrown away. It might be that the First Commissioner was not personally responsible, but the Office he represented was responsible, and the House would be wrong if it allowed the Bill to pass without criticism of the fact that a valuable site had been permitted to go, and that now a building worth £40,000 was ruthlessly to be pulled down in order to erect buildings which at the time the site could have been got it might have been conceived would speedily be required. Apart from that, they had the broad fact that something like £600,000 was going to be added to the capital of the public debt in order to carry out this new scheme. That might be a small sum to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Commissioner, but to him it appeared a very large sum. He would have expected the First Commissioner to commence with an apology in regard to the sum of money involved. He respected the clear statement which the First Commissioner had made; but he might have commenced, at all events, with a reference to the broad fact that £600,000 had to be spent on the building. He was not at all satisfied with the explanation of his right hon. friend on the Front Bench, who would forgive him for suggesting that there was a certain contagion which came from the occupancy of a public office, and that probably he sympathised with the particular expenditure which was now under criticism. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. Augustine's said he thought that this expenditure was reasonable and that he had undertaken it. But it came to this, that this expenditure was to carry out an elevation plan. He did not think it could be said that there was any particular merit about the elevation plan. He agreed with the criticism of the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London that the building might have been designed for the purpose of looking æsthetic and pretty, an architect's elevation plan, but he was perfectly certain that for ordinary everyday office work the building was not suitable nor well ventilated. Even the new public offices were not well ventilated; they had heavy stone points, great mullions, and small windows. He was entirely of the opinion of the hon. Member for the City that a considerable saving might have been effected. What the hon. Baronet said was quite correct, that they would have lots of demands from officials for more and more accommodation—rooms for porters and all sorts of things. It was the usual story. They were acquainted with it in private firms. The head clerk wanted a room, and then he needed a porter to open the door. But in public departments the abuse was infinitely worse. This House had been built for the transaction of public business, but there was scarcely a room to which a Member could take a friend to discuss any matter. It was the same no doubt at the Board of Trade offices, and in a year or two they would be having a demand—indeed, the First Commissioner of Works had hinted at it—for increased accommodation and more buildings, and so again the public purse would be called upon for large sums to be spent partly on the decoration of Westminster and to a very small extent on public work. He did not know why the Board of Trade should not go a little further west, where ground could be obtained at a smaller cost. It might be said that it would not be so convenient for the officials of the Board of Trade to drive in their cabs and motor cars, and not quite so convenient to Members, though he did not see why it was not as easy to pass one way as the other. It really would be equally as convenient, and he did not know any reason against it except that some architect had managed to get the ear of officials and have his plans brought forward and approved as æsthetic and artistic, but perhaps neither economical nor effective for their purpose. He laid emphasis on this subject, because he thought it was the duty of the House to look after the expenditure of public funds. They could do a good deal in the country with £600,000, if they only had the chance of getting hold of such a sum. But here they had the First Commissioner treating it with a light and airy touch, quite pleasing until they discovered what it meant; but he thought it was the business of an ordinary every-day business man who was a Member of that House to protest against it. The oftener the House entered its protest and made itself heard on such topics the better chance would there be of these abuses being stopped. Money saved on these smaller matters would go a very long way with Chancellors of the Exchequer in their Budgets; but whether that were so or not, he must protest against such an expenditure coming from a Government pledged to economy. He hoped that the protest made on this occasion would be borne in mind, and that public money would not be so easily granted to the officials of public departments.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth) said he could not help thinking that a great mistake had been made in the course of the last few years with regard to these public offices. They had the Board of Trade offices, which were totally inadequate, and for the next four or five years they must remain in that condition. They had on the other hand a vast block of buildings which had been just erected, and which he believed was not wanted anything like so much by the departments which were going to occupy it as by the Board of Trade. At the end of four or five years they would have the magnificent site of the Board of Trade buildings, only a part of which was covered at the present time. He believed there was a tennis court and other things of that kind, which showed that there was a very large space of ground. This vacant piece of land was to be handed over to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests at the end of the period. He had very great doubts as to its being put to any good use by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; no doubt they would try to get the largest income they could out of it and out of the present Board of Trade buildings. But if the Board of Trade had been moved to the new buildings at the present time, the available site could have been used for the erection of great blocks of offices amply sufficient for any further requirements of the Government. No one could say that the site was not in a good position. He granted that Whitehall was a fine and open roadway, but he would liken it more to a motor car track than anything else. It was almost impossible to cross that roadway at the present time with safety.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman's remarks apply almost to everything except what is in this Bill.

Mr. FELL: As to the archway in Downing Street, was it proposed to close that thoroughfare where was situate the official residence of the Prime Minister?

*Mr. HARCOURT: I take no power to close the street.

Mr. FELL said they were temporarily closing Downing Street for the purpose of erecting the archway, but it interrupted access to the Prime Minister's house. He did not know whether the archway had only an artistic value, whether it was to be used as a means of communication between the two buildings, or whether it was simply intended to have an archway similar to the one opposite. There were many other points connected with the Bill. He did not see why there should be additional powers taken for prosecutions and fines in the case of people who wilfully obstructed the Commissioners in the lawful exercise of their powers. Offenders were to be prosecuted before a Court of summary jurisdiction, and the fine was not to exceed £5. He did not see why the Commissioners should seek special powers to prosecute those who obstructed them. The ordinary powers of the law, he should have thought, were sufficient. If the position of the Commissioners was correct they could certainly exercise the ordinary powers. Why they should seek special penal powers he really failed to see.

*Mr. MORTON (Sutherland) said the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London had called his attention to the Bill on the ground of public economy. He was glad the hon. Baronet mentioned the word economy, because on Wednesday he had voted for the reverse of economy as far as the people of London were concerned. He would like to keep the hon. Baronet as consistent as possible, because although he did not represent him entirely in the City of London, in the absence of the Leader of the Opposition he was all he had got. He was always in favour of economy, especially in dealing with other people's money, but he could not oppose the Bill, because in 1894, when the consideration of these schemes for improvement in the public buildings was brought about by himself and others they found, and he supposed it still continued, that a great many of the public departments had offices all over the place; that was especially so with regard to the War Office, the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board; and what they said then was that by concentrating these buildings and getting the officials all together, a great saving might be made in rent and in other ways. He remembered that eventually he got a Committee, presided over by the present Home Secretary, out of which arose the improved War Office, and so on. He admitted that the succeeding Government carried the work on until they completed the widening of Parliament Street also. He did not for a moment consider that that improvement had been completed, and therefore he could not consistently oppose his right hon. friend in endeavouring to complete that work. He asked the right hon. Gentleman in this or any other improvement he made to try and see that a good line of frontage was set on and adhered to. There was nothing so miserable as one side of Whitehall where they saw the old buildings to the north of Downing Street not in line with the newer buildings on the other side of Downing Street. He admitted that in the new buildings, both the War Office and those at the corner of Great George Street, there was a great improvement in that respect, but he hoped his right hon. friend would bear that in mind. He was not instructed by the City of London to oppose the Bill in any way whatever, and he could not oppose it in regard to streets, and so on, but there were a number of things in the Bill that could properly be considered in Committee, and he quite agreed that it should go to a Select Committee, where all interests might be considered. With regard to the closing of streets, as a rule, unless it was a *cul de sac*, a street could not be closed without the consent of the magistrates; the magistrates only gave their consent as a rule after hearing the local authorities, to whom notice must be given, and they compelled whoever closed the street and took possession of the ground to give some *quid pro quo* to the public. He did not know whether in any of the places the right hon. Gentleman was going to close, he intended to give something in return for what he took away from the public. Of course, in the City of London, they had to be exceedingly careful about closing any place, because they could get all over the City without going down a main street at all—there were so many courts—and, but for these communications, they could not get about in the City. They objected to the closing of any street whatever unless they got something in return, not for themselves but for the public. He had no doubt that all these things, which were matters of detail, would be considered.

*MR. HARCOURT: We are widening Charles Street, Great George Street, and part of Princes Street, all of great benefit to the public, in consideration of the small amount of convenience, if any, that is taken from them.

*MR. MORTON said he could not oppose the Bill, because it was carrying out his own suggestion to improve the offices. No doubt the War Office was a great improvement, but some of the public buildings of London were a disgrace to the greatest city in the world. He believed the object of the Government and the late Government in following up what was commenced in 1894 and 1895, was to concentrate the offices and get all officials of the Departments into one building. He should watch the progress of the Bill with interest in regard to economy. He was glad the hon. Baronet had mentioned the word "economy" and hoped in future he would not forget it.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 263; Noes, 38. (Division List No. 91.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)

Barker, John
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn. Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cory, Sir Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.)
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Donelan, Captain A.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duckworth, James
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Sir Francis (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fullerton, Hugh
Gilhooly, James
Gill, A. H.
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Grayson, Albert Victor
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N. E.
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Idris, T. H. W.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Lehmann, R. C.
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Myer, Horatio
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, W. H. M. (Suffolk, Eye)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)

Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Wadsworth, J.
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Waring, Walter
Wason, Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
White, Sir George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbatronshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Cave, George
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Govan
Fell, Arthur
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hope, James Fitzalan (Sheffield
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Morpeth, Viscount
Parkes, Ebenezer
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Renton, Leslie
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. George Faber.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Bill committed to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented Five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents be heard against the Bill, and Counsel or Agents heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum.—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

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## POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. Sydney Buxton, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): In moving the Second Reading of this Bill I desire to say at the outset that it is a very simple measure and a continuation of the policy already adopted in regard to the Post Office Savings Bank. Under the Act of 1904, acknowledgement is abolished in the case of deposits under £1 as it is found to be unnecessary, and the result of the abolition is a saving of £30,000 to the Exchequer in clerical work, printing, and other directions. It is now proposed to abolish acknowledgment of deposits up to £5, which will result in an estimated saving of £15,000. As a matter of fact, the smaller depositors do not pay any regard to the acknowledgment, very seldom keeping it as an evidence of their deposits. They would much rather not have it in many cases, because, coming by post on official blue paper, it is an indication to their friends and neighbours that they have a deposit, which they do not desire should be publicly known. [Cries of "Why not?"] I only mention it incidentally, but it is the view taken by a very large number of small depositors, so that no objection to the abolition of the acknowledgments will come from the depositors themselves. The Postmaster-General will fix the limit up to which no acknowledgment will be sent, but it will not exceed £5. The whole matter will be most carefully watched, and if any disadvantages accrue in the direction of fraud or any other way we shall not hesitate to go back to the old system. The danger that some people anticipate is that it may lead to a certain temptation to Post Office servants to fraud and embezzlement. I am glad to know that that has not been our experience. During the years 1899–1904 there were thirteen cases of embezzlement of Savings Bank deposits by Post Office servants, and in only three was it due to the acknowledgment which then existed. In each of those three cases the deposit was over the limit of £5. Since the Act of 1904 there have been several cases of embezzlement, and in only one has the acknowledgment been of service in preventing the fraud or assisting in its discovery. The risk of embezzlement is very slight, because its discovery almost immediately follows the offence. The depositors' books are constantly being examined, because small sums are continually being taken out and put in, and consequently any embezzlement would be immediately detected. The risk of discovery is so great that the temptation is reduced to a minimum. At all events as regards the abolition of acknowledgments up to £1 it has not led to any increase in embezzlement on the part of the Post Office servants. The proposal in this Bill is an experiment, and if it is found unsuccessful we shall not hesitate about going back to the old system. On the other hand, if it is a success it will save us an expenditure of £15,000 a year, and I think the very small risk involved is worth taking. I beg to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said he looked upon this Bill with a certain amount of doubt because, though the figures of the Postmaster-General were perfectly accurate, the temptation to embezzlement was much greater when they dealt with larger figures. He did not propose to ask the House to take a hostile action against the main purpose of the Bill, but its form was as bad as it could possibly be. They were dealing with a subject that closely affected poor and, to some extent, illiterate, or not very highly educated, people. Therefore it was of the utmost importance that their rights should be defined in the clearest possible way, and that they should know when they were and were not entitled to protection. The Bill did not define a limit but left it to be fixed by the Department, and investors had no means of knowing whether they were entitled to an acknowledgment or not. Apart from that, the Bill was one of the worst examples of legislation by reference ever brought before the House. He would read to the House Section 1, which was as follows—

> "1. Section eleven of the Savings Banks Act, 1904, which relates to the discontinuance of acknowledgments of deposits under one pound shall extend and apply to deposits not exceeding such maximum amount as may from time to time be fixed by regulations made by the Postmaster-General with the consent of the Treasury under the Post Office Savings Bank Acts, 1861 to 1904."

Imagine putting a section like that in the hands of an educated layman or even a lawyer. He defied any hon. Member to take up the Bill and know what it meant until he had consulted the previous Act. In the House of Commons they were able to consult Statutes without much trouble, but that was not the case with people outside. When he went back to the Act of 1904 he was still left in the dark, and he had to go further back to the Act of 1884. On taking up the other Act, he was faced with a lot of sections, the reading of which would show the bewilderment in which members of the public would be if they followed the course which he had been compelled to pursue in order to understand what this clause meant. He asked the House to conceive the bewilderment of a depositor who, having searched through two Acts of Parliament, was brought up to a long and obscure clause ending with the words *toties quoties.* Not only so, but the greater part of that Act was totally inapplicable to an entry in a deposit book. A great deal of it dealt with what would happen if a depositor did not receive an acknowledgment, and how many days' grace were to be given to the Post Office before the Postmaster-General was prosecuted for, he presumed, embezzlement. He did not himself exactly understand what was meant by the Act of 1904, which for this purpose was included in the Bill, where it said that an entry in the deposit book would be conclusive evidence of title in the same manner as an acknowledgment of a deposit by the Postmaster-General. Neither time nor words were saved by this method of legislation by reference. Any competent draftsman would put what was intended in the same number of lines without any reference whatever. All that had to be said was that the entry in the deposit book was to be conclusive evidence of the claim of the depositor. Any reasonably educated depositor would understand what that meant, but, as expressed in the Bill, he would not understand it a bit. He had protested more than once against this form of legislation. He believed it was done deliberately to make it difficult for Members of the House to understand what it was proposed to enact. It was not the draftsman who was to blame, but the Government who gave the instructions. It was to save them trouble; it was one of those clever devices which they were encouraged in by the official mind. In order to give the House an opportunity of expressing an opinion on this form of legislation, and in order to give the Government time to redraft the Bill and bring it up in proper form, he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) in seconding the Motion said that the Postmaster-General did not seem to understand his own Bill, for during the discussion he had sent the hon. Member for South Tyrone to fetch the Acts of 1861 and 1884 in order that he might understand it. The drafting of the Bill was faulty, and if passed as it stood it would be unworkable. The explanation of the Bill given by the Postmaster-General was quite inadequate. There was to be, as the result of this Bill, a problematical saving of about £15,000 a year in connection with the work of a department whose profits were something fabulous. Surely it was going beyond reason to ask the House to pass a Bill which was to effect such a saving in connection with what was really the State bank for the poorer classes. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that there were very few cases in the memory of man where any default had taken place after a deposit had been made. But was not prevention better than cure. The popularity of the Post Office Savings Bank had depended on the extraordinary safeguards provided for making the deposits secure, and he did not think these safeguards should be taken away.

*MR. SPEAKER: The Motion now before the House is for the adjournment of the debate. The hon. Member is not speaking to that Motion.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he hoped the House would recognise the reasons which made it desirable to ask the Postmaster-General for a better Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Lord Robert Cecil.*)

MR. REES said he was astonished that such an objection to this Bill should come from the noble Lord because it was entirely owing to the influence of the profession which he adorned that the difficulty arose.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to discuss that. The Motion before the House now is only one for the adjournment of the debate.

*MR. REES: In that case, Sir, I really do not know to what I am to address myself. I thought as the noble Lord moved the adjournment of the debate, I might refer to what he said, but as that is not so I can only say that this is a very short Bill, and is either a good or a bad one, and in no case can putting off its consideration be of any advantage.

*MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord spoke on the Second Reading, and he concluded by moving the adjournment. That limits the discussion to the question of the adjournment.

*MR. REES said the noble Lord's reasons for moving the adjournment, besides not being good in themselves, proceeded from what was, in a Parliamentary sense, and for the reason he had given, what he might without offence describe as a tainted source. If he could not reply to the speech of the noble Lord he did not know to what he should address himself.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said the Postmaster-General himself gave ample reason why the debate should be adjourned. Among other things the right hon. Gentleman said there had been no defalcations worth considering. If that was so, why have a £5 limit ?

*Mr. SPEAKER : The hon. Member is now discussing the merits of the Bill.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY said that the right hon. Gentleman had given ample reason for the adjournment. If the drafting of the Bill were amended it would be made more acceptable.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON : We limit it to £5.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY said that if the Bill passed in its present form the operation might be limited to £1. The debate having clearly shown that the wording of the Bill was unsatisfactory, surely it was in the interest of public business that the measure should be withdrawn, remodelled, and re-introduced. It would then pass in a few minutes.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston) said that the Motion for the adjournment was unnecessary, for last year when this same subject of legislation by reference came up on a Post Office Bill—the Post Office was one of the worst offenders in this respect—the Postmaster-General very cordially agreed to remove that feature in Committee, and when the Bill reached Committee it was got rid of.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 41 ; Noes, 236. (Division List No. 92.)

## AYES.

Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Stanley
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan,Robert(Lanark,Govan,
Faber, George Denison (York)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hope,James Fitzalan (Sheffield
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington,
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson,W.Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. W.H.(Lancashire)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Younger, George

Tellers for the Ayes—Lord Robert Cecil and Captain Craig.

## NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Armitage, R.
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury,E.)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J.(Tyrone,N.)
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bethell,SirJ.H. (Essex,Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brunner,J. F. L. (Lancs.,Leigh)
Brunner,RtHnSirJ.T(Cheshire)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn. Sydney Charles
Cameron, Robert
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins,Sir Wm.J.(S.Pancras,W
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cory, Sir Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Davies,David(Montgomery Co.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dickinson, W. H.(St.Pancras,N

Donelan, Captain A.
Duckworth, James
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David O.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Grayson, Albert Victor
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman

Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)

Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Verney, F. W.
Wadsworth, J.
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Waring, Walter
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
White, Sir George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CLAUDE HAY said he ventured to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to consider, when the Bill was in Committee, the alteration of the wording so as to make it more easy to understand. The speech of the noble Lord must have convinced the right hon. Gentleman of the great public inconvenience that would result if the Bill passed in its present form.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he did not think that this was a Bill to which the particular condemnation of the noble

Lord really applied. All the information required by the depositor was contained in the Savings Bank-book, and in other documents which were given to him, and no clause in an Act of Parliament, however clear, would really affect him in any way. When the deposit was received that was the opportunity for making matters clear to him. He did not think that any clause in a Bill of this sort would make things clearer from his point of view. If he acceded to the suggestion made and if the Bill was not to be one by reference a very large number of sections of different Acts would have to be brought in. He was afraid he could not agree to make any alteration in the Bill.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 215 ; Noes, 44. (Division List No. 93.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bethell, Sir J H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Cameron, Robert
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cory, Sir Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Curran, Peter Francis
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.)
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Donelan, Captain A.
Duckworth, James
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Glen-Coats, Sir T. (Renfrew, W.)
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Grayson, Albert Victor
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.

Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Stanley,Hn.A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Wadsworth, J.
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Waring, Walter
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason,John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Hon. G. G. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

## NOES.

Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Craig,Captain James(Down,E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan, Robert(Lanark,Govan
Fell, Arthur
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hope,James Fitzalan(Sheffield)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway,Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson,W.Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Valentia, Viscount
Walker,Col. W. H.(Lancashire)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. George Faber.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

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## NATIVE AFFAIRS (SOUTH AFRICA).

*MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham) in moving "That this House, recognising signs of a growing opinion on the part of the self-governing Colonies of South Africa in favour of safeguarding the rights and future of the natives in any scheme of political unification or federation, expresses its confidence that his Majesty's Government will welcome the adoption of provisions calculated to render possible the ultimate inclusion of the whole of British South Africa in federal union," said that he thought the House would admit that he spoke with no feeling of hostility whatever to our self-governing Colonies, and in no spirit of carping criticism. Indeed, the reverse was the case, for they on those benches were great believers in self-government, and he thought they might claim that the Liberal Party, in giving self-government to the Transvaal and Orange Free State, had manifested its belief in self-government. Therefore, he trusted there would be no feeling either here or in South Africa that, because they raised this question of safeguarding the future interests of the natives in South Africa, they did so in any hostile spirit, in any ungenerous frame of mind, or with any desire unduly to interfere with affairs in South Africa. He recognised that the very delicate and difficult position in which the Colonies were situated at present rendered it all the more necessary that they should be careful in the words they uttered, and to the best of his ability he would endeavour to say nothing which would give offence to any Member of the House, or anyone who had the interests of South Africa and of our self-governing Colonies at heart. It would be admitted that the question of federation or political unification in some form or shape was within measurable distance. It was not for him to say—he imagined it would be very difficult for any Member of the House to say—what form or shape that federation would take. So far from any desire to dictate to South Africa, he was quite convinced that they were anxious for them to promote union amongst themselves in the best way possible, without any interference whatever on our part, except in so far as this Resolution implied that this country had a direct responsibility for the natives in South Africa. They were bound to ask themselves, if federation was near at hand, and judging by the signs of the times it seemed to be approaching, what would be the position of the natives under the new *regime*. It could not be denied that the Imperial Government had a direct responsibility for the subject races in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, where there were something like 2,000,000 natives, and a less direct responsibility in Rhodesia. Might he begin by saying that those who were associated with him in this Resolution were fully in accord with the High Commissioner in his statement circulated as a White Paper on the subject? Might he quote one or two sentences from that Circular and from the subsequent speech? The High Commissioner said—

> "Do not deny to natives those elementary principles of justice you always claim."

In effect he said that there must be a moral as well as a political foundation if South Africa was to be at peace. He bade the whites approach the subject—

> "With an intense sense of responsibility and believe absolutely in the right of the native to receive true justice."

He went on to say, and these were very significant words—

> "No reasoning man can live in this country and doubt that the existence here of a white community must, from first to last, depend upon their success or failure in finding a right solution of the coloured native questions or, in other words, upon the wisdom they can show in determining the relative places which the white, coloured, and native population are to fill. It would, indeed, be a hideous error to suppose that the white people of this country are discharged of responsibility by perfecting an arrangement for enforcing order among the native population. The mission they have undertaken is of a far higher and more difficult nature than that, and one which calls for the inspiration of the statesman rather than that of the soldier."

That fearlessly expressed opinion of the High Commissioner he believed every man in the House would endorse, and it was specially important now if federation was on the horizon. At a subsequent meeting, on 7th December, speaking at Benoni he said—

> "I would ask you to draw two morals from the situation with which we are confronted to-day. Great matters, more especially the relations between the white races and the native races, can never be permanently regarded as a Natal or Transvaal question. It is a South African question."

It was just because it was a South African question that they had moved this Resolution. He knew what would be said by some people—not many—outside, and he believed by some people in South Africa. It would be said that they were unduly interfering in South African affairs. What did they know about the natives? What right had they to interfere on behalf of the natives? Were they not likely to disrupt the Empire if they kept on expressing opinions with regard to the treatment of the native races? His answer to that was, first, that they could not discharge themselves of the solemn responsibility of safeguarding native rights. It was placed upon them, and until it was taken away from them they must do their duty. And, secondly, he believed that those who were careless in their treatment of the native races, who were inclined to regard them rather as tools than as men—he believed those were the people who were more likely to cause the disruption of the Empire. For the House would remember that South Africa was not made up of whites, and that something like four and a half millions of coloured men lived in South Africa, that they were increasing very rapidly, and that there were only a million whites in South Africa and not rapidly increasing in number. They had somehow or other to assimilate the blacks or to associate with themselves the coloured races in the work of government in order that South Africa might be consolidated. They could not drive the blacks into the sea even if they would. He imagined no-one who had any humanitarian instincts whatever would wish to do so. And yet some speeches had been made in South Africa—he admitted by not very representative men—which seemed to imply that the blacks were only there for our convenience, that in so far as we could use them it was to the good, and, so far as they were willing to submit to us in every possible way, and to work for us and make money for us, they were of some use. He contended that that sort of doctrine was dangerous not only to the whites in South Africa but to the Empire as a whole. Lord Selborne's words which he had quoted at some length justified this Resolution, but if further justification was required it would be found in the various Blue-books that had been issued with regard to native affairs in South Africa, notably the South African Native Affairs Commission, and the two recent Blue-books on native affairs in South Africa. Might he quote one passage from the most recent Blue-book that had been issued, the Report of the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs Mr. Samuelson. That Report was more or less an answer—whether it was a complete answer or not he left the House to judge—to the Report of the Commission which was appointed by the Natal Government. Mr. Samuelson said on Page 43 of the Report—

> "The subject population feels that it is not being governed in its own interests, but rather in the interests of the white population. Administrative reforms cannot be agreeably carried out in an atmosphere of racial antipathy, exclusiveness, and sectional selfishness. Palliative fresh enactments will be practically valueless if confidence is not regained and re-established. So long as the European population of the Colony regards the Natives as the nobility of France regarded the proletariat before the Revolution, little progress can be made towards a permanent settlement."

He quoted this passage as showing how Mr. Samuelson admitted their whole contention that the natives in the past had suffered from many breaches of faith on the part of the white population, and that until they could restore confidence to the natives in the justice of their rule they would run serious risk as it seemed to him of rendering impossible federation in South Africa. It was often said that the native must be treated somewhat harshly because he was incorrigibly lazy and because the future of South Africa depended upon his being compelled to work. That was the sort of argument which, if not openly used, was, at any rate, in a great many people's minds. He contended that the two Reports to which he had alluded on native affairs both showed that this was not the case. Section 373 of the South African Native Affairs Commission said—

> "The labour of tilling the soil is shared but by no means exclusively performed by native women, and the representation of the native living at his own village, a lazy, luxurious life supported by his wife or wives, is misleading."

Later on there was a passage which showed that since the plough had taken the place of the hoe, men and boys were doing the work which women used to do. It was not true to say that the native was uniformly lazy. He did not know that he was as lazy as a good many men in England who had the opportunity of work and failed to do it. Section 376 read as follows—

> "Except in the case of farm labour, which is especially suited to the native, it must not be forgotten that what is known as paid labour generally means to the native as a rule absence from home and family and in some employments irksome and even hard and dangerous work, and the abandonment of the ease, comforts, and pleasures of native village life."

He thought they were rather apt to overlook the fact that the native who worked in the mines often had to walk hundreds of miles before performing his irksome duties. He had to leave the comfort of his home life, and for a comparatively small sum of money engage in a very unpleasant occupation. He occasionally had to suffer from harsh and unjust treatment, and he had also to pay the top prices for everything he bought. Therefore, he did not think the native ought to be regarded as lazy, because he preferred agricultural employment to working in the mine. It should not be overlooked that only about half the workers in South Africa could be detached from their usual vocation. There must be someone left to till the soil if the natives were to live, and when they expected all the natives to leave their various locations they expected too much. As far as he could judge from reading the Reports and conversing with those acquainted with South African affairs, it seemed to him that the demand for labour was not always the demand of an organised, self-contained community, but rather an artificial demand for labour which foreign capital employed in the mines. Therefore, they ought not to be harsh in their criticism of the natives when they refused to give that amount of labour in the mines which some people considered necessary. Very often the demand was made that the natives should work for a foreign employer, even when it injured his own work on his own land, and took him away from his own family and tribe. With reference to the question of compulsory service, the Commissioners admitted that compulsory service had been a fruitful cause of much discontent and unrest. There were many objectionable features in the system of compulsory service which had rendered it very unpopular with the natives. Naturally, they were not willing to supply that labour, because it was exacted under such unjust conditions. Even the Natal Commissioners recommended the total abolition of compulsory labour. He was not prepared to say that compulsory labour under all conceivable circumstances was unnecessary, but he did say that as practised in South Africa, and especially in Natal, it had led to much injustice and hardship, and it seemed to him that the recommendation of the Natal Commissioners of the substitution of some arrangement with the location chiefs to recruit men for public works was a far wiser method to employ. As to the land question in all the Colonies and Protectorates in South Africa, there were locations and reserves set apart for farming occupations, but in Natal the alienation of the land had been going on for some time. The result was a disintegration in the tribal system, which, as the Report said, undoubtedly contained the germs of unrest. Then followed in the Report the very striking phrase—

> "The struggle for land is simply the struggle for life."

Those were the words of the Commissioners, and they were largely true of England and Scotland. If it were true of England and Scotland it was much more true of Natal, because without the land the natives were absolutely compelled to starve. It was no use saying the natives did not know the value of land, and did not make the best use of it. As a matter of fact, that was the reason which had been put forward for alienating their land. He might quote Sir Charles Saunders, as showing that that policy was extremely dangerous. In giving evidence before the Commission he said—

> "To alienate that land would be about the most iniquitous proceeding he could imagine."

Upon the Resolution recently introduced into the Natal Legislature he said that this—

> "Was nothing more than an attempt to grab the land for European occupation."

He was not sufficiently an expert to speak authoritatively but he thought they might quote Sir Charles Saunders as an authority without exciting anger, and surely if any man was qualified to speak on this subject it was the Commissioner for Native Affairs. The natives had been dispossessed of their land on the ground that a higher civilisation must come in and compel them to work. He had heard it argued that the Almighty intended the land to be used more profitably, and therefore it must be taken away from the natives. It was well known that whenever self-interest led any race to do an injustice to another race they generally found some good moral or religious excuse for doing it. The remedy for all this was to be found in the Blue-book, from which he would like to quote one sentence in regard to the alienation of land. On page 19 of the Natal issue of the Blue-book, Section D., there occurred the following recommendation—

> "(b) The cessation of further alienation of land in Zululand, and the strict reservation of all locations and reserves for native occupation, with ample provision for the introduction of civilising and elevating agencies therein."

He did not know whether that included some form of education, but there was little enough education at the present time among the natives. He contended that the safest and the best way of ensuring that the natives would not lose their present tenure of the land and to secure that they should be safeguarded in their rights in holding it, was to give them some form of representation and some form of franchise. Was it asking too much of the other self-governing Colonies that they should imitate the example of Cape Colony? He considered that that should be the almost irreducible minimum of their demand, viz., that they should follow the example of the oldest Colony, an example which had been so highly spoken of by Lord Selborne, and give some sort of franchise to the educated or partially educated natives. It must not, however, be an illusory, but a real representation, and then it would be certain to safeguard the natives against injustice. How had they discharged their responsibilities to the natives as regarded education? They had discussed education in this House for weeks together and talked of it as if it was the most valuable thing in the world, but what had they done for the natives in South Africa in this respect? The South African Report of Native Affairs showed that in Cape Colony £50,000 per annum had been spent upon educating 60,000 scholars, and the rest of the Colonies and Dependencies put together only spent £22,000 upon educating a select number of natives, out of 3,250,000. Rhodesia, with 600,000 natives, had only 334 attending school at the public expense, and the authorities in 1905 spent the large sum of £154 in a year upon educating the natives of Rhodesia. The Commissioners, reporting on this question, declared—

> "That the facts disclosed the need for more liberal grants in aid of native education."

That was the least they could do, and those who were responsible for the Government of South Africa ought to see to it that the natives had a better chance of being educated, for this would make them more fit to be associated with the whites in South Africa in the control of that great country. The Report of the seven Commissioners that there had been a lamentable series of mistakes and breaches of faith in many directions would fully justify them in passing a still more drastic Resolution than that which he was now proposing. He might add that practically all the contentions of the Commissioners, and all the points they put forward, had been admitted by the Natal Government itself, or rather by the Under-Secretary of State for Native Affairs in the Report to which he had already alluded. Whether the recommendations with regard to the future government of the natives were carried out or not, it was clear from both Reports that some form of representation must be given, for without it they could never hope to restore satisfactory relations between the handful of white men out in South Africa and the vast army of black men who peopled that country. There were in Natal 22,000 electors only, and no doubt they thought they were perfectly right in denying the right of this Parliament to intervene on behalf of the natives. He had more electors in his own constituency than there were in the whole of Natal. Being so comparatively few, he did not think that they were justified in saying that the Mother Country which had done so much for them in the past, and was willing to do so much for them in the future, could have no voice in this matter. He wished to say a word about martial law. The latest Blue-book received, showed to his mind quite clearly that the position which had been taken up by the Natal Government was absolutely wrong. It was an extremely urgent matter even at the present moment. He did not wish to say anything that would do harm or create further friction, but he should like to quote the Governor of Natal on this most important question. Writing to Lord Elgin, on 8th February, 1908, the Governor said—

> "On the 16th I saw Sir Charles Saunders, who had been summoned to Pietermaritzburg by Ministers to inform them of the state of affairs in Zululand. He told me that he was unaware of what special information was possessed by Sir Duncan McKenzie, but that as far as his own knowledge went there was no work to be done now in the country which the police were not competent to effectively carry out. He considered that the maintenance of martial law was unnecessary and that there was no reason against the release of the prisoners who had been kept in gaol as a result of the rebellion of 1906."

The evidence of the Blue-book was sufficient to show that martial law, native floggings, and the imprisonment of Dinizulu were questions which required serious consideration, not only by this House, but by the Government of Natal. He admitted the difficulties in connection with martial law. There could be no doubt that illegal acts were carried on under martial law—in fact it meant the abolition of all law for the time being. It was exceedingly difficult to say whether those acts were justified or not. Frederick Harrison, dealing with this question, said, in his recently published book—

> "One could not trust the Archangel Michael to be just in a position so trying."

That was the only excuse that could be made for some of the incidents which had taken place following on the rebellion in Zululand. On that question, he would only add that the late Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin, supported the Governor of Natal in saying that the proclamation was premature, and he urged its withdrawal as soon as possible. Our responsibility was great and direct. He supposed that the Colonial Secretary would be asked shortly to sanction a Bill of indemnity. A Bill of indemnity for what? For illegal acts made possible by reason of martial law imposed against the wish of the British Government, and against the wish of the Governor himself. What was the origin of martial law? They all knew that it was a sporadic rebellion caused by continued and repeated breaches of faith in Zululand on the part of the Natal Government. He confessed that he thought the somewhat strong language used by the Prime Minister of Natal with reference to our interference was entirely unjustified; he practically asked us to shirk our undoubted responsibility for the natives, and he should have thought that our claim to make such modest representations as had been made by the Colonial Secretary in the past would hardly have been disputed. As to Dinizulu he would ask: How long was he to remain in prison upon the somewhat vague charge of high treason which had been preferred against him? He was perfectly willing to admit that it was fair and just to ask that the man on the spot should not be condemned with knowledge, but he and his friends asked them not to condemn rashly a man who had deserved well of us and also of the Colonial Government in the past, but to give some sort of proof that the irregular and drastic procedure adopted by Natal had been justified by the circumstances of the case. If the federation of South Africa was to become a reality, as they all hoped it would, he would like to ask the Colonial Secretary for an assurance, which he thought he would be willing to give, that the rights of the natives in South Africa should not be endangered, but that some regard would be had to the many recommendations of South African statesmen of wide experience and with greater knowledge than many hon. Members could claim to have, who had made suggestions designed to protect the native races, that the question of native representation, following on the lines of the Cape, should not go by the board, and that every attempt would be made by wise laws and humane administration to consolidate and secure the whole of South Africa for the British Empire. He begged to move.

*SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean), in seconding the Resolution, said his hon. friend had quoted the Paper by Lord Selborne on federation, which was laid before the House at the end of last session, and made it the foundation of the Resolution. The hon. Member had said that Lord Selborne's appeal was made on behalf of 4,000,000 natives, but there were 6,000,000 in the countries formerly comprised in the Customs Union to which Lord Selborne referred. Since his hon. friend gave notice of the Resolution a slight change had been made in its terms, and that change, he imagined, had been made with the intention of preventing them from seeming to take sides as between the self-governing Colonies in South Africa on this question. He was speaking in presence of one of high authority upon what was involved, and upon the difference between federal union and unification as it was called by General Botha. The Resolution was timely, because they knew that at this moment the controversy was one which apparently divided the self-governing Colonies themselves in South Africa. Lord Selborne's Paper raised the question of the difference between federal union and unification. Our views might be met by either of these solutions on which the self-governing Colonies seemed to differ. At this moment there was a change in some of the Colonies, notably in that of which Sir John Molteno had been the first Prime Minister, which might involve the question whether there should be a union of three of the self-governing Colonies or federation on such a plan that ultimately all South Africa might come in. They in the House had always desired a federal union of South Africa in such a form that ultimately the whole of South Africa would come in. Lord Selborne had in view even the inclusion of the Protectorates. He said that the Governor of the Cape had, on the advice of his Ministers, recommended that steps should be taken to prepare for union. Dr. Jameson had said that the Cape could not give up its native franchise, but was prepared to meet the Colonists' desire for federation in other ways. They had reason to believe that a most important advance had been made in Dutch opinion, and, therefore, they should use language of the greatest moderation in regard to matters which might cause division. In the Resolution they were asking for the least that this country could ask for. Lord Selborne had pointed out that the native question was a difficulty in the way. At that time the Transvaal Government suggested that the federation might include Portuguese Mozambique, but he thought they had now seen that the difficulties of including a foreign country in the federation were insuperable. They heard that the conference that had just met had advised that a Resolution should be passed by the Parliaments of the four self-governing Colonies. The difficulty was to cause an identical Resolution to be passed. They might confidently expect that in some form or another a desire for federation or unification would be expressed, but there was reason, he feared, to expect that the same view would not be taken in Natal as in the Transvaal and in the Cape. They might that night, by stating in the most moderate language the minimum of their demands, assist in the union of opinion between the three Colonies in which the Dutch element predominated, and the strength of those three Colonies was so great that Natal would be well advised to come to terms with the three Colonies upon that basis. The question as to whether the Protectorates should come in was raised in his dispatch by the High Commissioner. When railway questions were discussed, of course, that included Basutoland and the Protectorates for which the High Commissioner was responsible. But the High Commissioner was a very big, and even a dangerous person, from the point of view of the office he occupied; and if it was necessary to represent Basutoland or the Protectorates, probably it would have been better that that should have been done by someone not in the position of the High Commissioner, because there was a danger of rousing susceptibilities by calling in the High Commissioner. From the life of Sir John Molteno they knew the circumstances under which the negotiations during the time of Sir George Grey broke down; and they must do everything, and they were doing everything, to avoid the appearance of what Sir John Molteno declared to be the "ill-informed interference" which had then been resented. It had, however, never been denied that there were certain circumstances with regard to South Africa which absolutely required a certain amount of interference by the Imperial Parliament. When the South Africa Bill of 1877, introduced by a Conservative Government, was being considered they tried to put forward the same views they were putting forward that night as to the essential responsibility of this country on certain points. When the South Africa Bill came down from the House of Lords to the House of Commons it contained no native clause. On the Second Reading of the Bill, the present Lord Courtney and he opposed it on that ground, and on going into Committee the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and himself opposed it specifically on the ground that they must have provisions for the settlement of native relations. It was pointed out then, as it was pointed out now, that they could have no chance of peace or safety in South Africa unless this question was faced in advance. The Conservative Government, when proposing the Bill in the House of Lords, stated that—

> "Union or confederation was an urgent and pressing necessity."

And, the Act was entitled an—

> "Act for the union under one Government of such of the South African Colonies and States as may agree."

The House remembered the circumstances under which that agreement failed to be brought about. There was no native clause, and in the course of the discussions, although those who voted against the Bill were few in number, the strength of their arguments was so great that the very clause that they demanded was inserted in the Bill. That clause, Section 19, stated that provision should be made in "the electorate and in the distribution of seats" for—

> "The due representation of the natives in the Union Parliament and Provincial Councils."

That Bill was passed, and a part of it was now spent. Some of the clauses were temporary but one at least remained in force and could be acted upon at the present time. The consent of this Parliament in behalf of the Empire was necessary to South African federation; and it was better that they should state in advance what were the minimum terms to be suggested. These were already suggested by two of the leading Colonies in South Africa, and it was hoped that they would obtain the concurrence of the other two smaller Colonies. Our special responsibilities required more than mere consent as to Swaziland, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Zululand. Even though they were not asked to bring in the outer fringes of South Africa at the present time, *e.g.*, Rhodesia, still they did stand directly for the representation of Imperial duties in this House, because they had no one else to voice those views. As to martial law, which had been referred to by his hon. friend, he, and those who agreed with him, desired to speak with a full sense of responsibility, and he would say nothing to increase the feeling, the very strong feeling on their side, and the equally strong feeling amongst certain Colonists, on that delicate subject. He hoped that they might be reported in South Africa not so incorrectly as they were sometimes reported there, if they expressed clearly the view that they were not attacking one Colony in particular. Their objections to martial law were universal. Such was the objection which they took on the occasion in 1879 to which his hon. friend referred in quoting Mr. F. Harrison, and the statements then made, painful as they were, turned out to be true, and their wisdom was subsequently acknowledged by the very officer who had been attacked. There was sometimes a division in this House, not on this occasion, when they were all trying to help in a great common, national and Imperial object; but sometimes at Question-time there was excited party feeling when whatever was said was an offence to some hon. Members who shouted about interference with the South African self-governing Colonies. They all deprecated interference with self-governing Colonies, and so far as they could be said to be interfering, they were that night only interfering to prevent interference. Their object was to avoid future interference by stating in advance the minimum that they were bound to insist upon in the interests of the Empire, and not of this country alone. He hoped the hon. Member for Gravesend would not misunderstand him when he said that some regretted at Question-time that day what they thought interference on behalf of a "retrenched officer." There were questions of internal affairs in the self-governing Colonies which did not involve the interests of the Empire; but there were matters in which they did not differ, and in which they should all agree that this country had such an interest, and such a binding obligation to preserve national good faith, that it would be impossible not to express the opinion which this Parliament held. Sir John Molteno put the case against interference as strongly as it was ever put, but there were occasions when national good faith demanded that they should interfere to protect the interests of the natives and of other subjects of the Empire. There were occasions also which had arisen in South Africa, and which were arising possibly at this moment, where one Colony might come into conflict with another, and there again they might be called upon to interfere. There was the famous conflict between the Cape and Natal, which was in the minds of all those who had any knowledge of the history of South Africa. Then there were such questions as the rights of British Indian subjects in South Africa. We were the sole custodians of the interests of the people of India in South Africa, and we must state the argument in their favour, even if we did not push it to an extreme. The franchise, so far as the native population was concerned, was the key to the position. No man in this House would defend the grotesque absurdities caused by the difference of *status* between natives in the various Colonies and coloured men. Nine out of ten of the difficulties between the Colonies arose out of these grotesque absurdities.

The Cape was free from these because of the virtual representation which the natives did receive through their most educated men. There was the case of a man who was chairman of the Health Committee of Cape Town Municipal Council, who was a member of a family which had for four generations been British subjects, and was eloquent in both English and Dutch, and was one of the greatest physicians in South Africa, but who was obliged to have a special passport when he visited another Colony. That was an instance of the grotesque absurdities which prevailed in regard to coloured statistics. Of course, these would be removed if either unification of the three Colonies or federation of the four as a whole should be brought about, and he was certain that those who had seen the stand which the coloured men had made in the last few years had been struck by it, and that their claims would in time receive attention. We were bound to have a close inquiry into the condition of the native population, especially if the Cape was not satisfied, because the Cape had really mastered this question, and did not make mistakes about it. It never sinned in ignorance. We were bound to consider the native question in South Africa as a labour question, because it was admitted that the labour of South Africa would always be predominantly native, but we had to consider especially cases where our own good faith was directly concerned. He thought we ought to draw a distinction between matters in which we stood for certain others, such as the native Indians and India, or the case of a Protectorate in which we were the Government, and that of a self-governing Colony. There were instances where we must do more than be represented because we were distinctly committed, and it was a matter of our good faith. A franchise like the Cape franchise—a franchise not illusory, not bound by such conditions as the franchise in Natal, would cover these larger questions, and would even cover matters in which we were bound by good faith. The King was put forward as "paramount chief" in all the Colonies, but it meant a different thing in different Colonies and Protectorates. In Basutoland all the officers were direct representatives of the King, but in other parts of South Africa the position of paramount chief was somewhat doubtful. In the case of Swaziland promises had been made and not always kept in the personal name of the paramount chief, and the Swazis had been assured that: "He will continue to protect you." In the case of Natal, the King was paramount chief by actual treaty, and in the case of Zululand it was equivalent to treaty. It was what was called a treaty position, and hon. Members would find it set out as a treaty in "The Map of Africa by Treaty." He had asked some troublesome questions, he was afraid, of the predecessor of the hon. and gallant Member, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dundee, and they were sent out and some answers were given the day before which he for one cheered because they asserted the inviolability of the position which the hon. and gallant Gentleman occupied as contrasted with the humbler official who filled the corresponding office in Natal. The hon. and gallant Gentleman answered him in brief terms, and said—

> "The Under-Secretary's view is not correct."

He doubted whether the Natal Under-Secretary's view could be more unhesitatingly assailed. But he said that there was the greatest legal doubt in Zululand as to the position of the King as paramount chief, upon which the whole question turned. There was difference of opinion between our advisers and the advisers of the Natal Government on that point. It had been admitted by the unanimous Commission appointed by the Government of Natal, and by its own officials that, "continuous breaches of faith with the Zulus in regard to their land" had occurred, and if this House paid heed to the extent to which this country was responsible for the cession of Zululand, he thought it would be admitted that, if not legally, we were morally bound to see to the future of Zululand. The Natal Government admitted that Zululand could not go on as it was and some of the members of the Commission proposed the widest and most startling change in its government. A separate Government was proposed, and that Zululand should be set up as a detached

Government. The condition of the country to his mind morally bound us to some inquiry as to the state of things prevailing there, and when they remembered that these breaches of faith were not breaches of Colonial faith, but of the faith of the Mother Country, he thought they would see that we were bound to such an investigation. In the Annexation Act of 1897 it was stated that no alienation of land was to take place in Zululand and the unanimous Report of the Natal Commissioners pointed to the fact that there had been alienation. They unanimously advised that "no further alienation of land in Zululand" should take place. That was an admission, he took it, that this alienation which our faith had been pledged to resist, had taken place. He would not deal with other more difficult and dangerous topics, and no one man could cover the whole field, but no one of them could be satisfied with their personal and Imperial share in the relations between the white population of South Africa and any one of the various great chiefs there, whose fate had hung in the balance during the last few years. They must have the sadness of the doubts they entertained in regard to the fate of many of them. They must, however, look forward that night with hope, chiefly in the future, as to these so-called rebellions; they would have to take a grave decision, as to which their hopes for the future must guide their conduct for the present, as to the events that had occurred under martial law, which was no law at all, but simply the will of some little autocrat. The hon. Member for Dumfriesshire wrote in 1896 that—

> "Until this union is formed it is not easy for England to withdraw,"

and allow the Colony to manage "all its internal" affairs. This was called interference, but there were questions in which we were called upon to interfere, and in which we could not help ourselves, although we desired to interfere as little as possible in the future if it could be avoided. He detested that tendency which was displayed in the Blue-books to pull backwards and forwards about the horrible facts as to hangings and floggings under martial law among our politicians, and it was not confined to this country, but was perhaps quite as rife in the Colony as it was here. He hoped he had made it clear that they had no pleasure in interference; they did not interfere out of spite or on account of petty hatreds or jealousies; they wished to interfere as little as possible, and only so far as was consistent with their position as honest men representative of Imperial good faith and interests. The Cape had not met the very extreme views which he entertained, and many others had entertained; but the Cape had met the practical difficulties of the situation, and when they found a man, with whom they had had differences of opinion and should have again—Sir Godfrey Lagden—using language such as he did with regard to the Cape, they rejoiced. He said that the Cape had produced native men who would be a credit to any country. It was recorded that natives left Natal in order to seek a better education at the Cape because they could not get it in Natal. There was, moreover, a consideration too often ignored. We had made enormous sacrifices on our side of our opinions to try to meet South African opinion. In passing a Bill, excluding, on the ground of colour alone, the working majority from all franchise, we went further than some of them thought we ought to have gone, but the House did it to try and meet the South African views in the hope and belief that they would come towards us and try to meet our views. The Cape had in some measure met our views, and he believed the great leaders of the Dutch predominant party in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony were inclined in the same direction, and recognised the enormous distance we had gone to try and meet their views. We despairingly admitted that we could not shake that principle—the exact opposite of the principle proclaimed in the constitution of the United States—in the Transvaal Constitution—

> "We will suffer no equality in either Church or State between white and black."

We could not hope to shake that principle, but we could hope to obtain, by equal moderation on both sides and by statesmanship in the Colonies to meet statesmanship in this country, that which would help to give us in practice the franchise of the

Cape. The demands they put forward were sometimes supposed, coming from extreme Radicals, to be inconsistent with the Imperial idea, but he believed that they could not hope to maintain the Empire, the very life of which was a daily miracle if they looked at the theoretical facts of the case, except by that kind of give and take. They had given up principles, many of them hoped never to live to have to give up, to try to meet Colonial opinion on those points, and they felt that at last they were on the point of success, and that at this moment there was a distinct attempt on the part of the Colonies to come sufficiently towards us to justify real hope now of solving this question of federation. He seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, recognising signs of a growing opinion on the part of the self-governing Colonies of South Africa in favour of safeguarding the rights and future of the Natives in any scheme of political unification or federation, expresses its confidence that His Majesty's Government will welcome the adoption of provisions calculated to render possible the ultimate inclusion of the whole of British South Africa in federal union."—(*Mr. Alden.*)

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said that no one on that side of the House could possibly take exception to the Resolution which had been so ably moved and seconded. Much less would anyone object who knew the Colonies and the value of the suggestions made in the Resolution. He perhaps would suggest to his right hon. friend who had just sat down that the word "interfere" was a strong word, and that they might use the words "responsible suggestion" based on an undoubted right, but he did not think that a Resolution of this kind accepted by the House of Commons was an interference. We had, and always had had, in South Africa, particularly in Zululand, and we preserved the right in the Orange River and Crown Colonies, to safeguard as far as possible the interests of the native races. His right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham, when the settlement of the late war was made, said—

> "We cannot consent to purchase peace by leaving the coloured population in the position in which they stood before the war, with not even the ordinary civil rights which the Government of the Cape Colony has long conceded to them."

That was a very important statement, which he thought no succeeding Colonial Secretary could possibly neglect to appreciate or to put in practice in principle. Those of them who watched with great anxiety the development of affairs in South Africa, the development of government as represented by responsible Government, welcomed the idea of federation or unification, because, as the mover of the Resolution had said, it would solve the question of the position of the native races, and this country's undoubted right was to make a suggestion, a strong, friendly, and firm suggestion, that in the achievement of federation we would not rest during the period of negotiations while our influence could possibly be brought to bear to secure a just and fair settlement of this question. He much preferred to stand on the ground of our constitutional right than upon one suggestion made by the mover of the Resolution. His speech was made in admirable temper. He was a good democrat and represented Radical principles, and would not take exception to what he was going to say. The hon. Member suggested that because Natal had only 22,000 voters her responsibility was less to be supported, if he might put it so, than if she had, say, ten times that number of voters. Once they granted responsible government to a Colony, whether it had 10,000 or 500,000 voters, that responsibility was theirs, and there could be no invasion of that democratic principle by public opinion in this House or in any other Assembly.

Mr. ALDEN: I only meant that the franchise was not sufficiently democratic.

Sir GILBERT PARKER said he was glad to have that explanation, but the hon. Member would not object to his having drawn attention to that particular statement, because the House knew well that if Natal made a mistake in native policy which produced internal troubles ending in rebellion it was the 22,000 voters who would have to bear the expense of that trouble. Therefore, the House should feel, and he believed they did feel, great sympathy with a young and struggling Colony like Natal. Let the House only stop to think of what was the position of a Colony like Natal. Little scattered groups of people in a great country, isolated from their fellows, with no military protection of any kind, surrounded by a dark race who had scarcely emerged from barbarism, upon whom the influence of the missionaries, which was for good, could do nothing more than perhaps soften the barbarity.

AN HON. MEMBER was understood to interrupt with reference to the churches.

SIR GILBERT PARKER said he thought the interjection was most unworthy. He was trying to keep the debate upon a basis free from recrimination of any kind, and he hoped he would be permitted to make what he believed would be a moderate speech upon a grave question. The position of the settlers in Natal was one which must evoke the sympathy of every right-thinking person, and if they had made mistakes by alienation of land, and by putting down the power and authority of chiefs, and at the same time have not educated them sufficiently that they could exercise and use the opportunity which had been given to them, that was a thing which could be remedied, and they in that House were concerned to express the opinion and the feeling that Natal would do well to weigh the Report of the Native Affairs Commission, and to read and inwardly digest the Minute by Mr. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, and to bring in such a Bill as would remedy what they knew to be undoubted grievances. What he was pleading for was that something like a first estimate should be made of the difficulties and dangers under which a Government like that of Natal laboured, in building up an administration and a Government under conditions of unparalleled difficulty. There was not a Colony anywhere that had the difficulties that Natal had. Rhodesia might have them by and by, but let them take Canada, with her handful of native population, the preponderating influence always that of the white population. Canada had pursued a wise policy of education and of industrial education. Australia had a handful of aborigines, and she had been able to deal with them without difficulty. New Zealand had a very small proportion of black men, Maoris, to the general population; 300,000, he thought, was the general white population of New Zealand, and there were between 30,000 and 40,000 Maoris. The question was a comparatively easy one. But it was different in a Colony like Natal, where there were eleven coloured people, including Asiatics and Indians and "others" as they were called, to one white man. That must be taken into consideration, and in giving their assent to the Resolution, as he hoped the House would unanimously, they should keep in mind the broad general views and general principles. If confederation came, there must, of course, be the franchise. It was impossible that there could be federation without the franchise. He was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean that General Botha was in favour of the franchise. That was an immense step.

*SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I did not go so far as to say that. I said there was every reason to suppose that the extreme view of opposition to the franchise was falling off.

SIR GILBERT PARKER trusted that the right hon. baronet's hope would be fully realised. If it was the case that the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony would accept the Cape franchise for the natives, there seemed to be no obstruction to federation, because already they had the Courts, the Customs, and the railways federating. The one bar to federation and the thing which had made every person interested in South Africa extraordinarily anxious, had been this native question. He had not the slightest doubt that Natal, having learned many lessons by her late troubles, and having these exhaustive and suggestive Reports before her, would be prepared to extend her franchise. He was convinced she ought to do so. He was not at all sure that when that franchise came it would not come in two forms. Mr. Cecil Rhodes once made a very remarkable statement advocating equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi. He said "civilised man." No one would suggest that they should give the franchise to the uncivilised natives of Zululand; but he believed it would be a good thing to give the Zulus in Zululand, under present conditions, representation in responsible Government at Pietermaritzburg. If, at the same time, they gave the franchise to the civilised black man, the civilised native who had raised himself to an educational and industrial position equal to that of the white man, then they would have a double representation. The interests of the uncivilised, the untrained, the undeveloped Zululand native would be protected on the one hand, and on the other hand the man, no matter what his colour, who had raised himself to the rights of citizenship would also be represented in the Colony. He felt himself that that would be the only solution. The United States natives were given their franchise too soon, before the masses had been lifted to a position where they could properly assume the rights of citizenship. South Africa could not always be a place where black men did only unskilled labour, and, if ever it was to have a Government which would represent the black races as well as the white, and if the state of civilisation of black races was ever to be such as would entitle them to the place of citizenship, it could only be, whatever the federation might be, upon the basis of industrialism. The only good thing there was about slavery was that it did not teach the native races skilled trades. Industrialism was the order of the day in the United States plantations. In the days of slavery every plantation was the centre of industry. It was folly to talk of teaching the native man and woman to read and write and expect that that was going to solve the problem in South Africa. If it would, then our civilisation, based upon skilled labour, slowly developed, would after all be a trifle. We had in 1,000 years produced a highly-trained, highly-skilled civilisation, and not in twenty nor fifty years would the native races in South Africa attain to the position even that our humblest classes had attained by virtue of heredity; because the hereditary strain, and the tendency of ages, and the instinct for labour and for government, would not be there. Everybody who had studied the case admitted that the tribal system, so far as the civil law was concerned, had been extremely good. Wherever they had a wise chief and a strong man with his series of precedents he controlled his tribe effectively. It was when they came to the criminal law that they were presented with very grave difficulties. It seemed to him that in any solution of the problem the tribal system must be maintained up to a certain point, that the native chiefs must not further have their power taken from them, and that their position must not be made less powerful by what would be ineffective attempts to give to the natives before their time the advantages and the privileges of a liberal citizenship. What he had said had been conceived in a spirit of sympathy with the Resolution, which he believed the House would do well to pass. He could only hope that their act would strengthen the hands of those in South Africa who were keen for federation, and that they would realise that this was an Imperial question and that our power in the end was paramount. While our power was paramount and while the Colonies remained in constitutional connection with this country, he hoped they would so far realise their own responsibilities that neither intervention nor interference would be necessary. Before closing, he wished to refer to one thing mentioned by his right hon. friend who had alluded to a question which he (Sir Gilbert Parker) asked concerning Dr. Sansome. He put the question upon the basis of our responsibility for the native races. He was anxious to know if the Government was satisfied that those conditions which Dr. Sansome had established under great difficulty and with splendid effect were to be maintained. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of

Trade found no fault with the repeated appeals concerning our responsibility for the retrenchment of British Civil servants in the Transvaal. Before the Constitution was granted they urged and urged that some provision should be made for retrenched Civil servants. That was his only reason for putting the question. The President of the Board of Trade accepted the responsibility for safeguarding the interests of retrenched Civil servants and promised that wherever possible they should be given positions under this Government, either in the Colonial service or in some other department of the State. He trusted that there would be no dissentient voice, and that the Resolution would be carried. Even upon the question of martial law—a very difficult and delicate question on which he would not venture—the House might be united. For his own part, he thought that Natal, if she had to take action again, might not perhaps pursue the same course. In any case, this Government's authority, even on that question, constitutionally and legally, must be admitted and he, for one, was glad of the opportunity of joining in the debate.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel SEELY, Liverpool, Abercromby): To-night's debate is, I think, a happy augury for the future of South Africa. I think everyone who has listened to this debate will agree that, if every one of our self-governing Colonies had been represented here to-night, it would all have been to the good. The Motion is one of very great importance, but I hope my right hon. friend, whose eloquent speech on a subject he has made his own I would specially acknowledge, will forgive me if I do not make any definite announcement on the second part of the Resolution in reference to federation. The Government in this matter, warned by precedent, are determined not to attempt to lead in this matter, but to leave it to the South African Colonies themselves to work out the problem.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): What does the hon. Gentleman wish to be left out of the Resolution?

COLONEL SEELY: I am saying that the Government do not wish to make any statement about federation. They prefer to let the initiative come from the Colonies themselves. With regard to the first part of the Resolution—the most important part—on the subject of the native races, we welcome the words of the Resolution. It recognises the growing desire of our self-governing Colonies in South Africa to ameliorate the native lot. I am far from saying that the desire has been absent in the past. I can show in a moment that there always has been that desire. There are growing signs that all South African opinion is determined to give some representation to the native, whether by direct franchise or by some other method. I think it would be well if I were to take the different Colonies one by one, and sketch very briefly what is the situation, and what we may hope it to be. I will say first that the Government—and I am sure every Member of the House realises to the full the special responsibilitity which we have to the natives, and that in dealing with the self-governing Colonies and the natives residing in them we can act best in cordial co-operation with the Colonies, and we rejoice to know that we have reason to expect that cordial co-operation. Let us come first to Natal. I have been asked one or two definite questions, and I will endeavour to reply to them. On the general question of Natal, it is the most difficult because the whites there are in such a small minority. They form about one-tenth of the whole population, and no one who has seen, as I have seen, that Natal landscape, with one farm occupied by a white man surrounded by miles of country on which are dotted about the little holdings and huts of Kaffirs, who, though they are, and I hope will always remain, loyal and contented, are yet sometimes thought to be a source of danger—no one who views that spectacle can fail to understand that it is difficult for the people of Natal to take a very impartial view of this question which I am sure they would do if they were removed from the scene. Since my hon. friends in this House know that I myself hold strong views on this matter, which I know the Government share, I may be permitted to make this remark as to the special difficulties in Natal, and no one can speak on the subject without referring to them. Natal, I am glad to say, has always been in favour, except in times of storm and distress of giving the negroes representation. I was surprised to find how emphatic was her opinion in 1897 when the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean moved in the matter. Largely in consequence of a deputation which he accompanied, and on which I think he spoke, suggestions were made to the Government that special representation should be given to the natives, and the Council of Natal, nearly all Natal men, made a statement which shows plainly that Natal—and some people who wrote that despatch are still there—is strongly in favour of native representation. I have been asked by the hon. Member who moved the Motion in a speech of great moderation, to make some announcement to-night about martial law in Natal, or rather in Zululand. I fear I cannot make any announcement as to the termination of martial law, because martial law cannot end in Natal until the Legislature has met and an Act of Indemnity is passed. This follows the precedent which we ourselves followed after the South African War. It is, no doubt, necessary to pass an Act of Indemnity before you put an end to martial law. It is necessary because if you abolish it without passing an Act of Indemnity, every act done during this martial law, or, as it should be put, in the absence of law, involves an action at law, and I think that would be manifestly unfair to the humble instruments of the Government who act, as they are bound to do, by the order of their superiors. In the absence of an Act of Indemnity they would be liable to severe pains and penalties under the ordinary law, and for that reason, by universal practice—and I say nothing as to the merits of martial law—you retain martial law until you pass an Act of Indemnity, not to protect the rich and powerful but the weak and humble instruments who carry out your policy.

**Mr. BYLES** (Salford, N.) asked whether it was proposed to draw a wet sponge over all their wrong-doing?

**Colonel SEELY**: I cannot accept a statement of that kind, because it is, of course, opening up a large question, which I have not time to deal with, as to the merits of martial law in general. But as to the retention of martial law until an Act of Indemnity is passed, I hope I have made it plain that it is necessary in order to protect the instruments of the Government.

**Mr. MACKARNESS** (Berkshire, Newbury): May I ask whether it has not been the practice also to summon Parliament to pass an Act of Indemnity as soon as the necessity for martial law has passed away?

**Colonel SEELY**: Certainly. Now we are on common ground. The Parliament of Natal will meet in the course of the next two or three weeks, when an Act of Indemnity will be presented, and we can trust that then martial law will come to an end, and we may hope it will not again be required. There is only one thing more to be said about martial law, the existence of which every man deplores, and that is that, as far as we know, although it exists nominally for the reasons I have stated, in the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Moor, it is practically not in existence. Of course, my hon. friend may say that the Prime Minister of Natal, of whom we speak with every respect, would naturally take a favourable view because he was responsible for the policy in its inception. But we have a stronger witness in this matter, and this witness is the Governor himself who, as my hon. friend will remember, protested at the start against the enactment of martial law. He says that during his tour in Zululand he saw practically no traces of martial law, and the natives did not complain on that subject although they complained of many others, notably the loss of cattle. So that we may say, in this matter of the natives, that martial law is practically not in existence, on the assurance of the Governor, whose objection is very well known, and who may be accepted as an impartial witness in this, as I am sure he is on all other matters. But there is one drawback, that in the matter of Dinizulu, during the continuance of martial law, the Government of Natal are of opinion that it would be unwise to allow evidence to be collected there. On that I can only say it is regrettable that that should be the case, but that the Government of Natal appear to be anxious to meet the difficulty, and have, so we understand, arranged for any witnesses which may be required to be brought from Zululand into Natal for the purpose of the defence of Dinizulu. I admit that that is not a complete solution of this difficulty, but at least it shows a desire to do something to mitigate the difficulty which has been created. I cannot add more on the subject of Natal except to reply to the specific questions of my hon. friend with regard to Dinizulu. He asked what is being done about Dinizulu, and how much longer is he to remain without a definite charge being formulated against him. In this matter, as I endeavoured to explain at Questions, and as I think the President of the Board of Trade explained when he was at the place which I now have the honour to occupy, the situation here is remarkable. It is certainly not the fault of the Government of Natal. They have got this remarkable law, the ordinance of 1845. Under that law, copies of which I have sent to one or two of my hon. friends behind me, it is necessary for the magistrates to hold a preliminary inquiry to ascertain what definite charge shall be formulated. The House will see that this may be an excellent law for ordinary cases. I do not say that it is, but it may be. But for cases like that of a great native chief, which involve matters of the utmost consequence, numberless witnesses and far-reaching issues of the utmost importance, it is plainly a most undesirable law, for it practically amounts to a man having two protracted trials, the first one on no definite charge. But this is no fault of the Government of Natal. They are bound to proceed under this law. They did not even pass the law. We gave it to them, and handed it over to them with all the other laws when Natal became a self-governing Colony. So that in the matter of delay the fault lies with the law, and the fault of the law, if it be a bad one, does not lie with the Government of Natal. But the fact remains, and it is deplorable that this great native chief should remain so long without a definite charge being formulated against him. I have told the House that the Secretary of State is in constant communication with the Government of Natal with a view to seeing whether something cannot be done to accelerate the matter. At least this much is done, that he is assured of being defended by the most able counsel in South Africa, and I have reason to hope that no delay will take place which is not rendered necessary by the exigencies of the case itself as complicated by the law of 1845. I trust I have answered the questions put to me, and if I have not it is because my time is of necessity short. With regard to the other self-governing Colonies in South Africa where there is a large number of natives, it is true that in the Orange River Colony and in the Transvaal the natives have no votes and no representation at all. There is perhaps some reason for the earnest hope expressed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, if the movement towards either federal union or unification should result in friction, in the fact that these Colonies have plainly indicated that they are willing to join in some form of native representation. I think all persons in South Africa agree that every one ought to be represented by someone in some democratic sense. In the case of Cape Colony the natives have representation. In the case of Rhodesia they are represented, though very few of them have the franchise. In the case of Natal they nominally have the power of representation. In the case of the Protectorates and of Basutoland they are represented in that House. I am sure that both the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal will be willing to adopt some method for giving representation to the natives. Cape Colony has adopted the franchise, and, as my right hon. friend has said, the franchise is the key to the situation. There are many things pressing for solution—native land, native education, native rights of every kind. But given the franchise, these things will solve themselves, and without it we shall labour in vain. Certainly it has worked well in the Cape. In the matter of land the legislation has been wise and in many respects generous. In the matter of education, the college for the education of the natives has received the enthusiastic support, not only of the natives, but also of Colonel Crewe, Mr. Sauer, and many other distinguished men in the Colony. In order to show how highly regarded by the Government of the day the natives are in Cape Colony, I may mention that a Commission composed entirely of natives, in charge of a magistrate, has been sent, with the approval of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, to the Rand mines to ascertain what amendments could be made in the regulations to meet the wishes of the natives. Such a thing has never been done before in South Africa. They were sent to investigate themselves conditions which affected themselves, and, every one would agree, with the happiest results.

*Mr. REES asked whether the hon. Gentleman ignored the adverse opinion which existed in Cape Colony in respect of the present franchise. He spoke as if it had universal acceptance.

Colonel SEELY: Nothing in this world has universal acceptance.,and you generally find somebody in this House who objects to everything.

*Mr. REES asked whether the hon. Gentleman asserted that there was not widespread objection to the existing franchise in Cape Colony.

Colonel SEELY: There is objection everywhere to every policy. Both great parties in Cape Colony approve of the native franchise. Dr. Jameson emphatically approves of it. Mr. Merriman says we must guard the existing franchise in regard to the natives; and we must never throw that away. The great Imperialist Mr. Rhodes claimed equal rights for all civilised men. Therefore we may at least claim that there is a large measure of agreement as to the desirability of the native franchise as it exists in Cape Colony. I believe the overwhelming majority of the people in Cape Colony are in favour of the existing franchise. But I do not think it would be wise for His Majesty's Government to take the view that the Cape franchise is the only possible solution of the problem. Different States have very different problems to face; and if we attempt to lay down the principle that this kind of franchise is the only plan, we may get an illusory franchise such as now exists in one of the Colonies. Mr. Merriman, whose name will always be received with respect, and who sympathises with the advanced view on this subject, specially guarded himself against forcing this franchise upon other States. Although it is true that the franchise has worked well in Cape Colony, we are not committed to that solution. What His Majesty's Government are committed to is that in any solution of the South African question some special representation must be found for the natives in order to safeguard their rights, and with that, I am glad to think, all people in South Africa are now practically agreed. As to our responsibilities to the Protectorates and Zululand, it has been pointed out very truly that no sensible man would object to our interference in native questions in South Africa as such, because we absolutely rule from this House over half a million natives in South Africa, and the ultimate resort of those natives is to the Government of this country. There they have not got the franchise, but in most of the Protectorates, and in Basutoland especially, they have native councils. In Basutoland it has been a great success. In case anyone should think that the Basutos are not able to take a sufficiently intelligent part in debate, I may mention that the subjects discussed with great eloquence at the last council meeting were an Education Bill, a Licensing Bill, and an Aliens Bill. Arguments were advanced on the Aliens Bill such as we are familiar with on both sides of this House, on the education question one chief got up and made an eloquent speech in favour of the secular solution, and I regret to inform my hon. friends below the gangway that he was ultimately howled down by the representatives of the different religious bodies, Anyone who reads the debate will see that it shows a very high level of civilisation attained by those people; and although they have not got the vote, they are already sufficiently represented in their council and sufficiently protected by this House to make Basutoland a happy country and a model which may well be followed. I trust that after the right hon. Gentleman opposite has spoken we may hear a word or two from my right hon. friend the Member for Dundee who had a great share in piloting through this House that measure of self-government without which federation would have been impossible. I said that the Government were anxious not to say much on this subject because when we had tried to lead before we failed. Lord Carnarvon in 1875 formulated proposals for federation, but the end was utter failure; and in 1877 an Act was passed to make South Africa one, but we have taken the lead, and these young nations, who are rightly proud of their institutions and of their enterprise do not wish to be led in matters of this kind. These young nations fully realise our special responsibilities to the natives, and, except in times of storm and stress, there is no reason for acrimony or bitterness on the subject. There is complete agreement in all parts of the House, and I think the debate to-night will show that where we can agree in this House the whole Empire can agree upon a form of policy. We cannot now propound a policy, but provision for the due representation of native races is still regarded as essential; and I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman opposite will agree that that is still the settled policy of this country, and will, we have reason to believe, be the settled policy of every South African State. The tentative steps towards federal union have not, as we see in the daily Press, yet met with success. But, although the situation is difficult, it is not dark, for it is illumined by a great light. Two white races who fought us so hard have now made an enduring peace. Till that was done there could be no union. But a treaty of peace has been made and will abide, I am convinced; and when the two races have combined I have no doubt that they will unite in their efforts to raise the standard of the natives and to ameliorate their lot, realising that it is their country as much as ours, for they were there first, realising that it is our mission to raise their *status*, that it is the mission of the whole Empire to raise the *status* of all under its sway, and in that magnificent work I am firmly convinced that we shall have the co-operation of our self-governing Colonies.

MR. LYTTELTON: The hon. Gentleman has intimated that his colleague the President of the Board of Trade desires to say a few words this evening. I shall endeavour to confine within the strictest possible limits the observations I have to make. I agree that the policy of this country favours the representation of the natives, and, of course, holding that view, I shall not in any way question or oppose the passage of the Resolution which has been moved and seconded from the other side in speeches characterised by laudable moderation and taste. But I must not be understood as myself adopting all the terms of that Resolution, for I confess it is of a more patronising character than I should myself desire to draw. Passing away from that mere matter of form to the substance of the speeches made by the mover and seconder, I should not desire for a moment to say anything ungracious with regard to the Resolution. What I do feel, and somewhat strongly, is that debates on this question are inopportune when, for better or for worse, self-government has been given to the Transvaal. Of course, hon. Members on the other side know our views upon that. I think it is desirable, as far as possible, to leave the South African Colonies to themselves. I agree with what the hon. Gentleman opposite has said about the rights of this country and about the title of His Majesty the King as paramount chief of the many natives under his sway. No one would stand here and say that we have not a responsibility towards the natives which it may or may not on occasion be absolutely necessary to assert; but I do not think we should be continually saying so in this House. It is a fact which, I believe, is absolutely recognised by the Colonies themselves, and to which they would not for a moment take exception. Therefore, when I speak of the inopportuneness of this Resolution, I would ask whether there is any need of it at the present time in South Africa. Is there any need of assertions of this kind, and of debates in this House on the subject, or is there no immediate need of such debates and such Resolutions? With regard to the natives generally, let me mention what have been the recent events of great importance to the South African Colonies themselves. Quite recently, Sir Godfrey Lagden's Commission has produced a most valuable Report, the result of great knowledge and experience of the question with which they were dealing, and full of wisdom and humanity. I do not believe that any Commission that could have sat in this country could have dealt with the subject with equal knowledge and sagacity. Comment has been made on the attitude of Natal towards the natives. I am sure that I do not desire to say anything hostile to that Colony, especially having regard to the peculiar difficulties and dangers in which she stands. Of course, acts have taken place there about which on a proper occasion I will express my opinion. Assuming for the purposes of argument that things we deplore have been done, does the House think that the discussion of those questions in Parliament at the present moment is more likely or less likely to bring about redress to the natives than, at any rate for a time, leaving opinion to work out for the best in Natal itself? I say that, because after Sir Godfrey Lagden's Commission there has been a Commission in Natal itself. Most important recommendations have been put forward and most serious criticisms have been made upon the Government action by that very Commission. I think hon. Gentlemen opposite, if they think over this matter in a quiet and cool spirit, will feel that it is more likely that opinion will be won over in Natal to a feeling altogether friendly and liberal towards the natives by efforts in the Colony itself than by outside criticism. I do not for a moment dispute that it is possible that the time may come when action may be necessary on the part of this House—I do not in the least wish to anticipate such a necessity or to express the belief that it will take place—but I do say that, whether the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite are more or less sanguine than mine on this question, such interference should not take place till the last possible moment, having regard to the fact that already in Natal there exist strenuous advocates of the cause of the natives in that Colony. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean referred to the warm tribute paid by Sir Godfrey Lagden to the native policy in the Cape. Therefore, you have a large body of opinion in Natal, and by far the largest body of opinion in the Cape, in favour of the cause of the natives, and if we may accept the right hon. Gentleman's authority, given I quite admit with some reserve, there is a growing tendency in the Transvaal to favour the liberal treatment of the natives. I have no knowledge of it, I merely get that information from the right hon. Gentleman himself. Under those circumstances to which I have briefly adverted, opinion in South Africa generally—there are exceptions I know—is strong, or at any rate it is becoming daily sounder and stronger, upon this matter. I confess that while I do not for a moment question the right of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, who for thirty years or more has championed the rights of the natives of South Africa and elsewhere, and while I do not deprecate or say a single word against the right of those hon. Gentlemen who sit with him to bring forward the cause of the natives at moments which seem to some of us entirely inopportune, yet I think if His Majesty's Government were to intervene, or to intervene strongly in this respect, they would subject themselves to, I think, almost unanswerable rebuff. Let me say why I think that. As to the Letters Patent which granted self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange Colony, his Majesty's Government took the opportunity of stating on every occasion on which they mounted a platform that no franchise whatever was given to the natives, that they were giving a boon which was unexpected and which was not promised so soon. When they were granting self-government they had every possible right and opportunity to make what terms they thought fit on behalf of the natives whom the right hon. Gentleman now champions. There may be a point of view from which their action in giving no franchise to the natives could be defended, but their action was more emphatic against the natives, in my judgment, than the mere omission to grant them the franchise would indicate. They gave manhood suffrage to the Transvaal. [An Hon. Member: White.] Yes, white; and, in doing so, of course they put the coloured argument in its most invidious and emphatic form. For the first time, owing to the action of His Majesty's Government in the great Charter under the Letters Patent, which has been boasted of on every platform, not merely are the natives not given the franchise, for which much might be said, but there is withdrawn for ever the possibility of defending their exclusion from it by setting up in its most invidious form the colour ban. I venture to say that if His Majesty's Government intervene in this matter in the direction desired by hon. Gentlemen below the gangway, the result will not be at all desirable. I think they will expose themselves and this country to a most undesirable rebuff. Having said that, I agreed with the right hon. Gentleman who preceded me that things are well in Basutoland. I have seen the report of a native council which took place in Basutoland, and agree with the Governor in the tribute which he paid with respect to the speeches made on the occasion. I am certain that the conclusions arrived at were as statesmanlike as those come to in certain other assemblies. There is one matter I should like to mention in regard to martial law in Natal, and I should be glad on this point if I had the advantage of the attention of the Prime Minister. I understand, and his colleague will correct me if I am not right in the facts, that in the view of the Governor of Natal the proclamation of martial law was not warranted. That is to say, that there was not, in his judgment, a state of things in Natal which warranted the proclamation of martial law, and thereby the suspension of the ordinary law of the country. I understand also that, on the legal aspect of the question whether such a state of circumstances existed in Natal as would warrant the proclamation of martial law, the Colonial Office and Lord Elgin were entirely of the same opinion as Sir Matthew Nathan, the very able and experienced administrator of that country. But I understand that His Majesty's Government referred to the law officers of the Crown the question whether under these circumstances a Governor who authorises the proclamation of martial law in a Colony is entitled to refuse that which his Ministers advise to the contrary. I understand that the Law Officers of the Crown expressed the opinion that a Governor, no matter what view he takes of the legality or illegality of the proclamation of martial law, is bound to follow the advice of his Ministers in a self-governing Colony. I should myself like to say that I do not think that that is a question which is or can be set at rest by the opinion of the law officers. I have the greatest respect for the opinion of the present law officers of the Crown, and for the great profession to which they belong, but I do not think that His Majesty's Government, or the Prime Minister himself, would say that this question, which is a most grave and serious one, can be settled by the *ipse dixit* of the law officers. It is a question of the highest constitutional importance, and one upon which, if the Government have made up their minds upon it, we ought to have the opinion of the Prime Minister himself, or the Secretary for War, both of whom have every legal qualification in addition to their other qualifications to give it. Without venturing to express an opinion of a very decisive character myself, I should regret on behalf of the Governors of the self-governing Colonies that any hasty dictum of this House, and certainly of the Law Officers, should go forth which would bind them, against their own judgment in believing a proclamation to be illegal, and bind them, because Ministers advised them, to take action amounting to what is practically the suspension of the Constitution. I venture to submit that question with great respect to the Prime Minister. I feel that if that position were to be accepted, it would be difficult for any man of spirit or with a due sense of responsibility to accept the office of Governor. I should like to add that to refuse to accept the advice of responsible Ministers on such a subject would be an act of the greatest responsibility on the part of the Governor, but I think, if a Governor's opinion is definitely against it, it ought to be proclaimed here that he has a right to give that opinion.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. CHURCHILL, Dundee: The Prime Minister has asked me to conclude this debate in the few minutes that remain, but I confess that when I cast my mind back over its tranquil course I can hardly think of any reason which would require any further intervention from this bench except the last observations that fell from the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It is true that, with regard to martial law in Natal, a difference of opinion arose between the Governor and the Government of Natal, and that difference of opinion is expressed in the pages of the Blue-book. It is know that my noble friend the late Colonial Secretary expressed his concurrence with the action taken by Sir Matthew Nathan. No doubt there is something anomalous in the continuance of the good relations that prevail between Sir Matthew Nathan and the Natal Government in view of this public difference of opinion; but I do not think that that actual divergence on this particular point is of any disadvantage to the public service or to the general interests of South Africa, or the special interests of Natal. Sir Matthew Nathan undoubtedly exercises a great influence over the Government of Natal, and I do not think that the influence of this country has been weakened by his independent position on this question. It is a very difficult situation and nothing but good will on both sides will enable us to find a way out of it. I am sure that the Government would never allow such a grave constitutional matter as this to be settled simply by the opinion of the law officers of the Crown on a point of law. It is obviously not only a matter of constitutional law, but of high public policy. I have only a word to say with regard to the two issues raised by the Resolution; they are, federation and native policy, and they are interwoven. The movement towards unity in South Africa is growing in strength and increasing in progress every day. It arises mainly from the fact that the old duality in South Africa which existed before the war has been destroyed; that there is only one flag; that both races have come together; that embarrassment of their means has led them to look for a less expensive form of government than they possess at present; and that the natural forces of cohesion have combined to bring them more into a larger synthesis of government. Our attitude towards it has been very well defined by my hon. friend the Under-Secretary. We desire not to initiate, but to guide that movement; not to impel, but to assist it; and we have taken every step to be ready to assist at every stage the Colonial Governments when they recur to us for our advice. The Imperial Government have a serious part to play. We must seek to make any scheme of South African federation thoroughly comprehensive. It is further our duty to see that the interests of the natives are properly safeguarded. But do not let us be too sanguine of the speed at which unity in South Africa will be attained. The sentiment is undoubted, the movement grows in strength every day, but the obstacles are real and serious. The right hon. Baronet knows well that apart from the local and personal interests which cannot but exert an important influence upon any such movement towards unity, there are the divergences of native policy, difficult, though not impossible, to reconcile, and there is the great conflict in financial interests which arises from the railway policy and the railway interests of the coastal and the inland Colonies. I do not doubt that South Africa will weather these difficulties; I do not doubt that she will eventually achieve her unity; but we are not, and we cannot be certain at present in what form the movement for South African unity will surmount the obstacles I have mentioned. We cannot tell how far South African unity will be attenuated in the passage of those obstacles. We do not know whether we are going to get complete unification, or close confederacy, or merely an association of States for certain common purposes like defence, justice, and education. The very uncertainty, hopeful uncertainty, but still uncertainty, which broods over the South African situation makes it impossible for the Government to make any statement as to what they will do consequent on federation in respect to native Protectorates, in respect to native policy generally. It would be the height of folly on our part to say that we shall not deal with the Protectorates in any large policy until such and such specific conditions have been complied with, or, on the other hand, that we are content, on any form of unification being attained, immediately to resign our responsibility in respect to those Protectorates. We must wait and we must watch. And I am bound to say that there is one very hopeful feature in this debate. Members as divided as the hon. Member for Tottenham and the hon. Member for Gravesend put Resolutions on the Paper in almost similar terms. The Romans had a maxim, *Divide et impera*. That is a maxim which finds no echo on either side of this House, however much opposed in regard to South African policy. We have got beyond that. We have achieved the great realisation that permanent Imperial interests cannot exist apart from the true interests of South Africa. Just as two years ago I asked the House to repose the future of the British flag in South Africa upon the reconciliation and not upon the rivalry of races, so I am sure we are taking only another natural step when we look for a continuance of our influence in South Africa in the union and not in the division of States.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That this House, recognising signs of a growing opinion on the part of the self-governing Colonies of South Africa in favour of safeguarding the rights and future of the natives in any scheme of political unification or federatoin, expresses its confidence that His Majesty's Government will welcome the adoption of provisions calculated to render possible the ultimate inclusion of the whole of British South Africa in federal union.—(*Mr. Alden.*)

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### PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Ordered, That the Select Committee do consist of Five Members to be joined with a like number of Lords.

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease.*)

Committee nominated of: Mr. Ashley, Sir William Bull, Mr. Russell Rea, Sir Albert Spicer, and Mr. Williamson.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented on or before 25th May, 1908, be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, Agents, or Witnesses be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum. —(*Mr. Joseph Pease.*)

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### POLICE FORCES (WEEKLY REST-DAY).

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report whether, having regard to the conditions of service in Police Forces in the United Kingdom, it is desirable that provision should be made, by legislation or otherwise, for granting to every constable one full day off duty in seven; what, if any, alterations in the conditions of service and police administration should accompany this change; what would be the cost, and how it should be borne so as not to increase the charge on Imperial funds.

Committee accordingly nominated of: Mr. Armitage, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Charles Duncan, Mr. Hedges, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Nannetti, Mr. William Priestley, and Mr. Rogers.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum. —(*Mr. Joseph Pease.*)

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### PUBLIC OFFICES SITES (EXTENSION) [EXPENSES].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any Expenses, so far as not otherwise provided for, incurred by the Commissioners of Works under any Act of the present session, to provide for the Acquisition of Land for the extension of certain Public Offices in Westminster and of the Patent Office, and for certain other public purposes (King's Recommendation signified), To-morrow.—(*Mr. Joseph Pease.*)

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### IRISH UNIVERSITIES [EXPENSES].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of Remuneration, Expenses, and other sums in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make further provision with respect to University Education in Ireland (King's Recommendation signified), To-morrow. —(*Mr. Joseph Pease.*)

Adjourned at eight minutes after Eleven o'clock.

# HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Thursday, 14th May,* 1908.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with: Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways (No. 2).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways (No. 2) Bill. — Examiner's Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Wednesday next.

Ravensthorpe Urban Disrict Council Bill [H.L.]; Leith Burgh Bill [H.L.]; Ammanford Urban District Council Water Bill [H.L.]; Llanelly and Burry Port Water Board Bill [H.L.].—Leave given to the Select Committee to adjourn over To morrow and not to sit on Monday next till Twelve o'clock.

Bristol Corporation Bill [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Aire and Calder Navigation Bill [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Dundalk Urban District Council Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed.

Knott End Railway Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed for Wednesday next.

Swinton and Mexborough Gas Bill.—Read $2^a$ and committed.

Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc., Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Wishaw Burgh Electricity, etc. Bill.—Read $2^a$, and committed.

Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 19th of February and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Stratford-upon-Avon, Towcester, and Midland Junction Railway, Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway, and East and West Junction Railway (Amalgamation) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 18th of March and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed for Wednesday next.

Stockport Corporation Bill.—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Rochester Bridge Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 3rd of March and 1st of April last discharged, and Bill committed.

Lincoln Corporation Bill; Cambrian Railways Bill [H.L.]; North Eastern Railway Bill; Draycott Gas Bill; Leicester Corporation Bill; Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill; Finchley Urban District Council Bill, Motherwell Burgh Extension, etc., Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills, viz.:—D. Wellington, E. Westmeath, L. Mendip (*V. Clifden*), L. Ellenborough, L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (chairman); agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly: The Committee to meet on Tuesday next,

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

at Eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Derby Gas Bill. — Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order).

## *PETITIONS.*

### LAND VALUES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition in favour of; of combination parish council of Govan; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### LOTTERIES AND INDECENT ADVERTISMENTS.

The evidence taken before the Joint Committee from time to time to be printed, but no copies to be delivered out except to members of the Committee, and such other persons as the Committee shall think fit, until further order. (No. 64.)

### TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3997. Norway; No. 3998. United States (San Francisco).

### TREATY SERIES (No. 13, 1908).

Treaty of Commerce between the United Kingdom and Servia; signed at Belgrade, 17th February, 1907. (Ratifications exchanged at Belgrade, 31st March, 1908).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Report by the Board of Trade on their proceedings and business under the Weights and Measures Acts: Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Message from the Commons that they have appointed a Committee to consist of Five Members to join with a Committee of this House to consider the said Bill, and request this House to appoint an equal number of Lords to join with the Members of their House. The said Message to be considered on Monday next.

### COMPANIES (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

### POST OFFICE (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.].

Message from the Commons that they concur in the Resolution of this House communicated to them on the 7th instant, that the said Bills be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament.

### PROSECUTION OF OFFENCES (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Brought from the Commons.

Read 1ª, and to be printed. (No. 65.)

### LAND VALUES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clause 1:

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH had on the Paper an Amendment to subsection (2)—

> (2) Subject as hereinafter provided, there shall be entered under the last-mentioned heading the capital land value of the several lands and heritages required by the Valuation Acts to be entered in the valuation roll, not being lands and heritages falling to be valued by the assessor of railways and canals—

to leave out from the word "roll" to the end of the subsection; *or alternatively*, to leave out from the subsequent word "heritages" to the end of the subsection and to insert the words "belonging to railway, canal, harbour, gasworks, waterworks, tramway, electricity, or other statutory companies or corporations, where the use of the land is limited by Statute to the purposes of such companies or corporations." He said the Amendment had been put down in an alternative form owing to the extreme difficulty, having regard to the speeches of the Law Officers of the Crown for Scotland, and especially of the Solicitor-General, of understanding what was the intention of the Government in this matter. The Solicitor-General had over and over again stated that the intention of the Government was to substitute one standard for the other, and to put the whole of the rates on the new standard. That had been disavowed by His Majesty's Government, and therefore the first of his Amendments was obviously inapplicable. But if the object was only to remedy the suburban grievance of holding-up land, the second Amendment was applicable to that particular point.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN did not desire to interrupt the noble Lord, but wished to say now, in order not to be precluded from doing so later, that if Lord Balfour proposed to abandon his first Amendment, he (Lord Camperdown) would move it.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Lord Balfour did not finish what he was going to say, but I gathered that he does not propose to move the first of the two alternatives. Therefore, if Lord Camperdown intends to move it, he would come first.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said that, so far as he was concerned, he thought the first Amendment inapplicable in the position in which they were now placed.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN then moved to delete from subsection (2) the words "not being lands and heritages falling to be valued by the assessor of railways and canals." He explained that his object was to bring railways and canals into the Bill. As the clause stood they were excluded, and their valuation would not be inserted in the additional column. As Lord Balfour had pointed out, the Bill left it quite uncertain whether the Rating Bill which was going to follow on this Bill would institute site value as the basis of rating generally, or only of a supplementary rate. The Solicitor-General for Scotland, and the extreme Members in the other House, had declared that the intention was to extend it to all rating. The Lord Chancellor, on the other hand, had assured them that that was not the Government's intention. But the Committee had to deal, not with intentions, but with what they found in the Bill. As the Bill stood railways would not appear in the additional column, and supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Rating Bill would be limited to a supplementary rate, then railways would not be rated for the supplementary rate at all. Why should that be? If there was to be a supplementary rate, there was no reason for exempting railways and canals, still less the other undertakings set out in Lord Balfour's alternative Amendment. If some land was to be entered in this column then all land ought to appear there, without consideration as to whom it belonged. That was the way in which the matter presented itself to his mind, and that was his reason for moving to leave out these words.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 14, to leave out from the word 'roll' to the end of subsection (2)."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN) said the effect of the Amendment would be to bring in railways and canals to be entered in the new column of the Valuation Bill.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: Hear, hear.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said the Committee should remember what the new column was; it was now a new column of yearly value, and not capital value. The subject of rating railways was a very difficult one, but a system had grown up which was as accurate a method of valuation on yearly value as could be found. Accordingly his view was that the best course would be to leave railways as they were, instead of putting them into a valuation column the purpose of which, as altered through the effect of their yesterday's Amendment, he did not at present apprehend.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said that if it was the case that railways would appear on their yearly value he would withdraw his Amendment.

LORD HENEAGE asked if there were to be two sets of ratepayers or only one. Were the ratepayers who were to pay the ordinary rate to be the occupiers, and those who were to pay under the supplementary column to be the owners, or were the owners to pay all the rates?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said he could not be expected to say what would happen under the Bill as altered by their Lordships. He could only say what the Government intended the Bill to do—which was to set up a column in the valuation roll stating the capital value, and that afterwards, in another Bill, the incidence of rating should be stated and enacted.

THE EARL OF HALSBURY said that, if the purpose of the Bill was as the Lord Chancellor described, the Amendment already carried by the House had negatived that purpose.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I think that is so.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH moved to leave out all the words after "heritages," and to insert "belonging to railway, canal, harbour, gasworks, waterworks, tramway, electricity, or other statutory companies or corporations, where the use of the land is limited by Statute to the purposes of such companies or corporations." The Lord Chancellor had stated over and over again that the real object of the Bill was to get rid of the suburban grievance—that was, the holding-up of land in and about growing towns. Therefore, it seemed to him that the Amendment he was now moving was absolutely necessary. The noble and learned Lord had stated yesterday that the Bill was intended to remedy a purely urban grievance——

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said he had stated quite explicitly on the Second Reading the full purpose of the Bill as he understood it. What he had said was on record, and he did not wish it to be summarised in a sentence. He did not think he had made the statement that the grievance was confined to urban areas. At any rate, he had not intended to, for he believed the evil existed outside urban areas as well.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said that, at any rate, one main object of the Bill was to put a penalty on those who capriciously, and for their own profit, held up land. There were no doubt other objects hoped to be attained by means of this Bill by supporters of His Majesty's Government. But one of its main objects avowed by the Government was to put a penalty on those who held up land which it was thought might be put into the market for the benefit of those urban districts; and one of the penalties they were going to impose was to rate the owners on something more than the annual value which they were putting into their pockets. It was clear that the companies and corporations dealt with in his Amendment had no power to do anything of the kind. Vacant land such as that to which his Amendment referred should certainly be exempt from this form of penalty, because the companies and corporations concerned could not realise their land for building purposes, nor did they hold the land for the purpose of profit in the case of resale. Take the case of the Clyde Trust. This trust had duties up and down the whole of the Clyde, from Glasgow to Greenock. It was rated in two or three counties, in six or eight parishes, and in some burghs, and it paid rates amounting to something between £35,000 and £40,000 on an assumed income of £150,000 a year. It was clear that that body, even if it did hold vacant land, could not turn that land to any use except for its own purposes; and certainly they could not in such a case test the price between a willing seller and a willing buyer because the land could not be sold. The Report of Mr. Ure's Committee in explicit terms recommended that the exemptions from the Bill should include railways, canals, docks, and harbours. The only exemption which he proposed to give to these companies and corporations was that they should not be valued, because it certainly would not be fair to rate them where the use of the land was limited by Statute to the purposes of such companies or corporations.

Amendment moved—

"In page 11, to leave out from the word 'heritages' to the end of subsection (2), and insert the words 'belonging to railway, canal, harbour, gasworks, waterworks, tramway, electricity, or other statutory companies or corporations, where the use of the land is limited by Statute to the purposes of such companies or corporations.' "—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said that the arguments which had been adduced by the noble Lord, and from which he did not dissent, were those which had led the Government to exclude railways from the Bill. The Bill excluded railways, and the Amendment also excluded them, but he thought it did so in a more complete form; and, if the noble Lord preferred his words to theirs, so far as he was concerned he had no objection. He would have objected to the inclusion of railways if the Bill had remained as it was; it was doubly desirable to exempt railways from the operation of the new system of yearly valuation.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: The object of the Amendment is to make sure of the exemption of docks.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Quite so.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN did not quite follow the argument. He had understood from the noble and learned Lord that every sort of land would appear according to its yearly value. Railways undoubtedly had a special mode of valuation of their own. Docks and other undertakings had also a separate mode of valuation. He apprehended that all were to be dealt with alike, and would appear in the third column in the way in which they were valued at the present time.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said the Amendment was an enlargement of the provision in the Bill. The provision left railways as they were now in regard to rating. The Amendment secured that docks and similar undertakings should also continue to be rated exactly in the same way as they were now. He admitted that the object aimed at was secured more clearly under the Amendment than under the Bill.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2:

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH moved to insert, after Clause 2, a new clause which he explained was consequential upon the Amendment made by their Lordships in Clause 1 the previous day.

Amendment moved,

> "After Clause 2, to insert the following new clause: 'Within six months after the passing of this Act, the clerk of every council of a county or a burgh shall convene, with not less than one month's notice, a special meeting of the council to consider the desirability of adopting this Act in that county or burgh, and if the decision of that meeting, upon a vote taken, is in favour of such adoption, this Act shall have force within that county or burgh.' "—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*).

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3:

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH, in moving an Amendment defining "yearly land value" in reference to any lands and heritages as meaning—

> "Such part of the rental or yearly value of any lands or heritages or common interest in land as is fairly attributable to the ground if devoted to any purpose to which such land can presently be devoted, subject to all building restrictions and servitudes imposed thereon,"

said that perhaps the most convenient course would be that he should, as shortly as possible, state what the point of difference in regard to this Amendment was, not only between him and His Majesty's Government, but, as he thought, between him and the noble Lords on the Opposition Benches who desired to amend his Amendment. He thought he was not wrong in saying that the first part of the Amendment down to the words "if devoted" was really consequential upon the alteration made in the Bill the previous day, substituting yearly for capital value, because if they made that change it was necessary to insert a definition of yearly value. The definition of capital value would not run when applied to yearly value, and therefore his proposal was to omit the definition appropriate to capital value and insert one appropriate to yearly value. He went on, in the course of the Amendment, to suggest an extension of the yearly value as it now existed—an extension for this particular valuation. The alteration would not apply to the ordinary column of the Valuation Roll, but to the value of land as it appeared in the new column proposed to be added to the Valuation Roll.

He did not wish to re-argue the question of the relative advantages of capital and yearly value. They had not, of course, converted His Majesty's Government. His desire in framing this Amendment as applied to yearly value was really to afford to those who thought there was a grievance at the present time a means of remedying that grievance. It was, he quite admitted, a somewhat difficult and intricate question. They had it argued yesterday as a grievance that land was capriciously held up from the building market—it might be either on the outskirts of growing towns, it might be as waste pieces within towns, or it might be in one or two other ways. It was said that the land in question, while ripening for building, was occupied for agricultural or accommodation purposes; and, being rateable, it had now to be valued at a rent which a tenant might reasonably give, and this had been interpreted to mean the value to the occupier in its existing state. Here he, for one, was fully prepared to admit that there was a certain difficulty and a certain grievance. He thought the grievance greatly exaggerated in many quarters; it had been deliberately exaggerated for the purpose of getting up an agitation in favour of the taxation of land values and the confiscation of that particular thing known as the unearned increment.

If anyone who cared to do so would take the trouble to look at the Report of the Royal Commission on Land Taxation, of which he was chairman, they would see, whether they agreed with the Commission or not, that the question was fully and thoroughly argued; and, as he understood it, the conclusions to which they came were on this particular point accepted by His Majesty's Government. But they proposed to remedy the grievance by valuing on capital value in the future. His contention was that that raised difficulties and dangers which were far in excess of what was necessary for remedying the particular grievance in question, and that the easiest way—a perfectly simple and reasonable way—of doing it was to make such a difference in the definition of yearly value for this purpose as to alter the decision of the Courts when they gave effect to the motto which, for short, was described as "valuing land in its present state and for the purpose to which at the moment it was applied." The Commissioners said that in respect of site value of all uncovered land which was intended to be let or could be let on a covenant for immediate building, it was fair to rate at a certain amount in excess of the value actually obtained by the owner, provided the owner could immediately obtain it; and the advantage they claimed for the scheme was that the charge must necessarily be moderate in amount, and that it would avoid the injustice of taxing owners and occupiers of agricultural land upon a capital value which could not be realised.

On the question of the alleged holding-up of land, the Commissioners said—

> "It cannot be disputed that land is sometimes withheld from building; but, on the whole, though it is very difficult to obtain definite and exhaustive information, we are inclined to believe that merely speculative holding-up does not occur to any great extent, or for very long periods. The cases in which speculation might appear to be the motive will often be found to be complicated by other and less simple considerations, *e.g.*, if an estate is being developed as a high-class residential neighbourhood, the owner often prefers to wait a while for desirable tenants rather than grant leases for factories or small houses."

He did not think anyone could say that if an owner in the development of his estate took that course he was doing anything but what was right and proper, and they should not penalise him for it. The difficulty was that noble Lords opposite would make no distinction but would rate upon capital value, even although private property were held up for perfectly legitimate purposes. But there were other cases which it was thought desirable to get at. The Commissioners went on to say—

> "There are plots of land which may sometimes be seen in important thoroughfares, lying waste and neglected, destined for no purpose but building, yet withheld from the builder. In such cases we entertain no doubt as to the propriety of imposing a rate on the true site value, or as to the ease with which this object can be effected."

Next, the Commissioners referred to land on the outskirts of towns. The Government had failed to recognise in the provisions of the Bill that this was an extremely complicated and difficult question. In the Bill as it stood there were no directions at all to the assessors. He thought it was only fair that the Government should state more clearly in the Bill what the object they had in view really was. If noble Lords opposite would read the criticisms of newspapers which supported the Government they would see that the real object in the minds of some of their supporters was to get at what was called the "unearned increment of the land." What he was anxious to do was to take care that, while remedying the grievance which existed, they should not introduce into their system of valuation or rating anything which would give colour and support to the idea that that was a reasonable proposal. He thought the words he proposed would be fair, and they had been drafted by two of the most experienced draughtsmen in Scotland. In case it might be said the word "presently" was ambiguous, he might add that it meant in Scotland "the present time." The English meaning of "presently" was "some future time."

The Government would, he was sure, give him credit for having endeavoured to make an honest attempt to settle a real difficulty. If the words which he suggested were not considered by the lawyers who guided the House to be satisfactory, then let them insert others. The point was an extremely difficult and intricate one. It had been argued very fully in the Report for which he was responsible, and to which he adhered absolutely; he believed it to be as true and correct now as on the day it was written. But it had been used by those who wished to purloin the unearned increment on land as giving colour and support to their view. He did not think anyone could honestly say the Report went in that direction. As to rating on capital value, not only was it not mentioned in the Report, but it was not mentioned by a single witness, so far as he could recollect, who gave evidence before the Commission. They appealed to some of the best economic experts on this point and received voluminous papers in reply; but, so far as he remembered, not one single suggestion was made that capital value should be taken. He saw Lord Courtney opposite. If he could pursuade the noble Lord to unburden his mind and tell the Committee what he thought of the economic view of rating on capital value as opposed to yearly value, he would be prepared to rely upon Lord Courtney's opinion to guide him in the matter.

If it were said hereafter that the Lords had ruined this Bill by inserting "yearly" instead of "capital" value, he would read from a letter Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman wrote him. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had made some good-humoured but caustic comment on the part he took in advising their Lordships last year to reject this Bill on Second Reading. As the attack was delivered in Scotland, near his home, and in view of the high standing of the statesman making it, he wrote Sir Henry a friendly letter challenging the accuracy of some of the things said. He pointed out to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that one of the objections he had to the Bill was the rating on capital instead of the yearly value. In the course of a courteous reply Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman wrote:—

> "Even if these proposals were all you say of them, they would still remain matters for consideration in Committee, and I may remind you that you took part in the rejection of the Bill on Second Reading—a course which prevented it from ever reaching the Committee stage."

This year the Bill had reached the Committee stage, and now they were told that by substituting "yearly" for "capital" value they had wrecked the Bill. Yet Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said it was merely a Committee point.

To recur to what was really the main point. If one of the principal objects of the Bill was to remove the suburban grievance of the capricious holding-up of land, then he was willing to help; and he had given an earnest of his desire to do so by putting this Amendment on the Paper. His noble friend Lord Camperdown proposed to leave out the words—

> "if devoted to any purpose to which such land can presently be devoted."

If those words were omitted there would be no difference between the definition of yearly value as it stood and as it would be under the Bill. His sole object was to alter the definition to a reasonable and moderate extent for the purpose of getting rid of a grievance—the existence of which he fully admitted. It was desirable that the greatest possible care should be taken to make sure that they did, in a matter of this intricacy and difficulty, just what they wanted to do and no more. In view of Lord Camperdown's Amendment he would only move, at that moment, the first part of his Amendment down to the word "ground."

Amendment moved—

> "In page 3, lines 16 to 19, to leave out lines 16 to 19 inclusive, and to insert the words "means such part of the rental or yearly value of any lands or heritages or common interest in land as is fairly attributable to the ground."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said the noble Lord who had moved the Amendment was a master of this very intricate subject, and he thought their Lordships would have realised from the noble Lord's speech the intrinsic difficulty of it, and would extend some, perhaps modified, sympathy to those who were attempting to deal with it. It was possible to take one view and to say that for all subjects of rating the present system was right, and that they were only to take what the property would let for from year to year and rate upon that. That was perfectly intelligible. But there were many—the noble Lord who moved the Amendment was one of them—who thought that was not fair. He certainly thought it was not fair. This Amendment was admittedly based on the assumption that there was something beyond the present rental value which ought to be assessed for rating purposes. His Majesty's Government thought that that was the thing which ought to be assessed—the annual interest of the real value of the property. Taking the real value of the property at £1,000, they thought it ought to be said that the annual value of that £1,000 was £40 on a 4 per cent. table, or £50 on a 5 per cent. table. Therefore, it was reasonable that something beyond the rental value ought to be allotted as the real annual value, and that was a percentage of the sum for which the property would sell to-morrow. This Bill had ceased to be a capital values Bill. It had ceased to effect the purpose for which the Government strove in the only way in which the Government thought that it was possible to attain it. Then there was an alternative. The noble Lord thought he could solve the problem of allowing something more than the annual rental. In his opinion it was impossible to do so if they substituted annual value for capital value. It was not done by this Amendment, and he believed it was impracticable to do it. He would be most happy if he could be shown that this could be done by means of annual valuation. The real question was how to work it out. How did the noble Lord work it out? His Amendment provided that the annual land value should mean—

> "Such part of the rental or yearly value of any lands or heritages or common interest in land as is fairly attributable to the ground if devoted to any purpose to which such land can presently be devoted."

He agreed as to the ambiguity of the word "presently," and took the definition to mean—

> "If devoted to any purpose to which such land can now be devoted."

Supposing they had a piece of land which would sell for £1,000 to-morrow, but was let for £3 a year; £1,000 represented £40 a year. What rateable value was it intended to put upon that piece of land? He would put £40 a year. He did not mean to say he would tax the whole of that £40. That would be the proper sum to appear in the column, and they could settle by a subsequent Act what imposition they were going to put upon it. What did those who supported the view of an annual value propose to put upon it? Was it £40 a year or £3 a year? He did not believe it could be put in any language if they confined themselves to annual value. It could be done if they had capital value. It was a question of enormous importance. The proposal in the Bill was not revolutionary. Repeated allusion had been made to the danger of taxing unearned increment. In one sense of the word urban land was unearned increment because it was the result of the congregation of the people. If it was proposed to take the whole of that he should object. But it was of immense importance to the inhabitants that the piece of land which was now rated at £3 should bear its fair share of the rates. How were they going to define what that share was? Their Lordships would excuse him if he reminded them that he was now entitled to take the attitude of a critic, not an unfriendly critic. He was not quite in the same position the previous day. He was then defending proposals, but to-day he was criticising proposals. He did not think they could secure a definition in any language in yearly value. He did not believe that the words of the Amendment would carry out the purpose which the noble Lord had described, and he was afraid he could not suggest any words that would do so.

LORD ASHBOURNE said the noble and learned Lord was in the difficult position the previous day of an expositor. He thought his noble and learned friend found that the difficulty of that position grew as yesterday's debate proceeded, and he had no doubt he was far happier in the new role of benevolent critic. He did not think the presentation of the case by the Lord Chancellor met the great difficulties or complexities of the situation. If the Government insisted upon capital value they must be prepared to show that it was free from the gross and obvious injustices that had been alleged against it. Annual value always meant present value. In order to arrive at capital value they had to take into account future value. It did not stand examination. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies had admitted the previous day that the change would be from rating on present and existing value to that of real and future value.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of CREWE): I said "or future value."

LORD ASHBOURNE said that in the majority of cases there would be no offer to purchase and the valuer would have to assess the capital value prospectively—that was to say, what it conceivably might fetch in the future. That was a strong method to apply in a Bill of this kind. If they adopted capital value the assessment would depend on prophecy, speculation, and imagination. The object of every Act of Parliament should be to arrive at justice and to do no more than justice required. The assessor might fix a value which would prove ruinous to the owner, who would be forced to sell; and in a variety of cases, like those mentioned the previous day by Lord Milner, immense harm would be done to the locality, which might thus be deprived of open spaces from which great benefit was derived. This was a very difficult problem, and honestly he did not think that the Government realised the difficulties. The Lord Chancellor had expressed the opinion that annual value could not meet the case completely, but Lord Balfour had indicated his willingness to consider any reasonable addition to those words which would achieve the desired object. Therefore the Government were bound to endeavour, with the great opportunities they had for consideration, to draft wording which would do less injustice.

*THE EARL OF CREWE said he had listened with close attention to the speech just delivered by the noble and learned Lord, and could not help thinking that he had mistaken the day on which he was speaking. His speech was relevant to the substitution of annual for capital value, but it had absolutely no bearing whatever on the Amendment of Lord Balfour, with which his noble and learned friend the Lord Chancellor had dealt. The noble and learned Lord who had just spoken alluded to the few words he (Lord Crewe) said yesterday, in which he endeavoured to define what they meant by capital value. Capital value represented, in his mind, the rental of the immediate future. Therefore if the noble and learned Lord would allow him to add the word "immediate" before "future," that was the definition by which he would abide. But the question as between capital and annual value was not now before the Committee. What they had to consider was the Amendment of Lord Balfour, who desired to define annual value. That was the only matter on which the attention of the Committee was now fixed, because capital value had been got rid of altogether at an earlier stage. Lord Balfour proposed to include such value as was fairly attributable to the ground—

> "if devoted to any purpose to which such land can presently be devoted."

These words Lord Camperdown proposed to omit. The effect of such omission, he imagined, would be that matters would remain exactly as they were at this moment. Therefore they came back to the case cited by the Lord Chancellor—the case of a piece of land worth £1,000. It did not very much matter, from their point of view, whether it was rated on £1,000 or on the interest of £1,000; but it did make a very great difference if it was only rated on the £3 rental. The noble and learned Lord who had just sat down had argued in the direction that the valuation should be on whatever the land was producing at the moment. In that case the noble and learned Lord ought to have voted against the Second Reading of the Bill, because if it was going to be maintained that under all circumstances they were never to put any rate on land except one founded upon the rent which it might be bringing in at the moment, to whatever purpose the land might be devoted at the moment, then he held that the whole Bill disappeared, and it would have been far simpler to have voted against the Second Reading. He confessed he did not entirely see how the words which Lord Balfour used could be confined to land which was injuriously and dangerously held up for building. He thought it could not be disputed that what the noble Lord meant did undoubtedly involve the introduction of hypothetical considerations, because the purpose to which the land could be devoted was the matter in dispute. And unless they put it up for sale they could not prove that the land could be devoted to any particular purpose. So they must either take the existing rent and no more, or else they must indulge to some degree in the domain of hypothesis, and whether they did so by saying the land was worth £1,000, or by saying it might bring in £30 or £40 a year, did not seem to him a matter of the first importance. If they took annual value, it was a very simple matter to arrive at the capital value of the land. Therefore the difference between Lord Balfour and themselves did not seem to be in essentials a very great one. The difference might be that he might say that there were only certain very special instances in which such land ought to be rated; but how they were going to arrive at such special instances seemed to him a difficulty, and he did not think the noble Lord's words provided any means to that end. He was bound to say, however, that if Lord Camperdown moved the Amendment to the noble Lord's Amendment, although he did not believe the basis of annual value was the correct one to go on, he should certainly support Lord Balfour against any attempt to strike out the words to which he had referred.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE thought the noble Earl who had just sat down was correct when he told the Committee that the time had passed for further discussing the relative merits of annual and capital value. The Committee had decided that question, and had substituted the word "annual" for the word "capital" in the Bill. Lord Balfour of Burleigh had proposed a kind of middle course. He objected as strongly as most of their Lordships to the introduction of what might be called future, or remote, or prospective value, but he gathered that he was, on the other hand, quite prepared to accept a basis of valuation founded upon something which was more than the actual or present value. The noble Lord was ready to accept valuation founded upon the use of the land—

"If devoted to any purpose to which such land can presently be devoted."

He would not enlarge upon the interpretation of the word "presently." He had no doubt the Committee could arrive at an understanding as to that. But he would ask their Lordships to consider for a moment how the plan which he understood Lord Balfour to propose would work as compared with the plan proposed in the Bill. Under the plan of the Bill, an assessor in valuing a site let at the moment for a negligible sum, but with a large potential value, would, no doubt, feeling that it would be grossly unjust to rate the owner immediately upon a value which might not be attained for many years to come, assess the owner upon something less than the full ultimate value; he would discount the value which might some day be fairly supposed to be attainable. Under Lord Balfour's Amendment a valuer, taking a similar site, would endeavour to find out what in the immediate future that site might fetch in the market, if bought by a purchaser who would of course also have regard to the ultimate value, although he too would discount it so far as the immediate transaction was concerned. In each case they went beyond the actual facts and anticipated the future, although the future which his noble friend contemplated was a much less remote future than the future contemplated in the Bill. But in the one case the site was to be assessed at something less than the full ultimate value, in the other case at something more than the present value. In either case there must be a departure from the conditions actually obtaining at the moment. He confessed he did not see that the process under his noble friend's Amendment would be very much easier than under the proposal in the Bill. He sympathised with the object his noble friend had in view, and the House should be grateful to him for the patience he had exercised and the courage he had shown in endeavouring to deal with what was really the crux of the Bill. He felt with Lord Balfour that there might be cases where land that ought to be built upon was withheld from the market, or where land was covered with buildings which obviously did not turn the site to proper account, and if they could find words which would cover cases of that sort without admitting, to a dangerous extent, this element of speculative and hypothetical value, he would gladly support his noble friend. But his noble friend had made a proposal which was alarming to many of his friends on that side of the House, and had been condemned by the Government as unworkable, and he felt, therefore, that it would be useless to attempt to insert it in the Bill. He wished he could offer some suggestion which might be of assistance to the House, but the only one he could think of was that Lord Camperdown's Amendment should be accepted, and perhaps His Majesty's Government could on reconsideration discover words which, while dealing with land wrongfully withheld from the market or not turned to proper account, would not let in that speculative computation to which most of them objected. He did not agree that with the insertion of Lord Camperdown's Amendment there would be nothing left in the Bill; there would still be the separate column and that which the Government so much desired, the dissection of land value from the value of the composite subject, and should there be a desire to strike a separate rate there would be the materials for doing so. It was, therefore, not fair to charge the Opposition with demolishing the Bill by accepting Lord Camperdown's Amendment. As they had been frequently reminded, this was not a rating Bill, and possibly in in considering the question of rating the Government might suggest some changes in the law or some instructions to assessors to deal with this difficult point upon which there was a great deal to be said on both sides, but upon which no simple solution had yet been offered.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR was extremely glad to hear from the noble Marquess that he did recognise that something more than the present rental value was a proper subject for assessment. He did not think their Lordships would desire that this matter should be treated as one of fence and parry. What was it that noble Lords were willing to accept? What was it that they meant? He did not say that if he understood that, he would attempt the work, which he believed impossible, of putting in a definition of yearly value; but at least he would know what the difference was between them. He had endeavoured to explain what the words in the Bill meant, but what he desired to know was what the Opposition wished to have done in the application of the Amendment in a concrete case, and what should appear in the column. He certainly could not undertake to find means to supply the materials after the Government proposal had been rejected.

LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH did not propose to reply to the appeal of Lord Balfour by entering into an abstract inquiry which would be foreign to the Amendment now before the Committee. He rose to endeavour to ascertain from Lord Balfour what was really meant by the Amendment. They were now in the position that the valuation must be upon the annual value of a plot of land. Lord Balfour, in departing from the doctrine of taking as the actual value the rent which might be derived from the land according to its actual use, wished to import some rental which might be derived from a use to which it could presently be devoted. He desired to know what the noble Lord exactly meant by his suggestion to extend the rental in that way. Take an ordinary illustration of what happened in Scottish experience. If a person offered to take a piece of land to feu it—to use it for building—would a valuer take the feu rents as a measure of value? Was it enough that a person should have offered to feu, or did the noble Lord bring in the additional circumstance that, in order to get the feu rents adopted for valuation, they must also have the readiness of the landlord to let the land on feu? He thought the noble Lord could not intend the latter, because, if he did, he would be utterly powerless to avoid the evil, which he admitted occasionally occurred, of a landlord refusing to let land which might be let for building. He must, therefore, mean that the valuation to be inserted in the new column must be on the feu rents if there was any person ready to take the land on feu, and that was a circumstance which the valuer would have to ascertain. That, of course, would be considerably in excess of the actual rent of agricultural land, and it seemed to him that the noble Lord would then come round to the proposition originally made by the Government, because the feu rent would be, speaking roughly, the ordinary interest on the capital value of the land. But he hoped, before proceeding to a division, to hear from Lord Balfour what it was exactly that he meant by his Amendment. To adopt the Earl of Camperdown's Amendment would, it seemed to him, be to remain in the present position. They would, it was true, have a third column, but they would be making no advance and might as well drop the Bill. It was a fair accusation to make against noble Lords opposite that if they were ready to support the Amendment of the noble Earl below the Gangway they were prepared to eviscerate the Bill altogether. Lord Balfour's Amendment, which was the one immediately before the Committee, might, he thought, be accepted by the Government, because, though capital value was got rid off, the Amendment brought back, in a hypothetical form, what was really the interest on the capital value, which was the proper subject of taxation.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said that to refer to feu rents was to introduce an unnecessary complication, because the feu rent included not only the value of the land as it was for agricultural purposes, but the interest on the outlay for getting it ready for building. In no circumstances could it possibly be intended to rate on that. That would not have been proposed if capital value had been accepted, nor was it proposed in his Amendment. His idea was that they ought to include in the yearly value a certain amount of value for any land which could be let with a covenant for immediate building. What had made noble Lords reluctant to go as far as he proposed were the extravagant promises and claims made in Scotland by those who professed to speak for the Government. The Lord-Advocate had promised the people of Edinburgh that they should have £30,000 a year out of the unfeued land in the city of Edinburgh, some 3,200 acres. That was, of course, absurd, but it had been seriously put forward by the Lord-Advocate as one of the objects of this Bill. To rate all these acres in that way would mean that they would rate some owners on money which would not come into their pockets for 150 years; and by the time the last of those acres came to be feued, the owner, at the rate of £10 an acre—the rate necessary to bring in the £30,000 a year—would have paid, with compound interest, £12,765 before he received a penny. He agreed that the acres which could be feued within the next year or two should pay some contribution to the rates. But the grievance was that there were places inside towns which might be let to-morrow for building, and were being held up, in Glasgow, for instance, at cost to the citizens of Glasgow for policing, lighting, and watching, and so forth. It was a conservative measure in the best sense of the word to remove a grievance when they found it. His way of getting rid of the grievance might not be altogether free from difficulty but he thought the words which Lord Heneage proposed to insert, instead of the word "presently"—namely, "at the time," were sufficiently concise and plain to be free from very great danger. He frankly admitted that it was impossible to get rid of hypothesis altogether. What he complained of in the proposal of the Government was that the whole capital value was left to be ascertained by the assessor. For Poor Law purposes the old idea of rating was to rate upon the means and substance of every inhabitant—that was, stock in trade, and a number of other things; but that was found unworkable from a variety of reasons. The idea of rating on capital value was going back to means and substance, because it was not an annual revenue, but on the property of the individual. Let the House consider what a dangerous proposition that was. By a series of exempting Acts, after legal decisions, they had exempted means and substance in the case of people who did not own land; but here they were deliberately proposing to go back upon this principle as a test for rating purposes. It was on this ground that he saw great danger in giving the slightest support to the idea of capital value. He did not think the attitude was quite a fair one of saying, "You have cut out capital value, and therefore we will do nothing at all." He thought it was possible by a definition. perhaps a better one than his own, to secure the object desired by an extension of the term "yearly value." Surely it was worth trying. He admitted the existence of a grievance and had made an honest attempt to meet it; but he most cordially agreed with what the noble Marquess had said, that to give any support whatever, in present circumstances, to the idea of capital value would be a greater mistake than to stand the grievance which at present existed. If the words which Lord Camperdown proposed to omit were deleted, their Lordships would be stultifying their action in giving the Bill a Second Reading. He hoped that if Lord Camperdown's Amendment was accepted some Amendment would be inserted in the shape of an extension of the definition of yearly value which would make it worth while to proceed with the Bill.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN expressed his agreement with the Amendment down to the word "ground," as it had been moved by Lord Balfour, and could not admit that in approving of the insertion of those words their Lordships had done nothing. On the contrary, there would appear in this column the site value; and, as they understood from the Government, one of the main objects of the Bill was to distinguish between the site and the improvements upon it. The provision "so much as is fairly attributable to the ground," at all events gave noble Lords opposite a basis on which they could found a Rating Bill.

On Question, Amendment, down to the word "ground," agreed to.

Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH said that to put the matter in order it would now be necessary for him to move the insertion of the remaining words, and he would do so in a form which would get rid of the ambiguity of the word "presently," viz., "if devoted to any purpose to which such land can at the time of the valuation be devoted."

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN moved to omit the words now proposed by Lord Balfour. The objection which he took to the words was that they introduced the question of hypothesis. As to the case stated by the Lord Chancellor, the question was—Could the owner of the piece of land get £1,000 for it? The Bill did not say that the owner must be capable of getting £1,000 for the land. All it provided was that the assessor was to enter what he considered the capital value of the land, and the assessor was left without any guide of any sort or kind. Lord Balfour had told the Committee that his object was to deal with persons who held up land. He quite agreed. He was perfectly ready to deal with such persons; but, in the first place, it had not been shown that such people really existed. But granted that they did, what was the proper way of dealing with them? It was to be remembered that this was not a Rating Bill, but a Valuation Bill. The way he would deal with the matter would be this. When the Rating Bill was introduced he would say that persons who could be proved to be holding back land should be rated on the value which could be proved to be the value of the land—that was to say, on very much the same terms as their neighbours. To anything direct he had comparatively no objection, but he strongly objected to power being given in this indirect fashion to an assessor to put any prospective value he chose on land. It was not merely a question of vacant land. Take the case of the 3,200 acres of unbuilt-upon land in Edinburgh. How could they trust the assessor to say what was the relative value of the different zones? It had been stated that there were only some ten or twenty acres which could be built upon every year, but that did not bind the assessor. It was within his power to divide the whole of the 3,200 acres into zones, and to put so much value on one, so much on another, and so on; and he might go on beyond any rent which was at present obtainable and place a fictitious value upon each zone. Then, again, in the case of agricultural land not built upon, how were they going to settle whether or not that land was ripe for building? The assessor might be of opinion that the land could be built upon. But suppose that no one had ever made an offer for the land. That would not in any way bind the assessor, and the owner would be put to all the expense and trouble of proving that the land was not fit for building, although no one proposed to build upon it. Then there was a much more awkward case still which would come before the assessor under the words which he proposed to delete—namely, the case of under-built land. He would give an instance. Suppose there were three houses together, two of them six storeys high and one three storeys. It was perfectly competent to the assessor to say to the owner of the three-storey house, "You are not putting your land to the most profitable use to which it could be put;" and although the owner might not have the money or the desire to increase the size of the house, yet there was an inducement in these words to the assessor to increase the valuation of that house. Then there was another case—that of undeveloped land which had minerals beneath it. The assessor might say, as the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack had said: "Oh, the land would sell for £1,000, and therefore it is perfectly fair to rate it upon £40 a year." But that land, in order to become worth £40 a year, required to be developed. It was not really correct to say that local authorities suffered loss by having the time at which they received the increased value postponed. Land only received an increased value when it was developed, and only when it was developed would it be right to increase the rating burden of the landlord. He felt that the injustice, if there was any injustice, of continuing the present system, or something very like it, was far less than the undoubted injustice of imposing upon a man a charge in respect of income which he could not possibly receive at the present time.

*The Earl of Camperdown.*

Amendment moved to the Amendment—

"After the word 'ground,' to leave out the words 'if devoted to any purpose to which such land can at the time of the valuation be devoted.'"—(*The Earl of Camperdown*).

*VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN said he entirely sympathised with noble Lords who objected to the prospective nature of the new assessment proposed in the Bill. But he also felt with Lord Balfour that there was a grievance in the present system of rating. A case might happen in which it could be shown that a piece of land used for agricultural purposes, or even as waste, could be immediately utilised for building, and yet it was assessed only on its agricultural or waste value instead of on its immediate building value. That surely was a grievance to the community at large. He could not believe it was impossible so to amend the present law of assessment as to meet such grievances without bringing in the question of prospective value; and he hoped Lord Balfour would not press his Amendment to a division, so that further consideration might be given to the matter.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said the way to meet the grievance was the way proposed by the Bill. That was by means of assessment on the capital value of the land, not on its prospective value, but on the capital value of what it was worth to-day in the market; but that way had been discarded. The Committee had tried to apply the theory of annual value as the basis of the valuation column; but to define it, as he had said, had baffled him. He did not say that it would baffle their Lordships, and he would be most ready to acknowledge any successful efforts to make the matter clear. It was a very clear thing to say what the capital value was, and then put a percentage upon it, but the problem under the Bill as it stood was a very difficult one, and he did not think the Committee at the present moment would be able to make much progress with it. But if some means of obtaining the result at which the Government aimed could be pointed out, no one would be more pleased than himself.

Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH said he was as anxious as noble Lords opposite were to see this matter settled in some way, and he would be willing to withdraw his Amendment provided a serious effort were made by those better qualified than he to frame an Amendment to get at what he wanted.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said he was under the impression that the Amendment before the Committee was his Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES: Lord Balfour's Amendment has been agreed to down to the word "ground," and the Amendment now before the Committee is to omit the words "if devoted to any purpose to which such land can at the time of the valuation be devoted."

*The Earl of CREWE: My Lords, I merely have to say that, so far as this particular matter is concerned, our responsibility on this side of the House is a very limited one indeed. Both the noble Marquess and the noble Viscount opposite made a point that this Amendment was not acceptable either to many noble Lords on that side of the House or to us, but, if I may be allowed to say so, that was merely a verbal point. The substance of the Amendment is, no doubt, not acceptable to noble Lords opposite, but it is more acceptable to us than the contrary. The only reason that it can be said not to be acceptable to us is the difference between capital value and annual value. But, of the two, if the noble Lord likes to go to a division, we on this side of the House should support him. I think I ought to repeat what my noble friend behind me said by way of caution, that if noble Lords opposite, in the exercise of their discretion, decide to take the Amendment of Lord Camperdown in preference to that of my noble friend, it is not reasonable that they should look to us for assistance in further amendment of the Bill. The entire character of the Bill, as we introduced it, will have been altered, and believing as we do that the basis of annual value is not one upon which we can find any means of working, it is hardly to be supposed that we can suggest Amendments in that direction. We adhere to the belief that if the noble Earl's Amendment is accepted practically nothing of the Bill is left. The noble Marquess said, "Oh! but you have site values; you have your division between site value and building value." But how is it possible to deal with that if the simple annual rental of land at its present use is taken? What is to be the site value of an unoccupied plot of land, of which we have heard so much, let at 30s. a year for rough grazing? It reduces the whole theory of site values to an absolute nullity, and therefore I think we are right in saying that the entire inside of the Bill will have been removed if the noble Earl's Amendment is accepted. My only desire is to make it quite clear to noble Lords opposite that that is our view of the case, and, if they adopt that course, they cannot expect us to take any further part in suggesting Amendments to what we consider a complete and fundamental change in the Bill.

On Question, whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the Amendment,

Their Lordships divided:—Contents, 42; Not-Contents, 87.

## CONTENTS.

Loreburn, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)
Tweedmouth, L. (*L. President.*)

Ripon, M. (*L. Privy Seal.*)

Beauchamp, E. (*L. Steward.*)
Carrington, E.
Crewe, E.
Fortescue, E.
Liverpool, E.
Onslow, E.
Russell, E.
Sandwich, E.

Althorp, V. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
Esher, V.
Milner, V.
Morley of Blackburn, V.

Airedale, L.
Allendale, L.
Armitstead, L.
Balfour, L. [*Teller.*]
Castletown, L.
Colebrooke, L.
Courtney of Penwith, L. [*Teller.*]
Denman, L.
Eversley, L.
Fitzmaurice, L.
Glantawe, L.
Granard, L. (*E. Granard.*)

Hamilton of Dalzell, L.
Harris, L.
Haversham, L.
Hemphill, L.
Herschell, L.
James, L.
Joicey, L.
Monk Bretton, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Pirrie, L.
Ritchie of Dundee, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Swaythling, L.
Tenterden, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Devonshire, D.
Wellington, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Bath, M.
Bristol, M.
Lansdowne, M.
Salisbury, M.

Bathurst, E.
Camperdown, E.
Carnwath, E.
Cromer, E.
Denbigh, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Halsbury, E.
Harrington, E.
Innes, E. (*D. Roxburghe.*)
Lauderdale, E.
Lichfield, E.
Lovelace, E.
Malmesbury, E.
Mansfield, E.
Manvers, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Morley, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Plymouth, E.
Powis, E.
Verulam, E.
Waldegrave, E. [*Teller.*]

Westmeath, E.
Wicklow, E.

Churchill, V. [*Teller.*]
Cross, V.
Falkland, V.
Halifax, V.
Hill, V.
Hood, V.
Iveagh, V.
Portman, V.

Abinger, L.
Aldenham, L.
Allerton, L.
Alverstone, L.
Ampthill, L.
Ashbourne, L.
Barrymore, L.
Belhaven and Stenton, L.
Blythswood, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Brougham and Vaux, L.
Calthorpe, L.
Carew, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Clinton, L.
Colchester, L.
De Mauley, L.
Dunboyne, L.

Ellenborough, L.
Hay, L. (*E. Kinnoul.*)
Heneage, L.
Hindlip, L.
Kilmarnock, L. (*E. Erroll.*)
Lamington, L.
Lawrence, L.
Llangattock, L.
Ludlow, L.
Montagu of Beaulieu, L.
Newton, L.
North, L.
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Ormathwaite, L.
Ormonde, L. (*M. Ormonde.*)
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Ravensworth, L.
Saltoun, L.
Sanderson, L.
Sandys, L.
Seaton, L.
Sinclair, L.
Somerhill, L. (*M. Clanricarde.*)
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Waleran, L.
Wenlock, L.
Wolverton, L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

On Question, Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said his next Amendment was really a drafting one. He was confident that the words "sold free from all burdens public and private, except building," must have got in by mistake in the other House, for he could not conceive any one desiring to sell land free from all burdens. It could not be done.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, lines 26 and 27, to leave out the words 'sold free from all burdens, public and private, except building,' and to insert the words 'sold subject to all public burdens and.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH moved to add to the clause a provision that the word "burgh" should mean and include only those burghs in Scotland which under the Valuation Acts were constituted a separate authority for valuation purposes, and contained at the last census a population of not less than 10,000 persons.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, after line 36, to insert the words 'For the purposes of this Act the word burgh shall mean and include only those burghs in Scotland which under the Valuation Acts are constituted a separate authority for valuation purposes, and contained at the last census a population of not less than 10,000 persons.'"—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clause agreed to, and Bill reported, with Amendments, to the House.

Standing Committee negatived, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 66.)

## COUNTY COURTS BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.

LORD ASHBOURNE said the object of the new clause standing in his name was to add to the rule-making authority two solicitors to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor. The experience of solicitors was utilised in the making of the rules of the High Court, and the Law Society felt that it was only right that the solicitors' profession should be represented upon the authority entrusted with the framing of rules of County Courts. He hoped the Lord Chancellor would appreciate the reasonableness of the Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"After Clause 3, to insert the following new clause: 'The persons in whom the power of making rules under Section 164 of the principal Act is vested, shall (besides those named in the said section) include two persons who shall be practising solicitors, appointed by the Lord Chancellor, one being a member of the Council of the Law Society, and the other being a member of the Law Society and also of a provincial law society.'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR hoped the Amendment would not be pressed. The Bill was in the form in which it had twice passed through their Lordships' House, having been introduced on the first occasion by Lord Halsbury and last year by himself. Would it not be better, therefore, to take it as an agreed Bill? Moreover, if they were to begin considering Amendments, the one proposed by the noble and learned Lord was of least importance. It should be remembered that solicitors were already represented upon the rule committee which had to consider the suggestions of the smaller rule committee.

LORD ASHBOURNE recognised the great importance of this being an agreed Bill, and after what the noble and learned Lord had said he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clauses 4 to 10 agreed to.

Clause 11:

LORD ASHBOURNE moved an Amendment to provide that where a Deputy-Judge was appointed he should be appointed by the Lord Chancellor. The Bill introduced, he thought with advantage, a provision for the payment of deputies. That was a new departure, and he was glad that the Treasury had seen their way to agree to this. But he thought it advisable to require that the deputy should be appointed by the Lord Chancellor. The County Court Judge might be so ill that he could not himself exercise the power of appointment, and therefore there must be some other person with that power, and he thought it was appropriate that it should be in the hands of the Lord Chancellor.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 38, after the word 'appointed' to insert the words 'by the Lord Chancellor.'" —(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR recognised that there was a good deal of force in what his noble and learned friend had said, but hoped the Amendment would not be inserted. Perhaps the noble and learned Lord would allow him to consider the point between now and the next stage.

LORD ASHBOURNE said he would willingly comply with the Lord Chancellor's request, though he believed it to be in the public interest that the appointment of deputies should rest with the Lord Chancellor.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Standing Committee negatived.

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## REGISTRATION BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

LORD ALVERSTONE: My Lords, this Bill raises no controversial question. The Long Vacation was altered last year by twelve days being taken off at the end.

It is necessary, therefore, to alter the time for notice of appeal from a Revising Barrister's decision. I have framed this Bill so as to give the same time as is given by the present law. The only effect of the Bill is to adapt the law to the change which has been made in the Long Vacation.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Alverstone.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: This Bill, or practically the substance of it, has been made necessary by the alteration last year in the Long Vacation. I do not think it contains any very great principle, and I hope your Lordships will accept it.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

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### SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].

Read 3ª (according to order). Amendments (Privilege) made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Thursday*, 14*th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

### PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways (No. 2) Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed without Amendment.

Southwell District Gas Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

Camborne Water Bill.—As amended considered; to be read the third time.

Audenshaw Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Skegness Urban District Council Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee (Section B). Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Garw and Ogmore Gas (re-committed) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table.

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time to-morrow.

Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill [Lords]; North-East London Railway Bill.—Reported without Amendment; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

St. Marylebone Borough Council (Superannuation) Bill [Lords]; Camberwell and other Metropolitan Borough Councils (Superannuation) Bill [Lords]; Argentine North-Eastern Railway Bill [Lords]. Reported with Amendments. Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

### MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to dissolve the marriage of Honoria Hurly with Maurice Randall Hurly, a Major in the 93rd Burma Infantry, her now husband, and to enable her to marry again; and for other purposes." [Hurly's Divorce Bill [Lords.]

Hurly's Divorce Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

Holderness Water Bill.—Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

## PETITIONS.

### AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS ACT, 1906.

Petition from Easter Ross, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Stoke Newington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Alloa; Alva; Clackmannan; Devon; Newtown (No. 1); and Tillicoultry; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Kilmallie, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### ELECTIONS AND REGISTRATION (LONDON) BILL.

Petition from Kensington, against; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petition from Hertford, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE) BILL.

Petition from Worcester, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Bishops Stortford; Gloucester (two); Saxton cum Scarthingwell; and Stroud; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdeen; Allerton; Arundel; Bangor; Birmingham; Blairgowrie; Bolton; Bournemouth; Bradford; Broughton in Furness; Bryngwyn; Brynrodyn; Camrose (two); Carnoustie (two); Darwen; Dunbar; Edinburgh; Ferry; Fife; Garstang; Glasgow; Gloucester; Hertford; Kirriemuir; Leeds; Little New Castle; Liverpool; Llangybi; Llethrnchaf; Manchester; Montrose (two); Moylegrove; Newburgh; Newcastle-on-Tyne; Newport (Pem.); Oxford; Panbride; Penarth; Rhosycæerau; Rosehearty; St. Davids; St. Dogmells; St. Ives; Saundersfoot; Sheffield; Stanley; Stockbridge; Swinton; Trevor; Walsall (two); Waltham Cross; Ware; Watford; and Willesden; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Carnoustie; Castle Douglas; Cockenzie; Edinburgh; and Kirriemuir; to lie upon the Table.

### PUBLIC-HOUSES (EXCLUSION OF CHILDREN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Glasgow, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### SHOPS BILL.

Petition from Kensington, against; to lie upon the Table.

### WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

Petition from Kensington (North), in favour; to lie upon the Table.

## RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

### TREATY SERIES (No. 13, 1908).

Copy presented, of Treaty of Commerce between the United Kingdom and Servia. Signed at Belgrade, 17th February, 1907. Ratifications exchanged at Belgrade, 31st March, 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3997 and 3998 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION WORKS).

Address for "Return showing the estimated position, as regards capital expenditure, of the several Railways and Irrigation Works under construction in India on the 31st day of March, 1908, and the proposed expenditure thereon during 1908–9 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 150, of Session 1907)."—(*Mr. Robert Price.*)

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

### East Hardwick School, Yorkshire.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he will state upon what date the plans to carry out the requirements of the Board as regards the provision of a playground and cloak room for East Hardwick school, West Riding, were submitted to the Board; on what date were the plans in question returned; and what has been the explanation of the delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) Plans for the improvement of the premises, but not including a playground, first reached the Board on 6th July, 1905. They were re-submitted on 15th December, 1906. The same plans, but including the provision of a playground, appear to have reached the Board on 5th March, 1907. On 16th May, 1907, the Board decided, after consideration of all the circumstances of the case, that a new council school was necessary. This decision was communicated to the local education authority and the managers on 16th May, 1907, and, in letters dated 17th June, and 18th July, 1907, the Board explained to the managers that they had taken the proposals of the managers into account in forming their decision that a council school was necessary, and that they considered that, even if the alterations, including the provision of a playground, were carried out, the premises would still be very poor and not fit on that account for recognition permanently. The plans were, by inadvertence, not returned to the managers when the Board's decision was communicated to them, and the managers did not call attention to the omission until 16th April, 1908. The plans were returned on 30th April, 1908. It will be seen that the delay in returning the plans did not in fact prejudice the position of the managers.

### Greenwich Hospital Old-age Pensions.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what are the conditions under which the Greenwich Hospital old-age pensions is granted; and can he state the number of pensioners from the Royal Navy eligible for, but not paid, this pension, and the reasons for withholding it.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) Greenwich Hospital age pensions are given entirely at the discretion of the Admiralty to naval life pensioners (this term does not include marine deferred pensioners) whose characters, while in and after leaving the service, have been good. Naval pensioners are eligible for age pensions of 5d. a day on attaining the age of fifty-five if they have been pensioners for five years, and for the increase of such pensions to 9d. a day at the age of sixty-five if they have been pensioners for ten years. The number of pensioners from the Royal Navy eligible for, but not in receipt of, the Greenwich Hospital age pension is approximately 4,080. The funds of Greenwich Hospital are insufficient to provide age pensions for all eligible men, and the vacancies occurring from time to time are filled by selection from among the oldest and most necessitous candidates.

### Irish Cattle-Drives.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that cattle-drives took place on Sunday and Monday, 3rd and 4th May last, from a farm at Derrymaclaughlin, Loughgeorge, and Claregalway district, from a farm at Ballyglass, near Tinloughmore, and from a farm at Brierfield belonging to Mr. Morris of Loughgeorge; what arrests have been made; and what sentences have been passed on the perpetrators of these outrages.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that no cattle-drives from the two farms first mentioned took place on the 3rd or 4th May, but, as I stated in reply to a Question on Monday last, the cattle were driven from Mr. Morris's farm at Brierfield on 30th April. For that offence forty-six persons were arrested, of whom forty-two were bound to keep the peace.

### Miss Bradley's Case.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has yet reconsidered the case of Miss Bradley, who was compulsorily retired at the end of last year.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) As indicated in my letter of 7th April last to the hon. Member, I am unable to reconsider the case of Miss Bradley.

### Irish Savings Bank.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he will state the main details of the approximate total cost of having the Irish Savings Bank work done in London, and the main details of the approximate total cost if such work were done in Dublin.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I regret that I am not in a position to furnish the hon. Member with the desired information.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether, seeing that several Savings Bank women clerks of Irish nationality, who had, or who had not, registered their names as desiring transfer to Dublin, were asked by the Savings Bank authorities, either privately or officially, some time before the present Government came into office, if they would be willing to serve in Dublin; that the average vacancies for women clerks in Dublin number only one or two a year; that several Savings Bank women clerks of Irish nationality had already registered their names as desiring transfer to Dublin; and that it is now officially denied that the late Government contemplated the transfer of the Irish Savings Bank work in Dublin, he will now say why such a number of Savings Bank women clerks were, at the time referred to, asked whether they would be willing to serve in Dublin.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I cannot find that any such promise was given or implied.

### County Kerry Postal Delivery.

MR. J. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can arrange for an evening collection and delivery of letters at Kilcummin, Killarney, County Kerry, having regard to the inconvenience caused to residents of the district by present arrangements, the facts in connection with which have been already supplied to the Department.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have called for a Report on this subject, and on its receipt I will communicate with the hon. Member.

### Foreign Trawlers in the Moray Firth.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, S.): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he can state the number of foreign fishing vessels which have been observed trawling in the Moray Firth during the year 1907, what proportion of these vessels discharged at Grimsby, the quantity of fish landed, and the total sum realised.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) Twenty-five foreign vessels were observed on 201 occasions, nineteen of which landed fish at Grimsby, the total quantity recorded by the Fishery Board as being landed amounting to 10,525 cwts. The Fishery Board have no record of the sum realised.

### Royal Naval Mechanicians.

MR. CARR-GOMM (Southwark, Rotherhithe): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, since the introduction of mechanicians into the Royal Navy, Royal Naval Reserve engine-room artificers have been sent with mechanicians to receive any form of instruction; and whether, in any of the ships of the Channel Fleet, mechanicians have completed work which Naval Reserve artificers had been detailed to do.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) Both mechanicians and engine-room artificers, Royal Navy Reserve, have been sent to ships of the Channel Fleet for their respective periods of training. The arrangements of their instruction are in the hands of the officers of the ships, and there is no information at the Admiralty to enable a reply to be given to this inquiry.

### Devonport Dockyard—Vacancies for Senior Writers.

MR. MALLET (Plymouth): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that there have been vacancies for senior writers in the constructive and engineering departments at Devonport Dockyard for over eighteen months; and, if so, whether he will state when it is expected that the vacancies will be filled, and what remuneration, if any, has been or will be paid to those members of the writing staffs of the two departments named who have been carrying out the duties of the senior writers since the vacancies arose.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The filling up of the vacancies for senior writers has been deferred pending the revision of the establishment, which is now under consideration. As soon as this has been settled, the claims of the writers who are in the meantime acting in a superior capacity will be duly considered.

### Home Fleet.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, in reference to an official Answer on 17th June, 1907, stating that in the Home Fleet six first-class battleships, six armoured cruisers, and five other cruisers are kept fully manned and ready for immediate service, whether he can state what were the names of the five other cruisers, whether they are classed as cruisers in the Navy List, and what cruisers other than armoured cruisers are now kept in full commission in the Home Fleet.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The names of the five vessels were "Saphire," "Attentive," "Pathfinder," "Patrol," and "Skirmisher," of which vessels the last four are classed as scouts in the Navy List. One cruiser and two scouts are now kept in commission with full crews in the Home Fleet, in addition to six armoured cruisers.

### H.M.S. "Cyclops."

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton): o ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the Admiralty purchased in 1906, from the firm of T. B. Royden and Company, a vessel now known as H.M.S. "Cyclops"; whether the purchase price has been fully paid; and, if not, what is the justification for delaying such payment.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) Of the total purchase price of £95,000 for the "Cyclops," purchased by the Admiralty from Messrs. T. B. Royden and Company under agreement dated 19th January, 1906, £50,000 was paid before the end of January, 1906, an additional £35,000 was paid in the first week of February, 1906, and £9,000 of the remaining balance of £10,000 was paid in the first week of March, 1906, leaving £1,000 unpaid till now. The technical conditions involved have prevented, till the last few days, steps being taken to pay off this balance of £1,000. A claim for interest for such portion of the delay in payment as may be adjudged not due to Messrs. T. B. Royden and Company is under Admiralty consideration.

### Naval Mechanicians and Board of Trade Engineership.

MR. CARR-GOMM: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether mechanicians leaving the Royal Navy will be qualified and eligible to sit in examination for certificates as Board of Trade engineers; and whether warrant mechanicians will be entitled without examination to certificates of service as second-class engineers.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) Mechanicians leaving the Royal Navy will be allowed to sit for examination for certificates of competency as engineer, issued by the Board of Trade on the same conditions as engineers in the mercantile marine. The reply to the latter part of the Question is in the negative.

### Stamped Glass Measures.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state the number of glass measures stamped by the London County Council during each of the last seven years ending 31st December, 1907, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) I understand that the London County Council do not keep a separate account of the numbers of glass measures stamped.

### Cost of Housing and Town Planning Bill.

MR. PIKE PEASE: To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can state what is the probable amount of municipal debt increase annually, estimated, on account of the passing of the Housing and Town Planning Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I do not think it is possible to give any estimate on this subject, so much must depend on the action taken by individual local authorities.

### Irish Co-operative Creamery Societies.

MR. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether he is aware that a number of co-operative creamery societies in Ireland erected Pasteurising machinery in the interest of the public health whilst deriving no trading benefit whatever from its use; if the only aid given by the Department to these societies consisted in loans of £200 repayable in five years with 3 per cent. interest, whilst at the same time free grants amounting to about £20,000 were made to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society in Dublin; and, seeing that many of these societies are indebted to banks and thereby handicapped in the work of maintaining the Irish butter trade against the competition of capitalists at home and of the State-aided creameries of Denmark and other foreign countries, will he apply a portion of the surplus at the disposal of the Department in recouping these societies for the outlay incurred by them in the interest of the public health.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) Twenty-five co-operative creamery societies have obtained from the Department loans varying from £100 to £350 each for the erection of Pasteurising plant. The money was advanced at 3 per cent. interest, repayable in five years. The loans were made to societies presumably affiliated with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Technical advice in matters connected with the creamery industry is also afforded by the Department free of charge to such societies as desire to avail themselves of it. The Department are of the opinion that the creameries derive sufficient trading benefit from the use of Pasteurising plant to repay them for their outlay thereon. The Department do not propose to apply any portion of their funds in recouping these creamery societies for their outlay on Pasteurising plant.

### School Managers and Bankruptcy.

CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether, under the rules and orders issued by the Board of Education for the regulation of the appointment of school managers, an undischarged bankrupt is not eligible to act as a foundation manager but is eligible to act as a representative manager.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) It is the practice of the Board, in making final orders under Section 11 of the Education Act, 1902, to provide that any person who is adjudicated a bankrupt shall cease to be a foundation manager. The Board have no jurisdiction to make rules and orders as to the qualification of managers appointed by the local education authority or the minor local authority. The Board are not aware of any rule of law which debars those authorities from appointing a bankrupt as a manager.

### Defaced Silver in Ireland.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state what steps are being taken for the withdrawal of defaced and worn silver coin from circulation in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Mint authorities are in communication with the principal banks in Ireland with a view to improving the arrangements at present in operation for the withdrawal of such coin from circulation.

### Consols.

MR. B. S. STRAUS (Tower Hamlets, Mile End): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will give a Return showing the amount of Two-and-a-half per cent. Consols outstanding on 1st April of each year from 1900 to 1908.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The following is a statement showing the amount of Consols remaining at 1st April in each of the years from 1900 to 1908:—

| At 1st April. | Amount of Consols. £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | 502,657,132 | 13 | 0 |
| 1901 | 501,442,052 | 2 | 8 |
| 1902 | 559,958,418 | 3 | 1 |
| 1903 | 590,619,005 | 16 | 4 |
| 1904 | 588,361,592 | 4 | 8 |
| 1905 | 586,584,901 | 8 | 4 |
| 1906 | 585,116,399 | 7 | 4 |
| 1907 | 583,245,235 | 7 | 9 |
| 1908 | 577,342,017 | 8 | 6 |

From 5th April, 1903, the rate of interest on Consols has been 2½ per cent.

### Appointments in the Irish Services.

Mr. FIELD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state and give the names of private secretaries of Ministers and high permanent officials who within the last ten years have been imported into Ireland and given lucrative posts, to the detriment and prevention of promotion of competent Irish officials of long service.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) I am not aware of any such cases, and I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by a scrutiny of the appointments which have been made in Ireland during the last ten years.

### Marine Works in Ireland.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when he proposes to introduce his promised Bill to enable Irish county councils, outside the congested districts, to construct marine works.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) My hon. friend the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture proposes to introduce a Bill on this subject at an early date.

### Irish Land Purchase—Condition of Mortgage.

Colonel McCALMONT (Antrim, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the dissatisfaction that exists in parts of Ireland at the purchasing tenant being prohibited from mortgaging or charging his holding for a sum not exceeding ten times the amount of the purchase annuity (The Irish Land Act, 1903, Section 54, Sub-section 3); and whether, in any amending Act he may introduce, he will see his way to removing such prohibition.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The subject in question has engaged the attention of the Royal Commission on Congestion, whose Report is about to be circulated, and I understand that the Commissioners have expressed the unanimous opinion that greater stringency, rather than relaxation, is needed in respect of the power of mortgaging holdings which are subject to the payment of land purchase annuities.

### Carrickfergus Corporate Lands.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of recent litigation before the Court of Appeal, the Land Commission, in dealing with the Carrickfergus corporate lands, County Antrim, will take steps to see that the sub-landlords prove their title to the land.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners presume that the hon. Member refers to the recent decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of the estate of Hugh Gillmore Wilson. The Commissioners will have due regard to that decision and the judgments given in cases of landlords holding under the Carrickfergus Corporation and all other vendors.

### Hudson Estate Evicted Tenant.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received from Francis Murphy an application for reinstatement in the farm at Slieveragh, Baltinglass, the Hudson Estate, from which his father, Michael Murphy, was evicted in 1896; whether the Commissioners have rejected Murphy's application; and, if so, on what grounds.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have noted the name of Francis Murphy as that of a suitable person to receive a holding in the event of their acquiring untenanted land in the locality. The case has been referred to an inspector with the object of providing Murphy with a holding if possible.

### Kenmare Estate Evicted Tenant.

MR. J. MURPHY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners can say what effective steps they have taken to restore Mr. Michael Casey, an evicted tenant on the Kenmare Estate, County Kerry, to his holding.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners understand that Casey's former holding is in the occupation of a tenant, but they will endeavour to provide Casey with another holding.

### Cragg and Ardcrone Farms, Kerry.

MR. J. MURPHY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Congested Districts Board propose to retain the farms of Cragg and Ardcrone, County Kerry, in their possession, against the wishes of every representative person in the district; and whether, as a matter of fact, the lands have been in the hands of the Board now for several years without being used for any useful purpose.

MR. BIRRELL: I would refer the hon. Member to the Answers which my predecessor gave to the numerous Questions put by him on this subject, and in particular to the Answer of 6th March, 1906. The persons for whose reinstatement claims have been locally advanced are not evicted tenants, but were defaulting annuitants under the Land Purchase Acts. The Congested Districts Board purchased the lands in question for the relief of congestion and must use them for that purpose only. As already repeatedly stated, it would be entirely against public policy to reinstate persons who have lost their holdings owing to default in payment of their annuities.

### University Senates and Working Class Representatives.

MR. J. MURPHY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he proposes to add the names of any direct representatives of the working classes to the Senates and governing bodies of the proposed new Universities and their constituent colleges.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Answer is in the negative.

### Burke Estate, Galway.

MR. HAZLETON (Galway, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the tenants on the Burke estate, of Lebid, Kilcreeventy, and Knocknagar, County Galway, were recently negotiating with the landlord for the purchase of their holdings, along with two grass farms held by graziers named Quinn and Ryan, but that the Land Commission, having been appealed to, has decided to hold a court at Dunmore next month for the fixing of fair rents on this estate; and whether, in view of the fact that the graziers referred to have additional land, amounting to close on 1,750 acres, the Land Commission will refuse to take any steps likely to prevent in the future the division amongst the tenants of the two grass farms in question.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that proceedings for the sale of this estate have not been instituted before the Estate Commissioners. No special application has been made to the Land Commission to fix judicial rents on the estate, as the Question suggests, but some six applications to fix fair rents upon holdings on the estate have been listed for hearing in the ordinary course.

### Mountmellick Grazing Ranch.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have purchased a large grazing ranch upon the estate of William Kemmis, Esquire, Killeen, situated at Kilmainham, near Mountmellick; and whether he can say that in the distribution of the said lands the application of Mr. Thomas Higgins, Brocca, Clonaslee, for an economic holding thereon will be considered, in view of the fact that Higgins' father was evicted off this estate for registering his vote according to his conscience before the passing of the Ballot Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners are making inquiries with a view to entering into negotiations with Colonel Kemmis for the purchase of certain untenanted lands on his estate. In the event of their purchasing the lands, the application of Thomas Higgins will receive due consideration.

### Irish National School Programme.

MR. BARRIE (Londonderry, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish National School programme for 1908–9 is now printed; and whether he will ask the Commissioners for National Education in Ireland to have copies of it forwarded to the teachers without delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Commissioners of National Education inform me that the official programme for the school year 1908–9 is at present in the press, and copies will be forwarded to the managers and teachers at an early date.

### Lurgan Public Park.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the LordLieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proposal to establish a public park for the town of Lurgan, and to the protest made against the proposal by a meeting representing all classes of the ratepayers on 16th April last; whether he is aware that the rates in Lurgan are proportionately high, and that the proposed scheme for a public park would mean a considerable increase in the liability of the ratepayers and a corresponding rise in the rents paid by the working classes, that the ground selected for the park is low-lying, wet, and unsuitable, and the price to be paid out of all proportion to the value of the land, and that the park is unnecessary, since no part of the town is more than ten minutes' walk from the open country; whether he has any official information showing that the proposed expenditure would be better applied to improving the market accommodation of Lurgan; and whether, in view of all the circumstances, he will instruct the Local Government Board to make careful inquiry into the proposal before permitting it to be carried out.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Local Government Board have received an application from the urban district council for sanction to a loan of £3,500 for the purpose mentioned, but they have no information as to the protest referred to in the Question. The Board are taking steps to hold a local inquiry into the application for the purpose of investigating the whole circumstances of the case. Public notice of the inquiry will be given, and any person interested may attend and make objections to the application.

### Royal University of Ireland—Degrees to Non-Collegiate Students.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of non-collegiate students who have obtained degrees in the Royal University of Ireland since its establishment; the total number examined and passed in each year; the total number of private students, and the number examined and passed in each year; the numbers of non-collegiate and private students examined and passed in each year from Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Galway; and the numbers of collegiate students similarly examined and passed from these same centres.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I have referred this Question to the secretaries of the Royal University, who inform me that no Returns classifying the students as collegiate and non-collegiate are in existence. The compilation of Returns giving the information asked for in the Question for the twenty-eight years since the University was established would, they inform me, occupy a considerable time, and could not be undertaken till the summer examinations are over some two months hence.

### Carrickfergus Harbour.

COLONEL McCALMONT: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received any communications in regard to Carrickfergus Harbour, adjoining roads, etc., and its claims for financial aid from the Government;

and whether he can favourably consider such claims.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane*). I have received a communication from the hon. and gallant Member on this subject. The Army Council, after giving the matter full consideration, are of opinion that the circumstances of the case do not justify a departure from the general principle which precludes contributions from Army funds for harbour purposes.

### British and German Army.

MR. HAROLD COX (Preston): To ask the Secretary of State for War what is approximately, according to the latest figures available, the total war strength of the German Army; what is the annual expenditure by the German Empire upon the Army; and what are the corresponding figures for the British Army, including in that term all troops paid for by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom and by the taxpayers of India.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The approximate figures for 1908–9 are as follows:—German Army: War strength, * 4,110,000; cost, £51,000,000. British Forces: War strength, 1,066,000; cost, £49,000,000.

### Press and War News.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now make any statement in regard to the question of secrecy of the Press in time of war, as previously promised.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) I am not in a position at present to make any statement on the matter mentioned in the Question.

### Territorial Army Special Reserve Battalion Bands.

MR. PIKE PEASE: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether any allowance for a band is to be made to the officer commanding a special reserve battalion under the Territorial Army scheme, and, if so, how much.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) An annual allowance of £25, or so much less as has been actually expended, will be granted to each unit of the Special Reserve for a band.

### Royal Field Artillery.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the strength of the Royal Field Artillery at home and abroad on 1st January and 1st May.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The figures are as follows:—

| | 1st January, 1908. | 1st May, 1908. |
|---|---|---|
| Home - - - | 15,600 | 15,021 |
| Colonies - - | 1,161 | 809 |
| India - - - | 8,708 | 8,563 |

It should be pointed out that the figures for the Reserve have proportionately increased from 9,029 to 10,518.

### Probate on Brewery Property.

MR. WHITBREAD (Huntingdonshire, Huntingdon): To ask the Prime Minister whether, in the event of the Licensing Bill becoming law, the Inland Revenue authorities will, in determining the value of brewery property for probate and estate duty, be instructed to accept approved estimates of the gross value of such properties, based, during the time-limit, upon the compensation proposals contained in Section 10 of the Licensing Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) The value of property, brewery and otherwise, for the purpose of estate duty is the market value at the date of death. This principle will not be in any way affected by the proposals contained in the Licensing Bill.

## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### Australian Naval Defence.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what is the new arrangement as to naval affairs arrived at with the Australian Commonwealth.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. McKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): No arrangement has yet been made with the Australian Commonwealth. The question is still under consideration.

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* These figures do not include the Landsturm amounting to about £3,000,000.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Is the subsidy of £200,000 a year still paid by the Commonwealth, and, if so, when will that cease?

Mr. McKENNA asked for notice.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.): Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the Papers asked for two months ago—when the House was told that a despatch had just been sent—will be ready?

*Mr. McKENNA: Any Papers would be presented by the Colonial Office, but I do not think there will be any ready for some time.

### Cruisers.

Mr. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the Government contemplates substituting a protected cruiser for the large armoured cruiser provided for in the Estimates.

Mr. McKENNA: The reply to the hon. Member's Question is in the negative.

### H.M.S. "Aquarius."

Mr. NIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the distilling vessel "Aquarius," attached to the Channel Fleet, recently went aground; and, if so, whether he will state the time and place of the occurrence, how long the vessel remained in that position, and the extent, if any, of the damage sustained.

Mr. McKENNA: H.M.S. "Aquarius," when at anchor in Oitir More Bay, near Oban, on the night of the 29th March, was struck by a heavy squall, dragged her anchor and ran ashore, remaining there for four hours and then coming off under her own steam. An examination of the vessel has been made in dock and it has been ascertained that it will be necessary as the result of grounding to effect some repairs to outer bottom plates, frames and bilge keel.

### Admiralty Temporary Clerkships.

Mr. GEORGE ROBERTS (Norwich): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that candidatures for temporary clerkships in his Department are restricted to persons above the age of 20 and under 25 years of age; and whether he will have this restriction, which is not in force in other Government Departments, removed.

Mr. McKENNA: The limits of age applied to candidates for employment as temporary clerks in the Admiralty Departments have been adopted as best suited to the requirements of the service. If they should be found to militate against the selection of the most suitable clerks, they will of course be reconsidered.

### Transfers of Naval Officers.

Captain FABER (Hampshire, Andover): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether it is the practice to transfer officers and men at short notice on to ships proceeding to manœuvres; and what is the shortest notice which has been required for such a transfer.

Mr. McKENNA: As a general rule, the officers and men appointed to ships for manœuvres have ample notice. Changes in these appointments, however, are bound to occur at the last moment, due to officers or men falling sick or being unable to join for other reasons, &c., in which case others have to take their places practically without notice.

Captain FABER: Then may we take it for granted that except in exceptional circumstances there are no transfers at short notice?

Mr. McKENNA: Yes, they are only made in urgent cases.

### The Army Council.

Mr. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Army Council as such has any authority over military affairs in this country; and, if so, whence that authority is derived.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Haldane, Haddington): The Army Council has authority over military affairs in this country by virtue of the letters patent; of course, full control is preserved to Parliament, and to Parliament the Secretary of State is made directly responsible.

Mr. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state how, and by whom, a meeting of the Army Council can be summoned; whether its meetings are held at fixed intervals, and, if so, at what intervals; and whether any complete and official record is kept of all its proceedings.

Mr. HALDANE: The meetings are summoned, whenever necessary, by the secretary under instruction from the Secretary of State. A record is kept of the decisions arrived at.

### War Office Contracts for Brushes.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state what firms have secured the contracts for the supply of painting brushes to his Department.

Mr. HALDANE: It is not the practice to give the names in cases of this kind. The War Department never publishes the names of firms who secure Army contracts.

Mr. CURRAN (Durham, Jarrow): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there is a firm producing War Office materials the wages of whose workmen are much less than it costs to produce the same material at Enfield?

Mr. HALDANE: Perhaps the hon. Member will give me further information on that point.

Mr. CURRAN: The War Department has already been supplied with the information.

### Volunteers and the Territorial Force.

Mr. GEORGE ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any Volunteer corps have refused to serve under the Territorial Forces Act; if so, will he give the names of such corps; and also state what action he has taken or proposes to take in the matter.

Mr. HALDANE: I am not aware of any corps having refused to serve under the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act.

### Indian Administrative Reforms.

Mr. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he expects to receive all the documents which have been recorded in India on the subject of the reforms initiated by the Government circular of 24th August last; and whether an opportunity will be given to this House to discuss the proposals before a final decision is arrived at.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Buchanan, Perthshire, E.): The documents referred to by my hon. friend will be sent home by the Government of India, and some of them are already on the way. I cannot, however, undertake that they will be submitted to the House for discussion before the Secretary of State in Council has come to a decision upon them, for which, of course, the Government will be responsible.

Mr. HART-DAVIES: Will the document come over in the original or only a *précis*?

Mr. BUCHANAN: In the original.

### Horse-shoes for the Indian Army.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether it is the practice of the Government of India, in ordering horse-shoes from this country for the Indian Army, to require that such shoes shall be supplied exclusively by British firms and manufactured in this country; whether he is aware that the War Office has discovered that this practice leads to the formation of a ring against the purchasing department; and whether, in the interest of the taxpayers of India, he will provide that for the future tenders shall be thrown open to all responsible firms.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Tenders for horse-shoes for Indian service have hitherto been invited only from English makers. There is no reason to believe that any ring exists among the manufacturers of horse-shoes in this country. The Secretary of State for India will be happy to consider tenders from any competent makers.

MR. HAROLD COX: But the Secretary for War stated that there was such a ring.

MR. BUCHANAN: I am only responsible for the India Office.

### Madras Land Estates Bill.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Madras Land Estates Bill of 1905 has yet received the assent of the Viceroy; and whether he is aware that the Amendments made in the original Bill, subsequently it is believed to the receipt of a despatch from the Secretary of State, have not satisfied the Madras Landholders' Association in regard to the new provisions respecting right of occupancy, waste lands, purchased lands, compulsory commutation, prohibition of contracts, and enhancement of rent.

MR. BUCHANAN: No intimation that the Governor-General has signified his assent to the law in question has been received. The Secretary of State is aware that the amendments made by the Madras Legislature have failed to satisfy the Landholders' Association.

*MR. REES: Is there a memorial from the Landowners' Association under the consideration of the India Office?

MR. BUCHANAN: Yes.

### The Amir and the Frontier Outbreaks.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Amir has replied to the representations of the Government of India with reference to the participation by Afghans in the recent frontier outbreaks; and whether any explanation has been given of the hostile demonstration in the Khaibar.

MR. BUCHANAN: A communication has been received by the Government of India from the Amir on the subject referred to, and he has given satisfactory assurances as to the efforts he has made to dissuade Afghans from joining the tribesmen. It would be contrary to the public interest to go into details of the correspondence.

### Temperance Movement in Poona.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the recent temperance movement in Poona and to the prosecutions instituted by the police against temperance workers who have endeavoured to dissuade persons from entering liquor shops; and whether he is in a position to make a statement upon the subject.

MR. BUCHANAN: The Secretary of State's information is to the effect that the methods of the temperance workers in question and others who joined them were not compatible with the maintenance of order, and that on one occasion a somewhat serious disturbance arose. The Secretary of State believes that no hindrance whatever has been placed in the way of *bona fide* temperance work by the action of the authorities.

### Indian Locomotive Boiler Contract.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he will give the names of the contractors who obtained the orders to supply his Department with the locomotive boilers as advertised for in the *Engineer* newspaper for 31st May, 1907.

MR. BUCHANAN: The contract for the twenty-one locomotive boilers referred to was placed with Messrs. R. Stephenson and Co.; The Vulcan Foundry Co.; and Messrs. Kitson and Co.

### Australian Mint.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any proposal has been made by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth to establish a mint in Australia for silver coinage, so as to obtain for the Commonwealth Government the profit on silver coinage which now goes to the Government of the United Kingdom; and, if so, whether the Commonwealth Government has proposed any alternative method of refunding to the taxpayers of the United Kingdom part of the expenditure which they now incur for the defence of Australia.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel SEELY, Liverpool, Abercromby): The Answer to the first part of my hon. friend's Question is in the affirmative, and to the second part in the negative.

MR. HAROLD COX: May I ask my hon. friend whether he will make representations to the Colonial Government on that point?

COLONEL SEELY: I cannot undertake to do that, but I can say that we have not yet come to a conclusion.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): Is it not the case that the Australian people are already heavily taxed for their own defence and that they contribute to the Treasury of this country something like £280,000 a year for the Navy?

COLONEL SEELY: That is a question which should, I think, be addressed to my hon. friend behind me. It is in a somewhat argumentative form.

### Mosambique and Asiatics.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the proposed anti-Asiatic legislation in the Portuguese province of Mozambique contains important exemptions in favour of Asiatics who are Portuguese subjects; and whether he will take care that in any anti-Asiatic legislation in the British Colonies of South Africa similar exemptions shall be made in favour of Asiatics who are British subjects.

COLONEL SEELY: No, Sir; I am not aware of the proposed Portuguese legislation.

*MR. REES: Would such communication be addressed to the Foreign Office?

COLONEL SEELY: We should be bound to receive information if such legislation were passed.

*MR. REES: Will a copy of the Bill when it comes be placed in the Library?

COLONEL SEELY: I should like notice of that Question.

### Transvaal Civil Service.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the Transvaal Civil Service Bill contains a clause empowering the Government to alter all the conditions of service from time to time by regulations which shall be in force and effect notwithstanding that they are not published in the *Gazette*; and, whether in view of the feeling of insecurity which is entertained among the British members of the public service, the details of this measure will be considered by His Majesty's Government before the Royal Assent is given to its provisions.

COLONEL SEELY: I have seen a statement to this effect in the Press, but have no official information on the subject. The Act will be duly considered by the Secretary of State before tendering any advice to His Majesty with regard to it, but the control of the Civil Service is *prima facie* a matter for the Government and legislature of the Colony.

### South African Federation.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state what are the conditions of representation and apportionment of delegates of the different Colonies of the sub-continent of Africa at the proposed National Convention, whose object will be to prepare a draft constitution for a federated South Africa.

COLONEL SEELY: No, Sir, I have as yet no official information. We are expecting a Report from Lord Selborne by mail.

### British Civil Servants in the Transvaal.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Transvaal Civil Service Bill has been under the review of this Government, and whether it will be laid upon the Table; if this Government is satisfied that the best interests of retrenched British Civil servants, for which it has an acknowledged responsibility, are adequately protected; and whether the Bill provides that as British civil servants are retrenched the vacancies may be filled up by ex-republican officials under fifty years of age.

COLONEL SEELY: The Bill has not yet been received, and until it has been received and considered, I cannot make any statement with regard to it.

### Flogging Sentences in Natal Courts.

MR. BYLES (Salford, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is cognisant of the almost daily recurrence, in certain of the magistrates' Courts in Natal, of sentences of flogging imposed upon native and Indian subjcets, the severity and frequency of which punishments are provoking severe strictures in the local Press; and can he see his way to any step which would tend to bring up Colonial tribunals more nearly into conformity with the humanitarian practice of English Courts of Justice.

COLONEL SEELY: I have seen some of the severe strictures in the Natal local Press, to which my hon. friend refers, and which relate to the exceptional action of certain individual magistrates. Any action must rest with the Government and Legislature of the Colony.

### British Garrison in Egypt.

MR. KETTLE (Tyrone, E.): On behalf of the hon. Member for East Mayo, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the extra charge now borne on the revenue of Egypt in consequence of the increase of the British garrison which followed the Denshawi affair; and whether the time has come when Egypt may be relieved from this burden.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The extra charge borne by the revenue of Egypt in consequence of the increase of the Army of occupation in 1906 is £50,000 a year. As regards the remaining portion of the hon. Member's Question, I beg to refer him to the Reply returned by me on 12th March to the Question asked by the hon. Member for East Tyrone, and I must once more point out that the increase referred to was decided before the Denshawi incident took place and had no connection with it. There was no increase made in consequence of the Denshawi incident. A considerable reduction of the garrison had been made a year or two previous to 1906. Events which occurred early in that year made it necessary to increase the garrison again, which was done as the result of a review of the general situation.

### African Railway—Walfisch Bay.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any proposals are before His Majesty's Government for linking up the British and German African railway systems; and whether Walfisch Bay is in any way the subject of negotiations between the British and German Governments.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. With regard to the second part, the only negotiations which are proceeding between His Majesty's Government and the German Government are with a view to the settlement of the boundary between the British territory of Walfisch Bay and German South-West Africa.

### Egyptian Administration.

MR. KETTLE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, according to present political arrangements in Egypt, the Khedive is not competent to grant a constitution or a representative legislature to the people of Egypt; and, if this be the case, whether he will state what are the treaties, conventions, or other political instruments by which the Khedive is rendered incompetent in this regard.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I beg to refer the hon. Member to the reply which I returned to the Question asked by him on 2nd April. There is no specific instrument by which the Khedive's liberty in this respect is limited.

### Old Age Pensions.

MR. TOULMIN (Bury, Lancashire): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in connection with the old-age pension scheme, he can give approximately the number of married couples where the husband is over seventy years of age and the wife under seventy years of age; and will he consider the advisability, where the wife is over sixty years of age and under seventy years, of taking the income of husband and wife jointly into account in deciding the eligibility of the husband for a pension.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs): I have no precise information as to the number of married men in the United Kingdom of seventy years of age and over whose wives are under that age, but the number may be estimated approximately at 113,000. I will note my hon. friend's suggestion for consideration along with others when the details of the scheme come up for discussion.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in the old-age pension scheme, where a husband and wife are living separate by mutual consent, the full pension of 5s. a week will be paid to each of them; and whether, when husband and wife have agreed to live separately, and the husband or wife has an income in excess of the amount which would entitle him or her to the benefit of the pension, but the other has no income, the husband or wife, as the case may be, who is destitute will be entitled to the full pension of 5s. a week.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: The proposal is that the reduction in the amount of pension in the case of married couples, and likewise the disqualification on the basis of joint income, shall be applicable only to the case of such couples actually living together.

Mr. CATHCART WASON: Is that not rather encouraging old couples to live apart?

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I do not think so.

Mr. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the Budget proposals with regard to old-age pensions, he will direct that a short Memorandum be prepared setting forth the leading facts in connection with the working of the old-age pensions schemes in Germany and in New Zealand, for the information of Members and the public.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I will consider the hon. Member's suggestion.

Mr. J. DEVLIN: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state the number of persons in Ireland over seventy years of age who would be likely to benefit under the proposed scheme of old-age pensions, including the estimated numbers of married and unmarried persons; also the number of such persons who would be debarred owing to their being in receipt of Poor Law relief; and the estimated average amount per head and total amount which would be payable in Ireland under the scheme.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I am afraid that I have not information at my disposal which would enable me to answer the hon. Member's Question fully. It is estimated that the number of persons in Ireland of seventy years of age and upwards is 173,359, and that the number who would be qualified for pension is 87,585; but the hon. Member should bear in mind that the figures are estimates and that no exact information is attainable.

Mr. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he could state approximately what would be the probable cost of admitting aged persons now in poorhouses or workhouses to the benefit of the old-age pension fund provided it could be shown to the satisfaction of the pension officer that proper provision would be ensured for their comfort by their friends or relatives.

I beg also to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the fact that any system of old-age pensions must be to the benefit of local rates, he will take into consideration the desirability of allowing aged persons now in poorhouses or workhouses or in receipt of outdoor relief, on abandoning any claims on parish relief, to receive the benefits of the pension fund.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: Perhaps my hon. friend will allow me to answer these

Questions together. The additional cost for a full year of admitting persons at present actually in receipt of Poor Law relief to the pension scheme is estimated to be approximately—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| For indoor paupers | 750,000 |
| For outdoor paupers | 2,250,000 |
| | 3,000,000 |

I have no basis for estimating what would be the financial effect of the proviso suggested in the latter part of the second Question.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: When shall we have the Old-Age Pension Bill in our hands? It would be of great convenience to our proceedings.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): It cannot be circulated until it is introduced.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: When is it to be introduced?

MR. ASQUITH: I hope very soon; not next week, but probably the week after.

MR. CATHCART WASON: Are we to understand that these questions will receive consideration from the Government?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Much depends on the Report of the Poor Law Commission.

### The Sugar Duty.

MR. WILLIAMSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, after receiving the deputation that waited on him on the previous day, he had come to any conclusion as to the advisability of granting a rebate on existing stocks of duty-paid sugar, or of postponing for a few weeks the reduction of the duty so as to allow such stocks to be disposed of.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have received a number of deputations on these two points, and after careful consideration of the arguments and figures submitted I have come to the conclusion that, having regard to the admitted benefit that will result to the trade as well as to the consumer from the decrease of the sugar tax, and to the loss to the revenue that would follow a rebate on existing stocks, I should not be justified in sanctioning any rebate. An extension of the time would cause such a dislocation to the trade that it would not be to the interest of the trade itself.

MR. HAROLD COX: When the right hon. Gentleman removes the remainder of the duty will he give longer notice?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Workmen's Compensation.

MR. JOHN WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been drawn to the case of Alfred Parker, of Holloway, N., who was injured by accident while working for Messrs. Gray, Hill, and Company, causing the loss of the use of both arms; whether he is aware that the firm has since gone into liquidation, and that the National Assurance Company, of Bedford, with whom the firm were insured, have also gone into liquidation; and seeing that this fact has deprived Alfred Parker of the compensation to which he was entitled under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, what action, if any, he proposes to take to secure to injured workmen the compensation which the law allows.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): I have no information with regard to this case, and, as I stated on 4th March last in answer to my hon. friend the Member for Montgomery Boroughs, I do not see what remedy can be provided to meet such cases except by the establishment of some system of compulsory insurance.

### Alleged Intimidation at Poplar.

*MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he is aware that the steamship "Zambesi" was boarded and taken forcible possession of on Saturday last in the Surrey Commercial Dock by a mob of 200 persons in order to intimidate her master into breaking his lawful contracts with certain foreign seamen; whether he has received any reports from the police officials concerned as to the identity of the ringleaders of the mob in question; if so, whether he will cause them to be brought to justice; and what steps he proposes to take, whether by affording increased police protection to vessels or otherwise, to prevent a recurrence of such events.

MR. GLADSTONE: The incident referred to took place on the private premises of the Surrey Commerical Dock Company, who employ their own police; but I have made inquiry and I am informed that the description of the incident which has appeared in the Press is exaggerated and that no disorder occurred. While the "Zambesi" was discharging cargo on the afternoon of the 9th instant a party of nineteen Chinamen arrived, followed by a number of English members of the Seamen's Federation, who protested against the employment of foreigners. A conference took place on board, as a result of which the Chinamen left and the Englishmen were signed on. I am informed further that the "Zambesi" was not taken forcible possession of; there was not a mob of 200 persons; and, so far as can be ascertained, there was no intimidation.

### Franco-British Exhibition Accidents.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can give the approximate number of fatal and non-fatal accidents which have occurred at the works of the Franco-British Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush since its construction began in 1906; and how many of such accidents have been reported to factory inspectors.

MR. GLADSTONE: Two fatal accidents have occurred, both of which were notified to the inspector. I regret that I am not able to state the number of non-fatal accidents notifiable to the factory inspector which have occurred. Thirty-two have been so notified, but the inspector reports that a very much larger number have undoubtedly occurred. The matter has been occupying the attention of the inspectors, and proceedings have been taken against ten firms engaged at the works for failure to comply with the requirements of the Act. In each of these cases, with the exception of one which is still outstanding, convictions were obtained and substantial penalties were imposed.

### Accidents on Large Building Works.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has considered the Report and recommendations of the Departmental Committee dealing with accidents on buildings; whether he purposes adopting any or all of them; when such regulations may be expected to take effect; and whether any proposal is contemplated requiring the contractors for large works to provide suitable hospital accommodation for injured workmen.

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir, I have had the Report of the Committee under my consideration. Their recommendations cannot be carried out without further legislation, and I propose to introduce a Bill in the present session to give me the necessary powers. In the meantime, the question of the regulations is necessarily postponed. The suggestion in the last part of the Question is outside the scope of the Factory Acts.

### The Inebriates Acts.

MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can now say whether he will appoint Scottish representatives to the Departmental Committee on the Inebriates Acts.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have conferred with my right hon. friend the Secretary for Scotland on this subject, and we are agreed that the best plan will be for my right hon. friend to appoint a small Committee to deal independently with the difficulty which has arisen in Scotland.

### Birmingham Police Band.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home

Department whether he is aware that the police band connected with the Birmingham force is allowed to take private engagements, thereby depriving civilian bandsmen of their means of livelihood; and whether he will take steps towards discontinuing the practice wherever it prevails.

Mr. GLADSTONE: This is a matter for the discretion of the Watch Committee, with which I have no authority to interfere.

### Life Insurance.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the decision in the King's Bench in the case of a domestic servant in Preston, named Brown, against the Britannic Assurance Company, Limited, in which it has been held that the policy holder having no insurable interest could not recover; whether he is aware that the County Court Judge found that the plaintiff was an innocent party, whilst the defendant company knew from the beginning that it was an illegal contract; whether his attention has been called to the statement of the Judges of the King's Bench that insurance agents are in the habit of inducing innocent people to enter into these policies; and whether, having regard to the prevalence of these practices, and to the fact that industrial insurance companies have extracted from working people hundreds of millions of pounds by lapsed policies on which they did not pay any surrender value, he will cause an inquiry to be held.

I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to a recent summons by Annie O'Hare, 4, Kingston Street, Belfast, against the Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society for the amount due on a life policy; whether he is aware that the company successfully pleaded that they were not responsible for the misrepresentations of their agents, and that the magistrates passed censure upon the circumstances; and whether, in view of the frequency of such cases, he will now cause an inquiry to be held into the operations of insurance companies amongst the working classes, including women's and children's death-dividing clubs and kindred bodies.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Churchill, Dundee): My attention has been called to the cases referred to in the two Questions of the hon. Member. The whole matter is now receiving the earnest consideration of the Board of Trade in consultation with the Treasury, which is the Department concerned with friendly societies. I shall be glad to receive any further information on this subject which the hon. Member is in a position to supply.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the gravity of this question was recognised as far back as 1891, when the Unionist Government introduced a Bill seeking to deal with some of the evils, and can we not expect the right hon. Gentleman to reintroduce that Bill?

Mr. CHURCHILL: I do not think I can undertake to introduce legislation at this moment.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): Has the right hon. Gentleman considered the advisability of appointing a Departmental Committee to consider the whole question?

Mr. CHURCHILL: Perhaps the hon. Member for Leicester will put down a Question at an interval of a week or ten days, and I shall then be able to give him a little more information on the subject.

Mr. JOWETT (Bradford, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of calling for a Return from the various industrial insurance companies, showing the extent to which they gain financially by reason of lapsed policies?

Mr. CHURCHILL: That is a very large and complicated question. Perhaps the hon. Member will give me an opportunity of going into details by putting down a Question on the subject.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: Will the right hon. Gentleman do something to keep these insurance sharks from England out of Ireland? There are some things you have in England we do not want there.

### Census of Production.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state what progress has been made in carrying out the provisions of the Census of Production Act, 1906.

I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Trade when he will lay upon the Table of the House copies of the forms of inquiry drawn up for issuing to manufacturers in accordance with the provisions of the Census of Production Act, 1906.

MR. CHURCHILL: The Schedule relating to coal and ironstone mining has already been issued after the details were approved by the Advisory Committee appointed for that industry. A copy of this Schedule was laid upon the Table of the House in February last together with certain rules prescribed by the Board of Trade. A number of other schedules are now practically complete and will be laid upon the Table very shortly. It is hoped that about half the factories of the United Kingdom will be in receipt of their appropriate schedules by the end of the current month. For the purpose of considering the framing of the schedules under the Act, Advisory Committees were appointed by the Board of Trade for seventeen leading industries mainly consisting of representatives of trade associations and prominent manufacturers. Thirty-five meetings of these Committees have been held. In addition to these formal Committees, steps have been taken, by means of interviews at the Board of Trade, and by the employment of skilled investigators, who have visited manufacturers in various districts of the United Kingdom, to prepare schedules for the great majority of the industries of the country, in order that they may meet, as far as possible, the special conditions of each particular industry.

### Midland Railway Dining-Car Attendants.

*MR. WARDLE (Stockport): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the dining-car attendants in the service of the Midland Railway Company are occasionally called upon to perform Sunday duty after having been on active service for seventy-five to eighty hours during the week, which, with the Sunday duty referred to, increases their hours of labour to about ninety per week; and whether, in view of the nature of such service, he will make representations to the Midland Railway Company with the object of reducing the number of hours service of dining-car attendants where they are at present excessive.

MR. CHURCHILL: Dining-car attendants do not appear to come within the scope of the Railway Regulation Act, 1893, but I will obtain the observations of the railway company on my hon. friend's Question and communicate with him in due course.

### Railway Superannuation Fund Inquiry.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it would be possible for His Majesty's Government to place some representative of officers and clerks of the railway clearing-houses on the Committee inquiring into railway superannuation funds, in view of the feeling which exists on this subject.

MR. CHURCHILL: I understand that communications on this subject have already passed between the hon. Member and my hon. friend the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. I have made arrangements for a gentleman to be added to the Committee, who will especially represent the interests of railway clerks.

### Engine Drivers and Colour Blindness.

*CAPTAIN FABER: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will call the attention of the railway companies to the invention now being used on American engines to avoid colour blindness, namely, the fitting of a disc of purple glass into the fire-box door of railway engines.

MR. CHURCHILL: I am advised that this device is of doubtful utility as among other reasons the fire-box door must be open when a man is firing.

### Engine Drivers' Risk.

*CAPTAIN FABER: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will consider the desirability of calling the attention of the railway companies to the American device on railway engines, by which the drivers can pass through a door in the weather board when they go forward to oil their engines when running, and thence into a frame which is railed in as well, whereas the English driver has no choice but to clamber round the outside of the cab when the engine is running.

MR. CHURCHILL: I am advised that such an arrangement is not only impossible in this country (owing to the smaller size of the locomotives and the space between the tracks), but also to a large extent unnecessary, as the more important parts of the mechanism can be lubricated from the footplate. Enginemen should not leave the footplate while the engine is running except in cases of emergency.

### Hop Cultivation Abroad.

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, what Consular or other Reports, dealing with the cultivation and sale of hops on the Pacific coast of America, have recently been received by the Board of Agriculture; and whether they will be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. CHURCHILL: Four Reports have been received; two from San Francisco and two from Portland (Oregon). I shall have no objection to laying them upon the Table if the hon. Member will move for them.

### Vaccination Officers' Fees.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether any steps have been, or will be, taken to compensate vaccination officers for their loss of fees, owing to the increasing number of conscientious objections and the decreasing number of vaccinations.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): In a few instances representations have been made to the Local Government Board by vaccination officers to the effect that the circumstances referred to in the Question have seriously affected their income. I do not think that sufficient time has elapsed since the Act of last year came into operation to enable a definite opinion to be formed as to its effect on the work and remunerasion of vaccination officers.

MR. COURTHOPE: If the right hon. Gentleman finds these officials do suffer in this way, will he take their case into consideration?

MR. JOHN BURNS: I cannot commit myself beforehand.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Is it not the fact that the work of these officers in reporting exemptions is greater than that of reporting vaccinations?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Local Indebtedness.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the increase in the debt of local authorities in the United Kingdom, any action is contemplated in the direction of limiting their borrowing powers; and to say that the adjective "alarming" which was originally inserted before the substantive "increase" has been struck out at the Table.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I am rather glad that it has been. I am afraid that, so long as Parliament continues to impose additional duties on local authorities which involve capital expenditure, it would not be practicable to take action with a view of limiting their borrowing powers.

*MR. REES asked the right hon. Gentleman if he could say anything to allay the alarm existing on the subject.

MR. JOHN BURNS replied that if alarm existed he could only call attention to the case of London. London had a gross debt of £105,000,000, of which £51,000,000 were revenue-producing.

*MR. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): Does revenue-producing debt produce any revenue?

MR. JOHN BURNS: In the matter of electric lighting no one knows better than the hon. Member that there is a substantial surplus, and in water, housing, tramways, and many other undertakings there is a considerable surplus.

*MR. LEVERTON HARRIS: Steamboats?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Yes, even the steamboats might pay if they were properly managed.

### Out-Relief.

MR. GEORGE ROBERTS: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether, in the case of an applicant for outdoor relief presenting a medical certificate attesting to his unfitness to work, boards of guardians may refuse relief unless the applicant secures a further certificate from a Poor Law medical officer.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I am not aware of the circumstances of the particular case which have given rise to this Question, but I may say generally that, if a board of guardians had to determine whether an applicant for outdoor relief was fit to be set to work or not, it would be competent for them to require that a medical certificate on the subject should be obtained from their own medical officer.

### Education (Provision of Meals) Act.

MR. GEORGE ROBERTS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether instructions have been issued to local education authorities restricting the application of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, by insisting that the Board's sanction be secured for monthly periods; and whether he will consider the advisability of allowing education authorities to administer the Act according to the needs of the children instead of by seasonal considerations or time periods.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury): The sanctions, to which my hon. friend refers, were expressly stated to be of a temporary character to allow of the consideration by the Board of certain general questions arising at the commencement of the second year's working of the Act. These questions have now been determined, and I propose in future, as a general rule, where the conditions imposed by the Act are satisfied, to issue Orders, the operation of which will extend to the end of each financial year.

### Imports of Fodder.

MR. JOHN WARD: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he has received any protests from trading firms in Stoke-on-Trent against the Foreign Hay and Straw Order, 1908; whether such protests contain statements that the prohibition of the importation of hay and straw used for the purposes of packing china and earthenware is crippling the trade of the district, that there is not sufficient of this class of straw grown in the district to supply one-tenth of the demand; and whether, under these circumstances, he will consider the advisability of revoking the Order at the earliest possible date.

THE TREASURER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Sir EDWARD STRACHEY, Somersetshire, S.): We have received representations on this subject from a firm of hay and straw merchants in Stoke-on-Trent, but it does not appear at present that any general difficulty exists in meeting the requirements of the trade in china and earthenware. As my hon. friend will remember, the outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease which recently occurred in Edinburgh had their origin in hay brought from abroad, and the Order in question was issued to prevent any possibility of any similar occurrences in the future, and there is no intention at present of revoking it.

### Small Holdings and Allotments.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, how many small holdings have been created under the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, and how many acres they contain.

I beg also to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, how many allotments have been created under the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, and how many of these exceed one acre in extent.

**SIR EDWARD STRACHEY**: We cannot as yet give particulars as to the number of small holdings or allotments created under the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, but full information on the subject will be published in the Board's annual Report on their proceedings under the Act. I may add that up to the present time over 245,000 acres have been applied for by 15,570 applicants.

### Experimental Small Holdings.

**MR. COURTHOPE**: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, what steps have been taken to establish experimental small holdings and how the sum provided by the Act of 1907 for that purpose has been expended.

**SIR EDWARD STRACHEY**: In view of the activity of county councils, the Board have not considered it necessary as yet to take any steps to establish experimental small holdings, and it has not, therefore, been necessary to draw on the Small Holdings Account for this purpose.

### Crown Lands in Wales.

**MR. ELLIS DAVIES** (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, in view of the unanimous recommendation of the Welsh Commission, presided over by Lord Carrington, that a Commission should be appointed to survey Crown lands and rights in Wales and to make a proper extent of all rents, dues, etc., payable from such land, whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken to carry out the recommendation.

**THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Mr. HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): The recommendation seems to have been founded on a misapprehension as to the sources of information already available, and was accordingly not adopted by the Government of the day. Surveys are in existence, which are periodically brought up-to-date, of practically the whole of the Crown property in Wales, and all rents and dues are properly rentalled. Since the date of the Commission considerable progress has been made in ascertaining the Crown's rights in the comparatively few cases where doubt existed, and under the present system of management no difficulty that the Department is unable with the means at its disposal to deal with, arises in connection with the oversight and protection of the Crown's rights. In the Report of the Welsh Land Commission there is a statement that "188,828 acres of land had been allotted to the Crown in severalty under Inclosure Acts and Awards, and were afterwards sold by the Crown," and that "if no sale had taken place the Crown would have at this moment in Wales an estate in severalty freed from Common rights of nearly 200,000 acres." It seems desirable to point out that the above statement is a mistake. If reference is made to the paper printed in the Appendix to the Report it will be seen that 189,828 acres represent the whole area of land allotted and divided amongst various owners under Inclosure Acts, and *not* the land allotted to the Crown in severalty, which only comprised a very small portion of this large acreage. The mineral rights under the whole area were reserved to the Crown and are now held and exercised.

### The New Forest Fires.

**SIR ROBERT HOBART** (Hampshire, New Forest): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he has now received a further Report from His Majesty's Commissioner of Woods and Forests respecting the extensive burnings of gorse and heather recently carried out by the Crown authorities in the New Forest; whether he is aware that these wholesale burnings have absolutely destroyed the beauty of the forest along many miles of roads, which will not be recovered for several years; whether there are numerous complaints and protests from the commoners and other inhabitants of the New Forest against this wanton destruction of their amenities as detrimental to their property and interests; and whether he will forthwith grant a special and independent local inquiry into the matter as the only fair means of investigating and allaying the feeling of indignation that exists.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I propose to make a personal visit to the locality.

### The Sugar Duty.

Mr. CHARLES ROBERTS (Lincoln): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the average number of hundredweights of sugar and its equivalents used in brewing for the last three years for which the figures exist; and the annual sum which on this average the brewing trade stands to gain by the reduction of the sugar duty proposed in the Budget.

Sir GILBERT PARKER: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman can also tell us what gain will be likely to go to the manufacturers of marmlade in Dundee.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: The House will hardly expect me to take the last question seriously. [Cries of "Why not?"] The average quantity of sugar annually used in brewing for the last three years is 2,827,568 cwts. The varieties of sugar thus used are so numerous and so diverse in nature and in quality that it is not possible to give an estimate of the duty paid thereon or the prospective gain to the brewers from the reduction in the duty.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON: Is it not a fact that a much larger proportionate quantity of sugar is used in the manufacture of ginger beer and lemonade?

Mr. HOBHOUSE was understood to say that he was not versed in the manufacture of these articles.

Mr. LUPTON: Is it not a fact that by the reduction of the sugar duty the brewers will gain a quarter of a million a year?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: It has been so stated.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: Then our beer will be cheaper.

### Death Dividing Clubs.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the fact that in licensed premises in many manufacturing towns women's and children's death dividing clubs are held; whether they are registered or controlled in any way; whether the members can enforce their claims at law; and whether the Board of Trade will cause inquiry to be made into the matter.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. With regard to the second part of the Question, it is impossible to say whether any such dividing societies are registered without knowing their name, but an inspection of the rules would at once show in each case whether a certificate of registry is attached. Every registered society or club must have a certificate of the Registrar of Friendly Societies attached to its rules. If the society be registered, the members can enforce their claims according to its rules; if it is not registered, their remedy is under the common law. I do not think the existence of these societies calls for an inquiry, at any rate at present.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH: If these death dividing clubs are not registered and members have no redress at law, cannot something be done to prevent the existence of such clubs?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: They only come under the control of the Registrar of Friendly Societies if they are registered. If they are not registered, the only remedy is under the common law.

### Military Pensioners and Income-Tax.

Mr. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Paymaster-General at what date during 1907 the forms of claim for reduction of income-tax on earned incomes were issued to military pensioners; and what steps have been taken to remedy the injustice imposed on those who received the form too late to make their claims before the specified date.

THE PAYMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. CAUSTON, Southwark, W.): Forms for declaration of income were posted to military officers on retired pay or pension between the 15th August and the 19th September, 1907, and in no case was the form issued too late to enable a claim to be made for assessment at the lower rate of income-tax before the last day of September. If the particulars of any case of alleged hardship be furnished to me, I shall be very pleased to cause an investigation to be made.

### Ruchill Hospital, Glasgow.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether a Local Government Board inquiry into the management of Ruchill Hospital, Glasgow, was held in February of this year; if so, what was the result of that inquiry and what were the recommendations of the Commission; have these recommendations been carried out; and, if not, will he explain to the House what has prevented the finding of the Commission being carried into action.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): In February Commissioners appointed by the Local Government Board held a public inquiry into the complaints of overcrowding and understaffing of the Ruchill Fever Hospital, Glasgow, and on its administration and management. The result of the inquiry was that the allegations as to overcrowding and understaffing were shown to be well founded. No recommendations were made by the Commissioners. The Report has been considered by the local authority and steps are now being taken with a view to remedying the defects revealed by the inquiry.

### Scottish Universities—Medical Classes.

MR. WATT: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland when he expects to be in a position to make the appointments to the chairs in the medical faculties in Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities; whether he is aware that the professors to be appointed will have the duties to perform of examiners for pass certificates, and that the students will suffer disadvantage from the fact that the offices of lecturers and examiners will this session be dissociated; and whether in these circumstances he will see that no further delay occurs.

MR. SINCLAIR: I hope shortly. The point mentioned by my hon. friend shall not be lost sight of; and no avoidable delay shall occur.

### Registration of Tithe (Scotland) Commission.

MR. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland when the Royal Commission on Registration of Title in Scotland was appointed; how many meetings have been held; and when it is expected the inquiries will be finished and a Report presented to Parliament.

MR. SINCLAIR: The Royal Commission on Registration of Title in Scotland was appointed on 23rd May, 1906. Eight meetings have been held. I appreciate my hon. friend's anxieties on this question, but I am advised it is impossible at present to forecast the duration of the Commission, or to say when the Report will be ready for presentation to Parliament.

### Scottish Police Grant.

MR. WILLIAMSON (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he has received a memorial from the County Council of Morayshire, and other bodies, asking that the Government grant for police pay and clothing should be increased so as to amount to one-half of the actual cost, as in England; and, if so, whether he will take the matter into favourable consideration.

MR. SINCLAIR: I have received the memorials referred to by my hon. friend on the general question, and as explanatory of the differences in method adopted in England and Scotland in this matter I may refer to my Answer to the hon. Member for St. Andrews Burghs on 18th

February, 1907. I appreciate the importance of the question and it shall continue to receive my serious consideration.

*MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs): Is the hon. Gentleman aware that his scheme for pooling the grants under his Education Bill will be seriously endangered if this grievance is not remedied?

MR. SINCLAIR: I do not see how that arises.

### Irish Agricultural Department (Veterinary Branch).

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether there are gentlemen in the Department's Veterinary Branch who have fourteen years continuous service, and who are doing higher class duty, but who are being denied the right of entrance into the second division because of the opposition of certain higher officials; and whether such opposition will be allowed to persist.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR IRELAND (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): There is no foundation for the allegation in this Question.

MR. DELANY: How is it the hon. Gentleman allows the chief clerks to get the blind side of him?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: At the hon. Gentleman's own request I personally investigated this matter, and the answer I have given exactly expresses my own views.

MR. DELANY: Oh, I knew these gentlemen before the hon. Gentleman did.

### Irish Sea Fisheries Development.

MR. McHUGH (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) how much money was spent by his Department on the development of sea fisheries in Ireland from 1899 to 1906; and is he aware that, while the value of the fish returned as landed on the Irish coasts in 1899 was £460,368, the value of the fish landed in 1906 was only £373,491.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The sum of £10,000 per annum is specially provided for and is expended on the purposes of sea fisheries. About £4,000 of this is required for marine police work. The cost and upkeep of the dredger is also charged to this fund, as are also expenses in connection with the construction of piers. The Department also have at their disposal the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund out of which loans are made to fishermen. Over £20,000 was issued in this way by the Department since 1899. The spring mackerel fishing has fallen off in the quantity and quality of the fish in the period referred to in the Question, and the bad weather of 1906 had much to do with the shortage of that year.

MR. McHUGH: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether he is aware that the value of the fish landed on the coast of Ireland in 1906 was £373,491, while the corresponding figures for England and Scotland, respectively, were £7,965,369 and £3,049,915; and can he explain why it is that those engaged in the sea-fishing industry in Scotland earn ten times as much as those engaged in the same industry in Ireland.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The fisheries of Ireland are carried on in home waters, while the steam-fishing vessels (owned by large public companies) from which the great supply for the English markets is derived, fish from Iceland to the coast of Morocco, including the seas around Ireland, and deliver the gatherings from this huge area into the ports of Great Britain. There would be no object in landing any of this fish in Irish ports, as all of it, as well as much of that caught by Irish fishermen, must eventually go to the English markets. The herring-fishing areas of Scotland and England are of much greater extent than any off the Irish coast.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Is it not the fact that the smallness of the figures relating to the Irish fisheries as compared with

England and Scotland is largely due to the want of facilities for the fishing industry on the Irish coast? Are the Department going to do anything in that matter, especially in the County Clare?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I agree, but the Department cannot do it without money.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Has not the hon. Gentleman power to help in the building of harbours where local contributions are forthcoming? Is a Bill necessary for that purpose?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Yes, legislation is necessary.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: And it has been long promised. When will a Bill be brought in to enable the county councils of Ireland to join the Agricultural Department in carrying out this important work?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: There is a Question on the Paper as to that.

### Sligo Fisheries.

MR. McHUGH: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether he is aware that nothing has been done for many years by his or any other Department of the Irish Government to assist in the development of the sea-fishing industry on the seaboard of County Sligo; whether he is aware that a fishing pier was started at Ballyconnell last year and that the work when half completed was stopped; and what does his Department propose to do in regard to this matter.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The Department have issued £145 by way of loan to the Sligo fishermen since 1899. The greater part of the Sligo seaboard is scheduled as congested. The Congested Districts Board inform me that they have expended upwards of £840 upon landing places within the scheduled area, in which, according to the last census there were only 167 fishermen, the sea fisheries being of small value. The Board have also issued loans amounting to £788 to assist fishermen in the same area. The Board did not commence the pier at Ballyconnell, but they expended £141 in clearing stones from the landing place.

### Irish Land Purchase Delays.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the delay in land purchase in Ireland is largely caused by the inquiries into title; and it he can say how many examiners there are and whether steps will be taken to avoid delay in this matter by hastening the procedure.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL Bristol, N.): I have been, and am still, making searching inquiries into the cause of the delay in land purchase in Ireland, and I have ascertained that no delay whatever is occasioned by inquiries into title prior to the advance of the purchase money. After the advance is made or sanctioned, the rights of the various claimants to the purchase money are inquired into by the examiners, of whom there are fourteen, with a view to the distribution of the money. These inquiries necessarily occupy a considerable time, but I do not think that any real delay is due to an insufficient number of examiners. It may be that the entire work in connection with land purchase requires reconsideration. I rather think that at present the chief delay may arise in the investigations and inspections which take place before cases reach the stage at which advances can be sanctioned.

### Rent Reductions in Queen's County.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of a resolution passed by the Rosenallis, Queen's County, branch of the United Irish League, calling attention to the inadequacy of the reductions given in the Land Sub-Commission Court in Queen's County by Messrs. Tuckey and Hawkins; can he say whether he has already received complaints with regard to the action of those two officials; and what steps he proposes taking with regard to them.

MR. BIRRELL: The Land Law Acts provide that if either party to a case is dissatisfied with an order of the Sub-Commission fixing a fair rent he can apply to have the case reheard by the Appeal Court in the manner prescribed by statute. The decisions of Sub-Commission Courts are judicial decisions with which the Government have no power to interfere.

### De Vesci Estate—Evicted Tenants.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state upon what grounds the Estates Commissioners decline to take action in the case of Mr. Samuel Maxwell, Attanna, Abbeyleix, Queen's County, whose wife claims reinstatement as the representative of her brother, who was evicted from a holding on the De Vesci estate, Abbeyleix, Queen's County, within the statutory limit set down under the Land Purchase Act of 1903.

MR. BIRRELL: Mr. Maxwell, who is a postmaster, applied for the evicted farm as being the husband of a sister of the deceased evicted tenant. The holding has for many years been in the occupation of another tenant; and the Commissioners, having fully considered the circumstances of the applicant and the character of his claim, have decided that the case is not one in which they should take any action.

### Irish Audit Fees.

MR. HAZLETON (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on what basis are the fees for auditing the accounts of local bodies fixed by the Local Government Board for Ireland.

MR. BIRRELL: In determining the audit fees in each case, the Local Government Board take into consideration the nature and extent of the work done, the time occupied, and such other circumstances as may assist them to arrive at a decision.

### Irish Local Government Auditors.

MR. HAZLETON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is intended to appoint an additional auditor this year under the Local Government Board for Ireland, and, if so, for what reason; what will be the duties of the person appointed; what will be the qualifications required; will they include a condition that the person appointed shall be a member or an associate of the Chartered Accountants' Society of Ireland; and, if not, will he explain why this condition is not imposed.

MR. BIRRELL: No decision to appoint an additional auditor has been arrived at.

MR. HAZLETON: Is not provision made in the Estimates for the appointment of an additional auditor?

*MR. BIRRELL: I will inquire. It may be that power to appoint one has been taken, but no decision has been arrived at as to the necessity of doing so.

### Maybery Estate Evicted Tenants.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to state what arrangements have been made for the reinstatement of evicted tenants on the Maybery estate, near Kenmare, County Kerry.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have received eight applications for reinstatement on this estate. In five cases the Commissioners have made offers to purchase, but have not yet received replies from the owner. In one case, in which the holding is occupied by a tenant, the Commissioners will provide the applicant with a holding elsewhere if one can be found for him. In the two remaining cases the Commissioners have decided to take no action.

### Irish Secondary Schools.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Intermediate Education Board are now prepared to furnish members of the Joint Committee of the heads of Irish secondary schools with copies of their proposed new rules as soon as those new rules are laid upon the Table of this House; and whether facilities will be given for the discussion of these rules in Parliament.

MR. BIRRELL: I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer to his Question of 29th April which my hon. friend the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture gave on my behalf. For the reasons then stated the Board of Intermediate Education do not propose to promulgate copies of their rules until they have lain before Parliament for the statutory period. When the rules are laid before Parliament full opportunity will doubtless arise for discussing them. That, indeed, would appear to be the object of the provision that the rules are not to become operative until they have lain on the Table for forty days without being disallowed.

MR. BOLAND: When will the new rules be laid?

MR. BIRRELL: I cannot say.

### Afforestry in Ireland.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of the resolution of the Cork County Council urging upon the Government the necessity of immediately providing the annual grant of £44,525 estimated to be required for the first ten years to establish a State Department of Forestry; and will he state whether it is the intention of the Government to establish such a department on the lines recommended by the Departmental Committee on Forestry.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question, and I can only repeat the Answer which I gave recently to a similar Question. The Report of the Departmental Committee is under consideration, but there has not yet been time to arrive at a decision upon the recommendations of the Committee. The importance of dealing with the matter is fully recognised, and the Government will come to a decision upon it as soon as may be possible, having regard to the financial and other considerations involved.

### Carlisle Pier Dispute.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will now lay upon the Table of the House any correspondence that has passed between the Board of Works, as representing the Treasury, and the London and North Western Railway Company on the question of the dues to be paid by the latter for the use of the Carlisle Pier, Kingstown Harbour.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I am afraid I have not the Answer here. The Question was down yesterday but the hon. Member was unable to be present.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: This is a different Question from the one on the Paper yesterday which I intended to withdraw. I will repeat this one.

MR. HOBHOUSE: If the hon. Member will speak to me later perhaps I shall be able to understand exactly what he wants.

### Down Survey Maps.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury will the reproductions of the Down Survey barony maps which have recently been prepared by the Irish Ordnance Survey Office be exact copies of Sir William Petty's maps made for the Commonwealth in 1654–1656, and at present in the Record Office, Dublin; can he state when the maps will be issued; and will they be distributed as Parliamentary Papers.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: Perhaps my hon. friend will allow me to reply to his Question. The maps to which he refers have been published and can now be obtained from the Ordnance Survey agents in Ireland. They were prepared photographically from Sir William Petty's originals, which are now in the National Library at Paris, and they portray in black and white only the colours of the originals. It is not proposed to issue them as Parliamentary Papers.

### Re-election of Ministers on Appointment to Office.

MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is prepared to propose legislation to avoid the necessity of any of His Majesty's Ministers seeking re-election on appointment to office.

MR. ASQUITH: I can only repeat the Answer which I gave to my hon.

friend the Member for Rotherham the other day—namely, that in my opinion the necessity for seeking re-election is out of date, and not in accordance with public interest or convenience, but that its removal would require legislation for which, in the pressure of more urgent matter, there is not at present room.

Mr. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan): Is it not sometimes of value to have the public verdict as to the fitness of a Minister for his office ?

Mr. ASQUITH: That is a matter of opinion.

### Old-age Pensions Bill.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if the Bill to provide for old-age pensions will be brought in before the conclusion of the discussion of the Budget.

Mr. ASQUITH: Yes, Sir.

### Business Committee.

Mr. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the expressed intention of the Government to set up a Business Committee as the complement to their scheme of revision of the Rules of Procedure, he can now take steps to give effect to that intention, so that the time for the various measures now before the House may be apportioned by that Committee ?

Sir F. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider some more elastic procedure than the decision of a Business Committee ?

Mr. ASQUITH: The matter is under consideration. Such a Committee could only be set up by something approaching general consent, and I regret to find that much difference of opinion prevails as to both its constitution and its functions.

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN asked the Prime Minister what the course of business would be next week and when the Committee stage of the Licensing Bill would be taken.

Mr. ASQUITH: I cannot say at present when the Committee stage of the Licensing Bill will be taken. With regard to next week's business, on Monday I shall move in Committee of the Whole House the Resolution standing in my name referring to the proposed monument to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. We shall then take the Second Reading of the Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill; and that debate will be continued, and, I hope, concluded, on Tuesday. On Wednesday we shall proceed in Committee of Ways and Means with Budget Resolutions relating to England, and on Thursday there will be Irish Supply.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The right hon. Gentleman does not mean to confine the general discussion on the Budget to half a day ?

Mr. ASQUITH: Oh, no; but we might make substantial progress with it.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND asked the Prime Minister if it was intended to proceed with the proposal enabling Finance Committees necessitated by certain Bills to be taken after 11 p.m.

Mr. ASQUITH: I hope it will meet with general consent. It may be necessary to move it on Wednesday before we proceed with the Budget Resolutions.

## REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Joint Committee A. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 143.) Minutes of the proceedings of the Standing Joint Committee to be printed. (No. 143.) Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Monday, 1st June, and to be printed. (Bill 229.)

## NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Robert Vernon Harcourt, esquire, for the Montrose District of Burghs.

## SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES.)

Sir William Brampton Gurdon reported from the Committee of Selection;

That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal Bill): Mr. Secretary Gladstone, Mr. Attorney-General, and Mr. Herbert Samuel; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal Bill): Mr. Birrell, Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland, and Mr. Solicitor-General for Ireland.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had added to Standing Committee A the following Fifteen Members (in respect of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal Bill): Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Moore, Mr. Hugh Barrie, Mr. MacCaw, Mr. Haviland-Burke, Captain Donelan, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Harrington, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. Hazleton, Mr. Byles, Mr. Glendinning, Mr. Horniman, and Mr. Weir.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Irish Universities Bill): Mr. Cheetham, Viscount Morpeth, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Walker, Mr. Soames, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Young, Mr. Kearley, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Strachey; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Irish Universities Bill): Mr. Hazel, Mr. Charles Craig, Mr. Hugh Barrie, Mr. Secretary Haldane, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Massie, Mr. Boland, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland, and Mr. Solicitor-General for Ireland.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee: That they had added to Standing Committee C the following Fifteen Members (in respect of the Irish Universities Bill): Lord Edmund Talbot, Mr. Butcher, Sir John Randles, Mr. Campbell, Captain Craig, Mr. Moore, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Sheehan, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Devlin, Mr. Kettle, Mr. Hutton, and Mr. Walsh.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

## *NEW BILLS.*

### ASSOCIATION OF PORT SANITARY AUTHORITIES (EXPENSES) BILL.

"To remove doubts as to the legality of certain payments by Port Sanitary Authorities," presented by Mr. Ferens; supported by Mr. Howell Davies, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Guy Wilson, Mr. Luke White, and Mr. Stanley Wilson; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 230.]

### SUPPLY [6TH ALLOTTED DAY.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

### CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, AND SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1908-9.

### CLASS II.

1. £5 (Supplementary), Stationery and Printing.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): This Supplementary Vote has been put down for the purpose of enabling the Committee to come to some decision upon the Report of a Committee which, under the chairmanship of the hon. Member for the Stroud Division of Gloucester, reported last year to the House. The precedent which may be taken in support of the Motion this afternoon will be found in a Vote which was put down in 1900 to enable the House to discuss the subject of hospitals in South Africa, and the precedent then set we shall follow this afternoon. The reporting of the debates in the House of Commons has formed the subject of inquiry by various Select Committees and Joint Committees of Lords and Commons for a great number of years past. In 1878 a Select Committee decided against any official reporting of the debates in this House. In 1888 a Joint Committee reported that the debates were reported inadequately and at great cost, and recommended that the form and time of publication of reports should be carried out in accordance with the wishes of Parliament from time to time expressed. In 1892 a Select Committee of this House recommended that there should be what is technically known as a "full" report of all speeches alike, to be delivered at 4 p.m. on the afternoon of the day following that upon which the debate took place, and that proofs of the speeches as recorded should not be sent to Members for correction. To come down to the last inquiry held on this subject, last year, if I may sum up very briefly the Report of the Committee, it was to the effect that the House of Commons should have a reporting staff of its own, under the control of a Sessional Committee, who should be in consultation with the Speaker and the authorities of the House, and should work in conjunction with the Stationery Office. They also recommended that a full report of all speeches should be given and should be delivered to Members on the following morning, and that with this report should be incorporated the Votes and Proceedings of the House. As regards printing, the Committee recommended that there should be either a Government printing office, or, failing that, a contract system under the management of the Stationery Office. As matters stand at present, the arrangements are more or less briefly these. The present contractors have had the contract for reporting debates in this House for something like nine and a half years, but it has been found necessary to modify the contract from time to time, and last year the contract was modified, as I shall show in a moment, to a very considerable extent. The contract established five years ago ran out in June, 1907. It was provisionally extended until June of this year, and from that time, from June, 1908, it is liable to be terminated by six months' notice on either side. Reports of occupants of either Front Bench, Ministers or ex-Ministers, are as a rule in full, using the word "full" in a technical sense. The speeches of private Members of the House are reported at not less than one-third of the total substance of what they say, but very often, of course, as hon. Members are aware, at much greater length than that. Perhaps I might just express to the House what is the meaning of the word "full," used in its technical sense. It means a verbatim report, trimmed of all those excrescences and redundancies with which Members are perhaps in the habit of filling up the matter of their speeches. In fact, a "full" report puts into something like literary shape the efforts with which we endeavour to express our thoughts. What is called the full report of Ministers and ex-Ministers, coupled with the obligatory one-third report of private Members, was fully sufficient so long as the newspapers and journals were in the habit of reporting the debates in the House at considerable length. What was interesting to one provincial or local paper was uninteresting to another, but Members representing the neighbourhood in which that journal or newspaper circulated were naturally reported at considerable length in it, and there was an opportunity and the means of all Members of the House practically getting a full report. But times have changed a great deal in that respect. There has come into existence what is called the "sketch" report, which has taken the place of the full report that used to occupy a very prominent place in all the morning papers, and that has forced upon this House, if I may venture to say so, a change which will be more in consonance with the methods of reporting adopted, not by the official reporters of this House, but by the majority of the papers represented in the Press Gallery upstairs. A change is desired also from another point of view. There can be no doubt whatever in the mind of anybody who reads the evidence before the Committee that the reporting of the debates of this House has been conducted under conditions which entailed the greatest hardships on the persons who do the work. The hours are excessive, the conditions under which the work is done oppressive, and it is only a matter of common justice to gentlemen who do their work under great difficulties that we should bring our methods of reporting up to date. There are other aspects of this case which are not altogether satisfactory. Anybody who has troubled to read the official report of the Prime Minister's Budget speech and compared it with that of *The Times* will have noticed an identity of omissions and commissions which cannot be explained as being altogether accidental. It leads one to suppose, and indeed I think it is admitted by the official reporters, that much use has been made of *The Times* reports for the official reports. That cannot be a satisfactory method to Members of this

House. The Government have decided to recommend to the House the following proposals, but they do so on the clear understanding that, while the House shall be quite free to accept or reject them, if they reject them, which I hope will not be the case, because we think the proposals are reasonable, then we must continue the present arrangement which I must describe as unsatisfactory. The proposals the Government make to the House are these: that there shall be a staff of reporters, ten in number, who shall be servants of the House, and engaged at an ample remuneration. Then to control that staff of reporters there shall be a chief of staff. A full report of all speeches both of Members, experts, and private Members alike, shall be delivered to Members at 4 o'clock in the afternoon following the day on which the debate takes place, but the power of correction of their speeches which Members now enjoy will be limited to some extent. The printing will continue to be done as at present by contractors under contracts made by the Stationery Office, and the full reports will be delivered at or about 4 o'clock. That report is to be confined to the debates in the House itself——

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.): Does that exclude Committees?

MR. HOBHOUSE: It includes Committees in this Chamber but not Committees upstairs. In order to carry out this arrangement satisfactorily, Mr. Speaker, aided by the authorities of the House and working through the special Sessional Committee to which I made reference a short time ago, will take charge of the arrangements and work them in connection with the Stationery Office. The cost of such an arrangement will be as nearly as can be estimated about £11,000 or £12,000. That is about the cost of the present arrangement.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: About the same, but for a full report.

MR. HOBHOUSE: For a full report the cost will be no more than the cost under the old arrangement for the present report. At the present moment Mr. Speaker, as is well known, controls the Press Gallery upstairs and the printing of the Journals and the Votes and Proceedings of this House. It is therefore very proper, and following the traditional practice, that we should extend that control under these arrangements to the debates of this House. With regard to the Sessional Committee of which I have made mention, it will be an extension of the Select Committee on Official Publications, which sat, I think, in 1906. The Sessional Committee will have very important duties to perform. It will have to bear the brunt of the limitation of that power of correction to which I referred a moment or two ago. There is very strong evidence in the Report that there is a very great cost attached to these corrections by Members of the reports of their speeches. It extends to as much as 33 per cent. of the cost of composition, and it has on one occasion, I believe, gone up to 75 per cent. That is clearly a very undesirable practice, and the power of correction ought to be limited in future to matters of substance. Before a Member is allowed to correct he ought to be able to go to the Sessional Committee and say, "They have put down things or figures which I have not said." There should be power to correct matters of substance only, and this process, of what witnesses before the Committee call stringing together, shou'd not be allowed.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN (Gloucestershire, Stroud): The power of correction should be limited.

MR. HOBHOUSE: The Stationery Office at the present moment prints the Votes and Proceedings, and, I think, the Journals. It makes a contract, under the supervision of the Treasury, with the present contractors as a suitable medium by which the contract may be carried out in future. On the whole question of printing I propose to say a word later on. With regard to the staff of reporters, it is not only clear that there is great over work under ordinary circumstances, but it amounts to a piece of inhumanity in times of pressure and all-night sittings. I believe there was one all-night sitting of twenty-seven hours mentioned in the minutes of evidence, and the same staff of reporters had to go all through that night relieving each other without outside aid. No Member could justify to himself the employment of men under that great strain. There is some difference of opinion in the evidence given before the Committee as to the number of reporters that it is desirable to employ. The present number is six, with a gentleman called the chief of staff who controls them. There is an equivalent number in the House of Lords, who are brought in to fulfil their duties when required.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN: *Hansard* reporters?

MR. HOBHOUSE: I think so.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN: No; the hon. Member is mistaken.

MR. WIILLIAM REDMOND: Including the House of Lords reporters there are ten altogether.

MR. HOBHOUSE. I am willing to accept the correction of the hon. Member, as I know that he was a Member of the Committee and took an important part in it. There is evidence before the Committee that the number of reporters should be either ten or twelve; but if hon. Members will turn to Question 973, they will see that a Mr. McCallum was asked—

> "And you think that to give us a full report such as you have mentioned, ten reporters could accomplish that properly?—I believe so. Ten for the House of Commons only?—It is the House of Commons I am thinking of."

Ten reporters would be able to supply the House with a full report of speeches made here by four o'clock in the afternoon following, though twelve reporters have been described as necessary in another part of the evidence. That is only on the supposition that the report has to be delivered by ten o'clock. That, however, is an unnecessarily early hour. Four o'clock is sufficiently early to enable Members to have a report of the speeches they made on the previous day. All will agree I think that that will be sufficient information to make Members thoroughly conversant with what has taken place. Coming to the question of remuneration I suggest, subject to correction, that the remuneration should be not less than £8 8s. for each reporter.

AN HON. MEMBER: For the Session?

MR. HOBHOUSE: Yes; there is evidence before the Committee that, while the present staff have found the hours of work far too laborious, they made no complaint against the salary. That salary is £7 7s. a week. It is also in evidence that it is possible to get the best reporter procurable at a salary of £8 8s. a week. I, therefore, take the salary considered to be adequate for obtaining the best possible reporter, and I suggest that £8 8s. is a proper remuneration, week by week, as the session goes on. That will amount to between £220 and £300 for each reporter according to whether there is or is not an Autumn Sitting. Then I come to the case of the chief of the staff, as he is technically called, a gentleman who at present exists, and has the control of the reporting upstairs, and I suggest that the proper remuneration for him will be found to be £500 or £600. I think the present chief of the staff receives £300, but I am told that that is not an adequate sum for a gentleman occupying that position and that it is not sufficient to enable the contractors to get the full use of his time. Therefore it is suggested that there should be much higher pay. I would add that, as far as possible, the present staff is to be utilised in order to prevent individual hardship. I come to the question of what is known as a "full report," which I have already described, and which is recommended by the Committee. If the House accept the proposals of the Government upon this point they will be acting in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee of 1892, as well as in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of 1907. I hope, therefore, that there will be no indisposition on the part of Members to accept the proposals of the Government on this head. I have dealt with the question of corrections and the limitation of alterations. Let me say one word on the question of protecting Members from the possibility of accidental misrepresentation. I think it will be found in the evidence of Mr. McCallum before the Committee, that in Scotland, and the case may be similar in England, an official reporter is appointed in the Courts of Justice, who is entrusted with the official report of the proceedings which, speaking with submission, are even more important than the speeches of Members of this House, and the record made by the official reporter is accepted in regard to matters of legal intricacy. Therefore, I think we may be perfectly content to take the view that the official reporter, reporting under the authority of this House, will record the speeches of hon. Members with nothing more than an occasional and accidental misrepresentation of what is actually said. There is one point with regard to the full report which cannot be altogether left out of sight, and that is the addition to the bulk of *Hansard*, already sufficiently bulky, which might take place. But in view of the enormous amount of matter which is recorded in *Hansard*, a good deal could easily be taken out. Certain information, so the Committee found out, is recorded no less than seventeen times in the session. A good deal of other information is printed four times—in the Table of Contents, in the Index, in the Journal, and in the Votes and Proceedings of Parliament. Surely it is perfectly unnecessary to have a recapitulation of—I do not know that I am justified in using the word "information"—of facts which I think Members of the House would be perfectly satisfied to have recorded once and no more. The Table of Contents has been reduced under the modification to which I alluded a little time ago. It has already been reduced by one-third, but a much greater reduction can and ought to take place, and in accordance with our proposals will take place. I will deal, in conclusion, with the question of printing, which is being done by contract. There is no direct recommendation by the Committee —I use the word "direct"—on this point. But in Paragraph 13 of the Report it is stated—

> "With regard to the printing of the reports your Committee understand that the Select Committee on Official Publications has reported in favour of the establishment of a Government printing office. Should such an office be established, which your Committee hope may be the case, they consider that the printing of the debates should be amongst the earliest work to be undertaken."

Therefore, I am justified in saying that there is no direct recommendation, but, on the other hand, there is an indirect representation. But such a scheme, if all the departments of the Government had to be filled up with machinery, or if a central printing office had to be established to deal with all the Government printing work, would cost £200,000 or £250,000, and would entail the upkeep of a large staff. The evidence on which the Committee founded their statement in Paragraph 13 was that of one gentleman only, the Controller of the Stationery Office. I hope I am not unduly suspicious if in this matter I look with some doubt on the evidence of any gentleman who has charge of a Department of Government. He is only anxious to magnify the importance and value of his office. One is apt to do the same thing oneself, and, in spite of the testimony of a single gentleman, however eminent and however acute, I think his cannot be taken as the last word to be said on so important a subject as this. The Departmental Committee, which was appointed to inquire into the subject, reported against it, and the Select Committee on Official Publications, in 1906, only recommended that a Government printing office should be created for the purpose of printing confidential documents, but they reported directly against the establishment of an office to do all Government printing. Therefore, the Government propose to the Committee that the printing should be continued as at present, under contracts made by the Stationery Office. But I think it is quite clear that some of the conditions under which the printing is done ought to be revised in any contract to be made hereafter by the Stationery Office. The Department can very easily provide for the amelioration of any conditions with regard to the actual printing which it may be considered are required. I have presented what I hope is a clear and satisfactory statement of the case. I think it will be found that if the Committee accept the proposals of the Government, they will lead to a far more satisfactory state of things in regard to the reporting of the debates in this House than has hitherto existed.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I would like, if I may, to congratulate the hon. Gentleman and also the Government on the decision at which they have arrived in regard to the reporting of the debates. I think it must be admitted on all hands that the present arrangements for reporting the debates are extremely unsatisfactory. They have been long condemned by individual Members, and we have it now stated in terms by a Committee of the House. I am glad to say that I have no personal complaint to make with regard to reports of my remarks. I have always been reported at quite as great length as I deserve, even when reduced to one-third. There are many Members of the Front Bench who are so treated, while no doubt the remarks of hon. friends who sit behind me are reported at greater length, or are reported at considerable length.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I would point out to the hon. Gentleman that it is stated in the evidence that hon. Gentlemen who frequently address the House are very often "cut down" to the legal minimum.

MR. ARTHUR LEE: My point is this, rather, that it is admitted on all hands to be objectionable that the decision as to what is or is not a good speech, or a redundant speech, should be left to a contractor. Then as to the price which is paid for a copy of the day's proceedings, that it also should be left to the contractor is a matter of general complaint. Hon. Members who desire to obtain a single copy of the day's proceedings must have found that the price varies from 1s. to 2s. or 2s. 6d.; whereas in other countries and in our own Colonies, where the debates are reported fully, 2d. or 3d. is the most that is charged. I do not think the contractor should be allowed to recoup himself for any loss out of the pockets of hon. Members who desired to obtain reports of the speeches. We have been told by successive Secretaries to the Treasury that we ought always to rely on the reports in *The Times*. I am sure that all parties in this House owe a great debt of gratitude to *The Times* for the fulness and excellence of their reports; at the same time, we do not know that those reports will always be continued. There are many people in this country who regard the long reports which appear in *The Times* as very dull reading. It is difficult for us to understand why that is so. There is an increasing desire for what are called descriptive reports — reports which convey none of the substantial features of the debates, but give great prominence to any humorous incident, even describing the features and possibly the clothing of hon. Members, but which are hardly a serious record of what has taken place. Then again we are left to the discretion of outside and in a sense irresponsible agencies. If I may be permitted a digression I would state that I remember very well going into this question some years ago in Canada. I was informed by the head of a telegraph agency, something similar to the Associated Press, that they supplied provincial papers with news which it was thought would be congenial to the tastes of the different localities, but sometimes it was not approved. For example, a newspaper in the West, at the time of the illness of the Emperor Frederick of Germany, an event which was being followed with sympathetic interest all over the world, and was referred to in the agency's daily dispatch, sent the following telegram to the manager—

> "Send less German Emperor and more baseball."

I do not think the reports of proceedings of this House, as regards provincial Members, should be left to the discretion of any outside agency whatever. This is the only Legislature in the world, I believe, which does not have a full and complete official report of its proceedings, and I am very glad to hear that the Government are proposing to adopt the recommendation of the Committee, to the effect that a full report should be supplied. I am aware that it is a little difficult to understand what is meant by a full report. There is a long definition in the Report of the Committee, and the hon. Member, I think, has a little evaded that definition. He talked about redundancies. The observation that a good many remarks made in this House are redundant, I presume only refers to repetitions. Then the hon. Gentleman spoke of putting speeches into literary shape. That is rather a large order.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I do not wish to be misunderstood. I was referring to the fact that some hon. Members in this House are in the habit, when the proofs are delivered to them, of setting to work to trim them up.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: I am delighted to hear that it is proposed to stop that practice. There is only one point of serious objection, as far as I can see, to the proposals of the Government, and that is that the report will not be available until four p.m. the next day. I do not understand why that is necessary. It is clearly shown in the evidence before the Committee that in the House of Commons of Canada, where the conditions are very similar to our own, the reports are always delivered between nine and ten in the morning. That also applies to Washington. It was shown, and I think it is recommended by the Committee, that when the new system comes into force the reports should be available early the next morning. The right hon. Gentleman said that four o'clock would do just as well because the report would be available before the next day's debate, but I do not think really that is quite the case. For instance, it may be that the hon. Member who opens a debate has to reply to an exceedingly important speech delivered the night before. It is hardly enough to hand him the report at four o'clock in the afternoon just as he is getting on his legs. I think it is not too much to ask that he should have it the next morning in time to see what was actually said, and it has been clearly proved by the evidence, by the statements of the head of the Stationery Office, and by the recommendations of the Committee, that the report could be got out at nine or ten o'clock in the morning without any serious additional cost. I hope, therefore, the Government will reconsider that point. Of course, if they can show that the cost is prohibitive it is another matter; but I cannot believe, if we are to take the statements of the Committee, that there would be really any additional cost at all, and it would be the greatest possible convenience to Members of the House. There is one point of detail on which the hon. Gentleman did not give us any information, and that is in what way he is going to facilitate the operations of the reporters, because, after all, apart from the question of the qualifications of reporters, with which he has dealt, I feel that the necessity which has arisen in the past for a great deal of correction has been largely due to the fact that it has been a physical impossibility for the reporters to hear what is said, unless it is an important speech and the House is quiet, and hon. Members are giving the speaker and the reporter, so to speak, a fair chance. A great deal of evidence was given before the Committee on this point, and I think it was made clear that it was almost impossible for the reporters, if confined to their present positions, to be certain of making an accurate report of what is said, and I had before hoped the hon. Gentleman would be able to give us some information as to how the reporters would be accommodated in a better fashion.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I should be very glad to do that later on.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: There are to be greater facilities?

Mr. HOBHOUSE: Yes.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: I think otherwise the scheme asks for something which cannot possibly be done. We are to be dependent in future upon unrevised reports. I have no objection to that in principle so long as the reporter has a fair chance to report what is said. I am very glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman is going to deal with that point. I think it would be to the general convenience, and certainly to the general interest, if the hon. Gentleman could tell us whether the new system would come into force during the present session, or if we are to wait until another year. The hon. Gentleman and the Government, by their proposals, are removing a long felt grievance, and one which affects every Member of the House, except possibly the Leaders on both sides who have, I presume, nothing to complain of, except the fact that the reports come late so that they are very little use except for historical purposes. The hon. Gentleman, by his proposal, has removed this grievance, and I offer him hearty thanks for what he has proposed.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN, as Chairman of the Committee, heartily thanked the Government for accepting practically in full their chief recommendation, and a good many details of the Report as well. The main principle of the Report was that the House should do what practically every other Legislature in the world did—set up a staff of its own reporters to do its own reporting in its own way. In doing that they were only doing the right thing. Hitherto, the system had been that the reporting was given out to a printing contractor who found his own reporters. The Committees had gone very carefully into that, and found that the system was bad, first of all because, subject to the conditions that all Questions and Answers from Ministers would be reported in full, that debates in Committee and on Private Bills were to be reported as fully as debates in the House, and that no Member was to be reported at less than one-third of his speech, the length of the reports was left absolutely to the contractor. That seemed to mean that it was absolutely in the discretion of the contractor to decide at what length, and whether in the first or third person, any Member was to be reported. That did not seem to be fair to the ordinary Members of the House. Of course it was true, as the contractor had said, that most Members were reported at a considerable greater length than one-third, and it was also said that specialists were always reported in full. The question immediately arose as to who were the specialists, and he was not able to decide. At any rate it seemed to them that the system was not calculated to give a true reflex of what really was said in the House. A second and an even stronger reason was that the contract system led, and must lead, to the employment of too few reporters. The contractor naturally wanted to make money, and nobody blamed him for it. The result was that he employed the actual minimum number of reporters who could turn out the kind of report that he required. The evidence of the *Hansard* reporters, and of their independent colleagues in the Gallery, showed that they were working under conditions which were not at all creditable to the House. Practically it came to this, that the *Hansard* reporters were turning out a longer report than that of *The Times*, who employed double the number of men. That did not make for good reporting, and certainly was not creditable to the House. The third reason which induced them to report against the contracting system was that, subject to the condition that the reporter must always be present in the Gallery, the contractor was allowed to get his reports where and how he liked. That meant, of course, that the reporter might make use of newspaper reports. He had to take home a great part of his notes and write them up by two o'clock the next afternoon, and, naturally, in the morning he took *The Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Bradford Observer*, or any other paper wherein he thought he would find a good report of some local member, and fitted it in to his own notes. It was permitted, and the reporter would have been a fool if he had not made use of that system. Such a system must detract from the independence of the final version given in the official report, although the reporter took a full note for his own purposes. He hoped the new system would be fairer to Members and juster to the reporters, and would, for the first time, give them a real, genuine account of what had been said in the House the day before. He was a little sorry the Government was not going to give them the report till four o'clock in the afternoon. The evidence was that it could be given the first thing in the morning with twelve reporters. Still he was a practical man, and he wanted to go for what he could get. This was the first step, and he hoped they might get the others later on. The Committee certainly contemplated that Members would be able to correct their speeches. Still the principle they had fought for had been accepted, and he would not quarrel with the Government on that account. It was certainly true that correcting had gone too far on many occasions. There was one famous instance where two speeches were actually dropped out altogether. The contractor also had given instances in which Members had looked through their speeches, and he thought corrected them, and asked that the asterisk should not be put in in order that they might not be held responsible. That was against the spirit and the letter of the rules. What a man said in that House he ought to stand by. In the future he had little fear that correction would be necessary. How often had they to correct *The Times* ? He hoped that in future they would have as good a report as *The Times* report, even more ample and equally correct. The Committee had not recommended the reporting of Grand Committees. He was anxious that nothing should be said as to that, because it might prejudice the principle they were fighting for. At the same time he thought the reporting of Grand Committees by an official staff was inevitable sooner or later. He knew the Government objected at present and he was sorry they did. Grand Committees meant a great deal more work, work done more quickly than in the past, but it also meant that from the cognisance of a large number of Members the work was taken away. The Children Bill was now in Grand Committee. They would know what was the final form of the Bill when it came up for Third Reading, but they would not know how it arrived at that final form. But he was not going to quarrel with the Government on that point. Finally, he wished to make an appeal to hon. Members to help this new system, and they could do it very easily. Anybody who had read the evidence knew how difficult it was for reporters in the Press Gallery to hear what was going on. They had bitter complaints from many witnesses, but if hon. Members would only realise how difficult it was for the reporter to hear, and how the dropping of the voice at the end of a sentence made all the difference in writing it out afterwards, he was sure they would try and do their best to make the new system a success. The best results, of course, could only be got by having a reporter on the floor of the House, and the Committee would have recommended that course if they had for a moment imagined that the two Front Benches would agree to it, but they felt sure that they would not. [Cries of "Why ?"] In conclusion, he once more thanked the Government for having adopted the main principle of the Report of the Committee, and he hoped the system would improve and develop as time went on.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said it was one of the characteristics of the British nature to be averse to State interference in all things, and therefore they entrusted as many things as possible to the unchecked action of private enterprise. This particular industry of the reporting of the debates, which was, above all, a State interest and no other, had been perhaps left the longest to the action of private enterprise. It was absurd to leave this matter to private contract and private enterprise, because there was not the same reason in this particular case for economy as in other matters of State action. There could be only one official report of the House of Commons proceedings, and therefore to have it well done, even if it was expensive, could not serve as a precedent for doing every other branch of the State's work extravagantly. As the result of the system of leaving this work to the casual action of private enterprise, they had always had the reports of their Parliamentary proceedings affected with the taint of journalistic as distinct from historic considerations. That was inevitable. They had discovered, according to the Report of the Select Committee, that what they imagined was an independent report was something which had been "doctored" up with newspaper cuttings. Some of them had gone even further than that and suspected that *Hansard* reports had sometimes been identical with those they had observed in London and provincial papers. Obviously the journalistic quality was totally different from what they wanted in the official Parliamentary reports; they wanted historical and scientific lines to be pursued in reporting. After listening to what the Financial Secretary had suggested, he was not quite sure that they were going to eliminate all those defects unless they provided that no member of the official reporting staff should be allowed to act in the Press Gallery as reporter for any other newspaper. As Chairman of one of the Standing Committees he had a strong opinion that the time had more than come when something ought to be done to get an effective report of the proceedings in those Committees. From the conversational nature of the debate, it was difficult for the members of the Press, with the unsatisfactory accommodation provided for them, to hear adequately what was going on. As they did not get an official report of the proceedings in Standing Committees it was all the more necessary that the dry official record should be as full as possible. When he was in the chair he always did his best to see that this was carried out. According to the antique practice of this House, when a new clause was moved in Committee, the practice in the official record was only to give the title of the clause. How important this might be was shown by the fact that in 1894 or 1895, when the Employers' Liability Bill was before the House, a clause relating to contracting out went backwards and forwards between the two Houses and eventually proved the wreck of the Bill, and became a matter in dispute between the two great Parties in the State at a general election, and yet there was the greatest difficulty in finding out the actual facts in regard to that clause in the official records of the House. That was an absurd practice.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford) thanked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury for giving life to some of the recommendations embodied in the Report of the Select Committee. He had been told that the Committee was appointed for the purpose of shirking the question, but he had been reassured on that point by the statement made by the Financial Secretary. With regard to the reporting staff he thought it was quite time that they had some protection from the House. It was not so many years ago that the reporting staff of *Hansard*, employed as they were by a contractor, were stranded so far as their wages were concerned, and on that occasion the debates copy was very properly retained by the reporters until they secured the wages to which they were entitled. That being so, it was high time for the State to step in and endeavour to obtain for these gentleman who worked so hard in the interests of the House security so far as their wages were concerned. It was made clear to the Members of the Committee that, by comparison with their colleagues in the Gallery, the official staff were, to use a well-known expression, being sweated week after week. This was unfair to them as professional men and certainly unfair to hon. Members who made speeches in the House. When the Committee had ample evidence that these men were being underpaid and overworked, they felt fully justified in recommending that an official staff should be appointed and paid out of the funds of the State. Although he gathered that the *Hansard* reporters were, in future, to receive a higher salary, he was not quite sure whether they were to be employed all the year round, or simply for the session. If it was only for the session he thought it was very unfortunate. It was unfair to the gentlemen who composed the official staff that the House should avail themselves of their services during the session and then tell them that their work was over until the House resumed and they must find occupation elsewhere. He thought there should be some recognition on the part of the House that the official staff were servants of the House, or at any rate that their services should be secured for the entire year. With regard to the hour of publication, he understood that the Financial Secretary did not see his way to insist that the report should be published before four o'clock in the afternoon. He would like to know what reason there was for not publishing the report at the same time as the daily papers, which could publish from sixteen to twenty pages of matter every morning before breakfast. There was not the slightest reason why the doings of this House should not be on the breakfast-table of every Member at the same time as his daily paper. The creation of a night companionship was a very simple matter, and it would be much more satisfactory to the House and even to the reporters themselves that an effort should be made to get the official reports published at eight or nine o'clock in the morning. The Financial Secretary had given some reasons for not setting up a Government printing office, and he had stated that the official who had recommended that course had probably some ulterior motive, or that it might be to his own personal advantage.

MR. HOBHOUSE: No, I did not say to his personal advantage.

MR. BOWERMAN said that the official referred to rendered excellent service to the Committee, and he was more than satisfied that his suggestions were based upon what might be termed the interests of the public and this House rather than his own personal interests. As a Member of that Committee he was certainly disposed to pay great attention and to give great consideration to the suggestions made by that official. He understood that the difficulty in the way of setting up a printing-office was the question of expense. That was a question which was not always considered in this House. As a matter of fact at the War Office the State already had a printing office, and a very fine establishment it was. The work was done through a contractor who was paid a higher price for the work done because it was of a more confidential character, although the men actually performing the work were only paid the ordinary wages current in London. That seemed to him obviously unfair. Might he supplement that statement by saying that within the past twelve or fifteen months men who had worked in that office for twenty-five or thirty years had been discarded as if they were old iron or old machinery? These men who had been doing confidential work for the nation all these years were hopelessly placed on the pavement because of passing circumstances. He thought that if the House could see its way even to print the debates such a thing as that would be impossible in future. He did not, of course, make an appeal in regard to these men. He thought it was little short of a scandal that men employed indirectly by this House and the nation should be thrown aside as useless after twenty-five years' service. In conclusion he wanted again to express his satisfaction that the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had seen his way to accept one recommendation of the Committee, and he sincerely hoped that that might simply be the forerunner of the adoption of other recommendations embodied in the Report. If, later on, the hon. Gentleman could see his way to set up a printing office even to make a start with work of this particular character, he was sure that the House would not regret the expenditure, and he thought it would be all the better in the interest not only of the House, but also of the men who were called upon to work in the office.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said he desired to join in congratulating the Financial Secretary to the Treasury on inaugurating the system of reporting which he had proposed. He thought it would be regarded as a great reform, and he was sure that, this being the first work to which the hon. Gentleman had set his hand as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, it must be a satisfaction to him to know that he had met them in a very generous manner. He desired most cordially to support what the hon. Member for Deptford had said with reference to the employment of a staff of reporters. The right hon. Member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield had said that the gentlemen who reported the Parliamentary proceedings should not be connected with the Press, but that they should devote the whole of their time to preparing and presenting the serious record of the proceedings of Parliament. He agreed with that view, but he submitted to the Secretary to the Treasury that it would be quite impossible to obtain the entire services of these gentlemen on the official reporting staff unless they were employed regularly throughout the year. He did not know what the financial aspect of that might be, but he felt very strongly, and so did a great many others, that even at the cost of a little extra expenditure the gentlemen who reported the debates should be employed throughout the year, and regarded as servants of the House. When the House was not in session it would be very easy, if they were adequately paid, to engage their services on other public work. He strongly urged that view on the Secretary to the Treasury, and he could assure the hon. Gentleman that it would give great satisfaction to hon. Members belonging to the Labour Party, as well as to his friends of the Nationalist Party, to know that there would be no haphazard sessional employment, but that the gentlemen engaged in the serious work of reporting the proceedings of Parliament would be regularly employed throughout the year. There was no need for him to emphasise what had already been said as to the unsatisfactory conditions of the gentlemen engaged in reporting the proceedings of Parliament, but for the benefit of those members of the Committee who might not have had time to read the Report of the Select Committee he would like to quote a few lines of the Report with reference to the overwork of the gentlemen upstairs. In their Report the Committee said—

> "In the opinion of your Committee this overwork has been persistent, and in some cases very excessive, as, for example, this session, when during the debate on the Army Annual Bill the staff were on duty for more than twenty consecutive hours."

If they had a record of employment under those conditions presented to them on the part of any private employer in any business throughout the country it would create the utmost indignation, and yet here in the House of Commons they had it on record beyond doubt that the gentlemen who reported their proceedings had been obliged to work under those very trying, and he might almost say, inhuman conditions. He did not know the case mentioned by the hon. Member for Deptford—he had no doubt the statement of the hon. Member was absolutely correct—in which the reporters, being unable to obtain their salaries, by way of retaliation retained their transcript of the speeches which they had taken down in this House. All he could say was that the "copy" was a very bad substitute for their salaries. He could hardly imagine the feelings of a gentleman who, having spent many weary hours in taking down speeches, at the end of the week had to inform his wife and children that he had no salary, though they had been looking forward to it cheerfully. A child might go to him and say: "Did you bring us anything home?" and he might reply: "I have brought home a very long and accurate report of a speech by the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London." The speeches of the hon. Baronet were highly interesting, but they could not raise a family on them. He was sure that it would be a matter of great congratulation that this was to be put an end to. He hoped that those important officials of the House who reported their debates would, in future, receive proper and adequate consideration. He was surprised to hear the Secretary to the Tresaury state that the reports would be delivered at four o'clock in the afternoon. All the Members of the Select Committee understood that the reports would be delivered simultaneously with the Votes and Proceedings in the morning. They were given to understand that a certain economy could be effected by delivering the reports of speeches, the Votes and Proceedings, and the division lists by the same messenger. But if the speeches were not to be delivered till four o'clock, there would be a double delivery, and there would be no economy and no greater convenience. He asked the hon. Gentleman to reconsider that point. He desired to call attention to the part of the Report in which the Select Committee referred to the strong desirability of the continuance of the publication of the Irish debates in a separate volume. He hoped that nothing would interfere with that. He was astonished to hear the Secretary to the Treasury state that there was no recommendation made by the Committee as to the reporting of the Standing Committees. That was the only point on which there was some slight difference of opinion in the Committee. In Paragraph 17 of the Report, the opinion was distinctly expressed that under the altered conditions imposed by the new rules there should be, if not a full report, an adequate summary of the proceedings of Standing Committees.

**Mr. HOBHOUSE**: I personally made no reference to the reporting of Standing Committees.

**Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND**: I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. It was the hon. Gentleman who acted as Chairman of the Select Committee.

**Mr. CHARLES ALLEN**: The hon. Gentleman is not quite correct as to what I said in regard to that. The hon. Gentleman will recollect that the decision the Committee came to was that these words might be read the other way.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND said he remembered there was some slight divergence of opinion, and the paragraph in the Report was really arrived at—he supposed he might say so without any breach of confidence—as a compromise, and, as the hon. Gentleman had said, on the understanding that it might be read different ways. Of course, he quite expected that it would be read in the way in which he read it. He did say that undoubtedly some provision should be made for reporting the proceedings of Standing Committees. The Irish University Bill, which was going before a Standing Committee, was a measure of the utmost importance, and it was an absurd thing that such a measure should be inquired into without any official record being taken of the proceedings. He did not press that point now. He certainly would be very sorry to see the scheme of the Government interfered with or stopped in any way by the question of reporting of Standing Committees. He was absolutely certain that the question of reporting the proceedings of those Committees would come up again. Under the new rules Bills of the first importance were brought before the Standing Committees, and it was absurd to suppose that they could go on as they used to do. He hoped that hon. Members for their own convenience, and to maintain the honour of the House in relation to the question of employment, would accept the scheme of the Government. This was the only Parliament in the world which had no official reporting staff, and he hoped they would decide that evening that that state of things should come to an end. He was sure that every Member of the Committee would agree with him that the House of Commons generally was under a considerable debt of gratitude to the hon. Member for the Stroud Division, who was Chairman of the Select Committee. The hon. Gentleman devoted a great deal of time and care to the preparation of the Report, and it must be a source of satisfaction to him to think that his name would be associated with this undoubtedly great and much-needed reform.

Mr. LAURENCE HARDY (Kent, Ashford) said he did not wish to enter on the general question, for he believed that the House was generally convinced that the Government scheme would be satisfactory to it and that it would lead to a far better condition of things than had obtained in the past. He was sorry that the hon. Gentleman did not deal with the question as to where the reporters were to sit, for that was a very important item in the scheme. A satisfactory and full report without revision could not be obtained unless the Government had made up their minds to place the reporters in a place where they could listen to all portions of the debate even when the House was somewhat disturbed. He agreed as to the desirability of making the appointments of the reporters permanent and not merely sessional. That would be an advantage in every way. They all knew that many Select and other Committees sat during the autumn, and it would be possible to use their services for reporting when the House was not sitting. He would like to ask what was the actual meaning of the words used as to the reports being delivered at four o'clock in the afternoon. If they were to be delivered at their houses in the afternoon, when they were at the House, it did not seem to him to be an efficient way of dealing with the matter or one which would be satisfactory to hon. Members. He believed that the Committee meant that the reports should be delivered in the morning with the Votes and other Papers, so that Members might have an opportunity of looking at their speeches and making any desired alterations before eight o'clock. If the reports were not delivered till four in the afternoon it meant that no alterations could be made until next day. It was necessary that there should be powers of revision, even if they were much more limited than at present. But he chiefly rose for the purpose of emphasising what had been said as to the entire omission of the Government to allude to the suggestion of reporting the Standing Committees. The hon. Member who was Chairman of the Select Committee had said that they could read Paragraph 17 of the Report in two ways. He confessed that he knew of many Statutes passed by the House which could be read in two ways; but he could not imagine that Paragraph 17 could be read in any other way than that the Committee had seriously considered this question and held that it ought to be dealt with, although they acknowledged that it meant some cost. If anybody read the paragraph carefully it could not be disguised that the Committee were in favour of the principle of reporting the proceedings of the Standing Committees. There was not a word about that when the hon. Gentleman explained the new scheme. They were, therefore, justified in asking some explanation from the Government why they still persisted in not reporting the proceedings upstairs. Bills of great importance were now sent to those Committees, and they ought to have an official report, even abbreviated, but full so far as the essential features of the debates were concerned. He thought that the statements of Members in charge of Government Bills ought to be given in full, as they would be very valuable to refer to when the Report Stage was reached. Many Members knew how very essential that was when debating the Report Stage of a Bill. He remembered while the Workmen's Compensation Bill was passing through the House there were several cases where the Home Secretary said in Committee what he would or would not do on Report, and, when an Amendment had been carried against him in Committee, he indicated what would be done at a later stage. Unless there was some official report of what the Member in charge of a Government measure stated in Committee they were at a great disadvantage, first, because many hon. Members were debarred from taking part in the discussions in Committee, and, secondly, because they were debarred from seeing what had been said, especially by responsible Members of the Government. There was another question. They had now eight Chairmen of these Committees, who were granted extremely full powers. At present there was no responsibility for any official record of the rulings of these Chairmen. The Report said that the rulings of the Speaker and of the Chairmen of Committees should in all cases be submitted to them and the proofs corrected. The Committee submitted that these rulings should not only be taken down at the time but should have the imprimatur of the Speaker and the Chairmen. The rulings of the Chairmen of Standing and Select Committees were not at present reported, and the consequence was that differences in practice were constantly arising. He, therefore, thought that with reference to official statements, Chairmen's rulings, and other matters, it was really essential that, in order to have a proper record of the debates and to carry on the proper official continuity of what was going on in the House, they should have some description given officially of the debates upstairs. There was another point. They had Standing Committees sitting almost continually during the Session dealing with private Members' Bills. These Bills were of greater importance lately, because they had, after passing a Second Reading, frequently been adopted by the Government. But they had no record of what went on in the Standing Committees. Although there were fifteen or sixteen of these Bills this year probably only two of them would reach the Report stage—possibly not one. But if those Bills were produced in another session of Parliament and proceeded with, Members had no means of knowing what took place in the discussions of them in the preceding session, because there was no official record. The time had come, he thought, when the House ought to deal with this matter and not be diverted from it by considerations of some small expense. It was not a very large matter, but it was of great importance to the House. He would be sorry to force the Government to take any step adverse to their scheme, but he hoped that some assurance would be given that the subject would be dealt with in the future. He felt deeply on the subject, and he was quite sure that the Government ought to adopt the course he suggested and so carry on the good work they had begun in regard to reporting.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said he wished to emphasise the importance of what had been said by his hon. friend regarding the possibility of the reporting staff being employed on the basis of a twelve months rather than a sessional engagement. He did not know whether the reporting staff had a difficulty at the end of the session in finding other employment, but he knew that considerable difficulty and hardship arose in other departments connected with the House—particularly in the dining-room and other places—on account of the servants being dismissed at the end of the session and having difficulty in finding employment for the rest of the year. Of course, if the reporting staff were employed by the year the salaries would have to be adjusted accordingly. He thought his hon. friend would be well-advised to take this subject into his very careful and serious consideration. In regard to issuing the reports at an earlier period of the day, it had been stated that by the employment of two additional reporters they would be able to have the Parliamentary reports with their papers in the morning. If that were so the object was well worthy of achievement. He hoped it would be convenient for the gentleman responsible to include in the report a complete list of the divisions on the previous day. Hitherto the selection of the divisions which appeared in the official report seemed to be left entirely to the discretion of the contractors, and when one took down his *Hansard* for reference and wanted to see the result of certain divisions they could not be found, while in the case of divisions on minor questions there was a record of the full list of Members who voted. He hoped it would be found convenient to give the whole of the divisions that took place during the session. As to reporting the Standing Committees, he agreed with a great deal of what had been said by the right hon. Member for Sheffield. He agreed with the right hon. Member that they should have a complete historical record of all that transpired in the Standing Committees; but he hoped that the Government would not be led into accepting the principle of giving full reports or even one-third reports of the speeches there delivered. He had had considerable experience in the appointment of these Committees, and also as a member of such Committees, and from that experience he maintained that it was the absence of official reports of the speeches delivered that had made their work so effective in the past; and he believed it would be a great mistake if the Government were to yield to the desire expressed here and there for a full report of the speeches in the Standing Committees. Members on both sides of the House knew very well that in a Standing Committee there was little or any opportunity of scoring a party victory by anything they might say in the course of the debate, because it was not likely to appear in an official report, although it might in the local newspapers. What followed? As business men they came to the consideration of the questions which were before the Committee, and they endeavoured to transact the business as business men would transact any ordinary business entrusted to their care. But if they reported fully or to any considerable extent the speeches made in the Standing Committee, he thought they would very materially impede the progress of the work of that body and certainly interfere with the efficiency of the work that was done. But he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman opposite that they should have a perfect record kept of the Amendments moved, of the new clauses, and the rulings given by the various Chairmen. All these things could be kept he thought with greater accuracy and with great advantage to their historical record, but he hoped, if he might repeat himself, his hon. friend and the Government would not be induced to consent to any more lengthy reports of the speeches made in Committee than obtained at the present time. He would like also to support the suggestion and advice which had been given to the House by the hon. Member for Stroud. He regretted more than he could say a tendency which had grown up of late years amongst Members of both front Benches. They seemed to assume that there was nobody interested in anything they said except the Members opposite; their voices were dropped again and again to an undertone, and he was not surprised that the reporters in the Gallery were not able to ascertain clearly what had been said and report it accurately. As had been said, if they would keep their voices up and remember that there were other persons in the House anxious to hear what they said as well as Members across the Table, he believed it would lead to accuracy and fullness in the reports of the debates. He congratulated his hon. friend on having at all events made an attempt to give something like a satisfactory *status* to the reports of this House, and he hoped that he would not be deterred from the good work to which he had set his hand by the idea of a mere economy here and there, but that in a generous spirit he would carry this matter out to the end.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) said he did not quite agree with the remarks of the hon. Gentleman as to the reporting of Standing Committees. The hon. Gentleman said he hoped there would not be a lengthy report, but he was, of course, aware that there was no report at present lengthy or otherwise. [AN HON MEMBER: There is quite enough.] There was nothing, and, at all events, in nine out of ten cases nothing appeared on the Paper in regard to these Committees. Nor did he agree with the fear of the hon. Member that the reporting of the speeches would lead to the debates not being carried on in the same spirit as now. There might be one or two Members who would do what was suggested, but the generality of Members would not. The necessity for some report had arisen since important Bills were sent to these Committees. He was a member of the Scottish Standing Committee which dealt with the land question. He did not remember how many days they sat, but he thought it was sixty or seventy, or something of that sort. He knew the number was very great. It was a very important Committee, and during its sittings very many speeches and statements were made by the three Members of the Government, viz., the Secretary for Scotland, the Lord-Advocate, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland. Statements and pledges were made as to what was going to take place when the Bill came back for the Report stage in this House. In many cases the Members to whom the pledges were given abstained from carrying on the discussion, and agreed that they would reserve further discussion until the Report stage. He thought he was not exaggerating when he said that the Committee sat for two months, and it was quite impossible for any single Member to remember absolutely what pledge had or had not been given. He did not, for a moment, say that the Government did not adhere to their pledges, but it was equally difficult for the members of the Government to remember some fifty or sixty pledges as to what they would do when the Bill came back to the House, and he thought in order to avoid Party recrimination alone there should be some report. It was quite possible that, incidentally, a member of the Government might say: "I will consider this favourably and on Report I will express the result of my consideration," and an Amendment would be withdrawn on account of that. It was quite conceivable that the member of the Government concerned with a big Bill might forget all about such a pledge, and it might give rise to the statement that people had not been fairly treated. He was sure the hon. Gentleman would deplore that, and so would everybody in the House. Therefore, he thought it was very necessary that there should be reports of the speeches of members of the Government who were members of these Standing Committees. He would himself like to see, not a full, but a condensed report of everybody's speeches, but he felt certain that the speeches of Members of the Government who were in charge of the Bill ought to be reported, and he hoped the Government would consider that. He believed the cost would be very small, and he failed to see why the Government should object to it. With that exception he was glad to say that for the first time he thoroughly agreed with the proposals made by the Government. Except with regard to the reporting of Standing Committees he did not think there was any single thing with which he could find fault. His hon. friend beneath him had talked about private Members having greater facilities than Members of the Front Bench, but might he point out that Members of the Front Bench were reported in the first person at length, and that Members behind them only got one-third of their speeches in the third person. Besides that members of the Government had great advantages as they were always called upon when they rose. Then they had an opportunity of speaking from a box so that they could arrange their votes and papers, and it was rather hard upon the private Member rising to address the House that he should not, at any rate, have his remarks reported as fully as the right hon. Gentleman who had ordinarily a seat on the Front Bench and who, in many cases received, he would not say an adequate, but a handsome salary for his services. He was very glad that for the future, the Members of the House would be treated in regard to the report of their speeches in the same way as Ministers. As to corrections, he never corrected the reports of his speeches; therefore, he could not be said to add to the expense, and he really did not see why Members should not trust to the reporters to report them fully. Of course, mistakes would occur. They could not help that, but he believed that with a larger staff of reporters, and with increased facilities—and on that point he did not gather that the Financial Secretary said anything about the increased facilities upstairs—[Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: He said he would do so.]—a satisfactory result would be obtained. His speeches had always been fairly accurate, and he thought in the future their own staff would report them with accuracy. With regard to the delivery of speeches at four o'clock he understood that if one went to the Vote Office he would obtain a report of his speech at that hour. This was an important question. He would like to ask the hon. Gentleman whether he was right in thinking that he did not propose at four o'clock to send the speeches of the previous day round to the houses of the hon. Members, but that the hon. Member who wanted to see his speech should at that hour be able to go to the Vote Office and obtain it.

MR. HOBHOUSE: Certainly.

SIR F. BANBURY was glad of that, because the previous speaker seemed to think that the speech was to be delivered at one's house. A speech delivered there at that hour would be of no use whatever, and would add to the expense. He thought it would be quite sufficient if the speeches were obtainable at the Vote Office at four o'clock. [AN HON. MEMBER: When will they be delivered?] They would not be delivered at all. They would be in the Vote Office and hon. Members must go and get them in the same way as the Votes. He did not, however, want to see his speeches, and he thought it would be a good thing if hon. Members did not see their speeches. The hon. Gentleman had made no reference to putting the reporters on the floor of the House. He had little doubt himself that it would make their task easier for the reporters, but, on the other hand, he did not think it would be a good practice. It would take up a great deal of the floor of the House, and if the advice of the hon. Gentleman opposite, who was gifted with a fine powerful voice, was followed, and Members did not drop their voices, the reporters would be able to hear them almost if not quite as well as if they were on the floor of the House. For the sake of their health, he thought they would be better in the Gallery than on the floor, because only a few moments ago there was a most horrible smell. He thought he was out of order, but he wished to communicate the fact to the First Commissioner of Works. With regard to the printing, he quite thought that the Government had taken the right course, because the cost of setting up and establishing a printing office, with all the machinery and the details of staff and accessories would have been enormous; it was far better to put that out to contract. It was quite different from having their own reporters, a proposal of which he thoroughly approved. He was glad to be able to say that he thoroughly agreed with the proposals of the Government, and he would only ask when it was contemplated to initiate these proposals. The hon. Gentleman did not say, but he thought he told them that he could give six months notice in June. The hon. Gentleman had said something about the contract being determinable at six months notice, therefore he presumed it would not be possible to arrange with the contractors to terminate the contract before the end of the year, but he thought if they could have the new procedure at work during the autumn session it would be a great advantage. If the hon. Gentleman could arrange that he thought the sense of all Members of the House would be in favour of asking for it. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would think over the few remarks he had made with regard to reporting the proceedings of Standing Committees. It occurred to him as well as to his hon. friend behind him that they might have moved a reduction of this Vote to call attention to that omission, but the proposals of the Government were so good that he thought it would be a pity to do anything of the kind, and that they should content themselves with a request to the Government to consider what would in his opinion be a great reform. This proposal was the beginning of a new era on the part of the Government, and in conclusion he could only say that he hoped all their future proposals would be as sensible as this.

*MR. W. BENN (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) drew attention to the fact that in the original contract for the reporting of the *Debates*, it was not only enjoined that the Committees in either House should be reported, but that they should be reported at no less length than the other discussions. Therefore, in as much as Bills which under the former procedure of the House would have been debated in a Committee of the Whole House, were now remitted to one of the Grand Committees, there seemed to be very good ground for having the Committees upstairs reported. He ventured, however, to suggest that this was not a suitable opportunity for the Government to do its own printing. He himself was the only Member of this House who was a Member of the Inter-Departmental Committee which went fully into this question of printing. Whilst that Committee came to the conclusion that the system that existed at present of departmental presses might be extended, they were not of opinion that "book work" could be profitably undertaken directly by the Government. Their view was that the best way to start was further to increase and extend the departmental presses and subsequently to consider whether it would be wise to put up a bigger printing shop to do "book work." The hon. Member had raised the question of the employment of the reporters all the year round, but this argument applied much more strongly to the printing shop. If a shop was set up for the printing of the *Debates*, what was to become of the people employed in it during that part of the year when the House was not sitting? Of course it might be said that they could be given work from other Government Departments, but the Committee of which he was a Member came to the conclusion that the safer way to increase direct Government printing was to extend the departmental presses. Economy resulted because the cost of the departmental printing came upon the Estimates for the Department, and not upon the Estimates of the Stationery Office, which would be the case if a printing shop was set up for the *Debates*. In departmental printing, too, there was more exact supervision, the printing was done in the cheapest form, and expensive forms of work such as might be sent to a central shop were avoided. Another strong argument against setting up a Government shop to do the *Debates* was the question of machinery. The machinery required would be linotype machines, which were expensive and which, if there were not enough work to keep them going during the whole year would, to use a cant phrase, "eat their heads off." Another point in favour of the printing being done by contract was that when work was given out to a contractor the contractor very often was prepared to take Government work, with regard to which there was no risk of making bad debts, at a much lower price than the Government could do it for themselves. They had machinery which they must keep going and were often willing to take work at almost cost price in order to keep their shop in full work. A further reason for giving work to a contractor was that his shop was much larger than was required for the work, and in case of sudden pressure at any time, private work might be set aside and precedence given to the Government business. In that way the Government controlled a greater amount of machinery than they could possibly set up for themselves. In making these remarks he must not be taken to say that he was against an increase in direct Government printing; the Savings Bank did, and the Post Office might do, a great deal of work at a great saving, but he was certainly opposed at present to setting up a Government shop for the purpose of printing the *Debates*.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: I am very much indebted to the Committee for the kindness with which they have received the proposal I have submitted to them, and I hope I may be permitted to make clear the few points that have been raised by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Let me first of all correct, if I may, an impression that seems to have fixed itself in the mind of one hon. gentleman, who seemed to think that my observations with regard to the Controller of the Stationery Office had a personal character. That is not the case. I was only alluding to the particular megalomania which seems to affect all these Gentlemen. All come to me and try to persuade me that their office is the most important in the State, and is most deserving of pecuniary assistance, and the Controller of the Stationery Office very naturally and very properly takes the same attitude. With regard to the delivery of the *Debates* at four o'clock, which point was raised, I think, by the hon. Member for Northumberland and many others, the reason for fixing four o'clock in the afternoon as the time at which reports of speeches made on the previous day are to be delivered was not merely one of economy, although there is a slight economy in it. There is a more practical and better reason than that. In the first place, there will, I admit, be a small saving, but putting that on one side the real reason will be found if hon. Members will look at Paragraph 9 of the Committee's Report. They will see that it is recommended there that the delivery shall be accompanied with the delivery of the Votes and Proceedings, and all those formal records which do not include speeches made in the House. Any attempt to combine the printing of the Votes and Proceedings and the Reports of the Proceedings in this House with the speeches delivered in this House will require large administrative changes, which it will be quite impossible to combine with the change we are now undertaking, and it is because I do not wish to be stopped in the undertaking we are now putting before you that I ask that the reports of the speeches should be delivered at four o'clock instead of at ten in the morning. We are not prepared to amalgamate the system now settled as to the printing of the *Debates* and Votes and Proceedings. We do not wish to have any check put upon the prosperity of the immediate future by combining these two functions. It is because we are making an experiment that I ask the Committee to agree, at all events for the present, in allowing me to deliver the report of the speeches in the Vote Office at four o'clock.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE: I think neither I nor hon. Members who spoke upon the subject committed ourselves to the suggestion that the reports of speeches should be incorporated with the official Papers. All we asked was that they should be ready at ten in the morning, and be delivered with the Votes and Proceedings.

Mr. CHARLES ALLEN: The Committee does not recommend the joining of these Reports and Proceedings with the *Debates*. They say that should be the subject of further inquiry.

Mr. HOBHOUSE: An hon. friend of mine reminds me that the Votes and Proceedings are not delivered at ten but eight o'clock, which only shows the difficulty of making arrangements. I want to go further. I should like to see these two operations combined. The Government are now making an experiment which I believe will be for the benefit of the House, and I hope no impediment will be put in their path by hon. Members asking us to pursue a course which we are not ready to adopt. Therefore I hope the Committee will be content with the concessions we make to them.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked whether it was intended as at present that the daily parts would be in the Vote Office for those who applied for them, and whether if an hon. Member applied for a daily part he would be precluded from receiving in the ordinary course the bound volume which he now had. At present he could not get both.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I hope that the hon. Gentleman will not press me for these details. I agree it is a very important point. I have not been a sufficiently long time in my office, however, to enable me to determine all these questions. I have made myself acquainted with the leading principles of the matter, but I have not yet had time to go into all the details.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said he was extremely reluctant to give the hon. Gentleman any annoyance, but he wished to point out that at the present time, as everybody knew, a Member received a proof of the speech he had delivered. He had an opportunity of reading it, and seeing whether it was right or wrong. He corrected it if he was not satisfied with it, sent it to the printer, and waited for the bound volumes. But under this system he got no proof at all, and if he wanted to see whether the report of his speech was accurate he had to go for it to the office. If he got the daily part as he now got the proof, would that preclude him from getting the bound volumes?

MR. HOBHOUSE: May I point out that by the scheme shown in Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Report the delivery of the bound volumes is included.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: In addition to the daily parts?

MR. HOBHOUSE: Yes; that is practically the estimate on which I have based my calculations. I hope that is a satisfactory answer to the hon. Gentleman. An hon. Member will not have to call at the office for the proof of his speech; it will be forwarded to him. But all these are questions which I hope I may be able to settle satisfactorily hereafter, and I ask the Committee not to press me for the moment, though I shall be only too glad to listen to representations on the subject from any quarter of the House. With regard to the position of the reporters in the Gallery, that is a question which I think has been raised by various Members. The Gallery, as the Committee is well aware, is under the control of the Speaker, and I am very loth to say anything in this House which would impinge on his authority; but it will be perfectly easy, I am assured, to make such arrangements in the Gallery that two seats will be reserved for the official reporters, and that these seats will be in the centre of the Gallery and next to one another, but I cannot pledge myself to anything more definite than that. I may add that there will be no attempt, and we have no desire to make any attempt of any sort or kind, to interfere with the almost traditional privileges of *The Times*, to the accuracy of whose reporting every Member of the House testifies. With regard to a reporter on the floor of the House, I would like to point out to the Committee that there are substantial differences of opinion amongst the members of the Press Gallery as to the difficulty of reporting in the House. If the Committee will turn to Question 360 in the Report, it will find there that the official reporters receive frequent expressions of approval as to the way in which the reports are now done. That does not look as if there were any very grievous difficulty in hearing what is said in the House. Then again it is said, in the answer to Question 1178, by one of the members of the reporting staff, that a perfectly satisfactory report can be given from the Gallery. It is certain that one of the reasons of having the reporters on the floor in the House of Lords is the extraordinarily bad acoustic properties of that Chamber, and the practice of having the reporter on the floor of the House entails his taking a much longer turn than that to which the reporter is subject in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. It has been said that such an arrangement would be repugnant to the two Front Benches, and there is a very strong expression of opinion by the Leader of the Opposition, who views with dislike any such proposal. There are other persons of importance to consider as well as the occupants of the two Front Benches, and these are the authorities, and the evidence is pretty conclusive that they would view with deep repugnance any proposal to alter the present arrangements. I think it was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield who raised the question as to whether reporters are to be solely at the service of the House. That, of course, raises the question whether they are to receive a weekly or an annual salary. If they are to receive an annual salary their exclusive services would be retained for the whole year, and it is quite clear that they could be required not to do other work. If they are to be regarded as weekly employees—I will not say weekly employees—but if they are to be regarded as sessional employees and paid weekly wages during the session, I think that it is quite fair that they should be allowed to add to their earnings.

MR. STUART WORTLEY pointed out that it was possible under the present system for the reporter to make his official report also serve the purposes of a newspaper published next morning.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I do not think that could possibly be allowed for a moment. So long as the report is a House report that report should be for the purposes of the House alone and for no other purpose whatever. It is to meet that point that we propose a salary of eight guineas a week. Let me point out to the Committee, who may not be familiar with the conditions of the reporters upstairs, that owing to pressure of work the reporters have now to dictate their notes to other persons.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: They have to do it at their own expense.

MR. HOBHOUSE: It costs them about ten shillings or a pound a week to do that. We remove that necessity and that expense from them. With the substantial increase of wage which we propose to give them we remove also the various items of expenditure which form a very considerable part of the weekly outlay. I think that, in view of these double advantages which we propose to give to the reporting staff, it is not necessary to make their engagement an annual one. But, on the other hand, I think that it ought to be clearly understood that the employment continues from session to session, subject of course to the usual conditions of efficiency and character.

MR. BOWERMAN: May I be permitted to point out that if we retained the services of the reporters only for the session and then discharged them, they would be thrown out of employment in the slackest period of the year, and placed at a very great disadvantage.

MR. HOBHOUSE: That is not the information that reaches me. I made some inquiry to inform myself, before I came to the House, as to what course should be taken, and I am told that there is no such serious difficulty as is anticipated, having regard to the class of reporter that we ought to find it necessary to employ. No doubt a second or third-rate man might find that difficulty, but the first-rate man we propose to employ I think would have no such difficulty. Such, at all events, is my information. With regard to reporting the Standing Committees, I think that is the last point. I personally, from such experience as I have had in serving on those Committees, must confess that if I were a non-official Member of this House I should be very loth to see reporting adopted in Standing Committees, because it might destroy the whole scope and character of Committee work. As a member of the Government, speaking here on their behalf, I must make it perfectly clear to the House that the Government cannot accept the proposal to report the work done or the speeches made in Standing Committees. As I understand, at the present moment the Chairman of a Standing Committee has it perfectly within his power, and he very frequently does it, to direct the Clerk of the Committee to keep a record of all that is done, not all that is said, but all that is done in Standing Committee—the Amendments moved, the rulings given, and the action taken during the session of the Committee. That is now within his power, and any amplification of that, if he desires it, lies entirely at his own discretion, and within his own power. Such at least I am informed is the power of the Chairman of Standing Committee. That is I think all that is necessary in regard to the business done upstairs. To report what is said in Standing Committee would, I venture to think, be an obstruction of the whole of the work of that Committee. I think that the natural tendency of Members of this House to explain at length the reasons which move them to oppose or to favour a proposal is not always desirable in Committee. A practical man in Committee should say in the fewest possible words the course which he thinks ought to be taken on a Bill. That rule is not always observed in this House, and I think it very regrettable that it is not always observed upstairs. To report the proceedings of Standing Committee I think would increase the tendency to deliver speeches. Hon. Gentlemen may differ from me, but I think, at all events, that it would make a fundamental change in the character of Standing Committee if the Government proposed to adopt reporting. With regard to the time at which this proposal will come into operation, we must give six months' notice to the present contractor, and we cannot give that notice before June—I forget the exact date. Therefore it is quite clear that this cannot come into operation until the session after the autumn sitting. There is one point more as to the time at which this must come into operation. We must engage our reporters before 1st July. I understand that it is a custom in the trade, if I may use that expression, that reporters are engaged six months in advance, and if we want to get reporters to come into our service on 1st January next we must engage them before 1st July this year. That being so, we must begin to make our arrangements on that basis. I hope that I have answered such points as have been put to me, and that the Committee will now come to a decision.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said he was very much disappointed that the Secretary to the Treasury should have taken up a *non possumus* attitude to every suggestion made on either side of the House with regard to the amendment of the proposed changes, and he was more especially disappointed with reference to the reporting of Standing Committees. They had heard what was said by the Member for Northumberland about that, and the Secretary to the Treasury had practically used the same words, that the reporting of the proceedings in Standing Committees would tend to an alteration of the work done in them, and decrease their usefulness. He did not see on what that was founded or that the reason was at all adequate. But granting that that was the case, the point made by the hon. Member for Ashford had not been met at all, that it would be of the greatest advantage to Chairmen of the future if the rulings of the Chair were recorded. Then there was another point as to the number of times the closure had been put in Standing Committees. Then again there was the point of the pledges given by the Government, and on that most important point the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London had pointed to the case of the Scottish Bill of last year, a Bill of a complicated nature, which was considered for an enormous number of sittings during which a large number of pledges were given by the Government. With all the goodwill in the world it was impossible for them to be sure at the end of the time what pledges they had given and what they had not. It would be a very good thing, as these things were so important, that they should have some weight with the Financial Secretary. But he said in answer to the very pertinent question raised by the hon. Member for Clare as to the correcting of the speeches that he did not wish to be pressed. He did not want to press the hon. Gentleman on points of detail, but he maintained that he had met with an absolute *non possumus* requests put to him from all sides of the House. They had had a most amiable debate, and they were all much obliged to the Government for the way in which they proposed to alter the system of reporting, but he confessed, when it came to a question of allowing him to have a report of his hon. friends' speeches at nine o'clock in the morning, he trusted the Government would not give way. He thought on the question of reporting in Standing Committees the Government would do well to consider it. They had not even told them what the amount of money required would be. Was it on the question of money that the Government refused to give way, or was it on a question of principle?

MR. HOBHOUSE: I thought I explained perfectly clearly that in the judgment of the Government the whole character of the work done in the Committee would be changed. I did not dwell on the financial aspect of the case. As a matter of fact it would increase the cost by at least 50 per cent., probably by something like 75 per cent.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD said he had no doubt it would, but in what way would it alter the character of the debates? Did the hon. Gentleman mean to say that Members were so vain that they would alter the whole tenour of their remarks if they thought they were to be reported? The generality of men who served on Committees were the best working men in the House. The Secretary to the Treasury evidently had come down prepared to resist this demand, put his feet on the ground and his ears back and would not listen to anything they said. Perhaps the Prime Minister with the courtesy that he would assume with the new place that he had taken—he must remember that he was leading the House' and must consult the feelings of everybody in the House—would consider that they were justified in asking that the proceedings in Standing Committees might be published, not *in extenso*, but with the rulings of the Chair, the number of times the closure was given, and speeches of Ministers of the Crown. The House would regard that as a great concession.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): The hon. and gallant Gentleman has paid me rather a back-handed compliment, but I will do my best to acknowledge it by at once rising to tell him I entirely agree with the Secretary to the Treasury upon this point as to the reporting in the Standing Committees. The financial argument is not altogether to be neglected or despised. It would double the cost of the whole operation. But that is not the point. I agree with him that it would transform and I think transform for the worse the character of our deliberations in Standing Committees if reports of the speeches were printed and circulated *verbatim* every day.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: I did not ask for a *verbatim*, but for a fairly full report, especially of the remarks of Ministers.

MR. ASQUITH: The *obiter dicta* of Ministers in Standing Committee are much better forgotten altogether. Really quite seriously I think it is of the greatest possible importance that our Committee procedure should be as elastic and informal as it is at present. I do not say that Members are vain, but, human nature being what it is and the effect of reporting a man's thoughts and expressions being what we know it to be, I am satisfied that if we once introduce the system a great deal of the informality and business-like despatch would gradually disappear. I hope the Committee will agree with the Government that we should confine our operations to what takes place on the floor of the House.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) pressed on the Government the importance of having the report in the hands of Members earlier than four o'clock in the afternoon. There was no reason, as Members of the Committee knew, why it should not be ready by nine or ten o'clock in the morning. The impression the evidence created on his mind was that they could very well have it at eight o'clock in the morning. If *The Times* could have their full report printed at two o'clock in the morning and circulated all over the provinces at eight o'clock, they should be able to have their report printed in the neighbourhood of the House before four o'clock in the afternoon.

Just imagine a newspaper saying they could not get a report before four o'clock. The Secretary to the Treasury had not given them a single reason why it should not be done, and it was worth ever so much more to every Member to have the report on his breakfast-table than to have it at four o'clock in the afternoon. A Member wanted to read his own report and correct it. Why should he not have it before he started off to business for the day? It would be worth the extra cost, which would not amount to much. As to the terms on which the official reporters were to be engaged, there was some proposal he understood to pay a yearly salary instead of a fixed weekly wage, making the salary rather less because they would not be at work the whole of the year. One important consideration brought before the Committee had not been mentioned, and that was the difference in the length of the sessions. In 1905, there were eleven volumes of *Hansard*, and in 1906 there were seventeen. Were they going to pay the men the same for the seventeen volumes as for the eleven? They must pay according to the amount of work done, and less for a short session than for a long one. He understood that their recommendation was to leave these gentlemen at liberty to do other work in the other part of the year. Something had been said about finding them work in some Government Department. But a good reporter was not going to take secretarial work or manuscript work in a Government Department. He would much prefer to take his chance of other work in his own line during the recess than to be a kind of Government hack.

*MR. STUART WORTLEY: Whether it is because the Prime Minister has joined the debate at rather a late stage or whether it is due to the attitude of the position which his old college friends delight to see him occupying, I am afraid he has not shown us that he has yet quite penetrated to the springs of human nature. What are the causes of prolixity? One is the desire for self-advertisement, and the other is the desire to consume time—the political consumption of time. The existence of an official report would play upon neither of these motives. The fundamental mistake, if I may respectfully say so, that he has made is to confuse the nature and effect of an official report with that of a newspaper report. I do not think the existence of an official report would lead Members either to consume time or to talk for the purpose of self-advertisement either more or less than at present, and if the Government in refusing an official report of the proceedings of the Standing Committee are relying upon the inherent powers of the Chairman to secure a greater or less amount of fulness or accuracy in the official record of decisions, I think they are making a mistake, and perhaps in the end they will arrive at a reform of the kind we are advocating, and the gentlemen who fill the office of clerks in the House will have to add to their qualifications the power to write shorthand. You cannot report the rulings of the Chair without some such auxiliary as that. With regard to the hour of the day at which this official report should be forthcoming I might give the House an interesting experience. I do not know if the Prime Minister remembers Mr. Shield, a Q.C., who was attached to the north-eastern circuit. In my very early years in Parliament the newspapers used to leave London at 5.15 in the morning, and Mr. Shield and I used to take that train sometimes to Leeds. I remember Mr. Shield one evening making a speech with which he was very pleased, and after a division had been taken at a late hour we met each other at King's Cross thus early on the following morning. He had *The Times* in his hand and said: "They have not given me a bad report, after all." That shows what can be done when a really great enterprise puts its back into its work. I hope in some form or other the Government will give us some better report of the proceedings of the Standing Committees.

*MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland) thought the official reporting staff ought to be paid an annual salary. It would be a great mistake to have sessional servants, and it would be worth paying extra to have them annual servants, because the Government would then get better men. It was claimed that the proposed change would tend to considerable improvement so far as the reports were concerned. Instead of having one-third of the speeches reported they were going to have full reports, and it was proposed to pay the increased staff one guinea per week more, and yet they had been solemnly assured that the cost was going to be the same as it was before the change. He was afraid that he could not swallow those figures. It was a most extraordinary statement, and he ventured to think the cost would come out much higher. The great benefit that would take place all round by doing away with the contractor and doing the work themselves had been pointed out. It was true that the Committee did not recommend a printing department, but they expressed themselves as favourable to it. The cost of establishing a printing department had been put at the alarming sum of £225,000. The Secretary to the Treasury said that the Committee were advised by only one official. He was extremely sorry, after the very glowing report with regard to the reforms that were going to take place, that the hon. Gentleman had not gone further and definitely recommended that the whole of this printing should be done in a Government printing office. If the Government took that matter up along with the reporting they would save an immense sum of money every year. With regard to full reports he thought it was going to extremes and much less than that would do. What was needed was restriction, not only in the number of corrections, but also in the duration of hon. Members' speeches.

SIR F. BANBURY said that his suggestion was for reports of speeches of members of the Government in charge of Bills in a Standing Committee, so that any pledges given by them might be recorded. Did the Prime Minister agree with that? If the right hon. Gentleman had attended the Scottish Committee he would be aware that the members of the Government in charge of the Bill gave a great number of pledges and there was no record kept of them. It was very important in the case of big Bills that a record should be kept. Did the Prime Minister think that the members of his Government, were likely to be actuated by any feeling of vanity as to their speeches being reported? He was not asking that the speeches of the ordinary private Member on these Committees should be reported, but he attached great importance to the speeches of Ministers in charge of the Bills. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite would agree that their pledges should be adhered to, and there should be some means of knowing what they had said. As to the cost, in Paragraph 17 it was set forth—

> "Your Committee having considered the subject desire to point out that a small addition would be all that would be necessary to enable the proposed staff of reporters to supply a full summary of the proceedings of the Standing Committee."

What he suggested would cost very little, and it was reasonable and necessary if the proceedings of the Grand Committees were to be carried on in a proper manner. If it was the desire of the Government that nobody should know what went on upstairs then he could understand the opposition to this proposal.

MR. ASQUITH said that that would be the making of an invidious distinction among the different members attending a Standing Committee. As far as his experience went he had found that Ministers who made pledges of any kind were always carefully reminded of them when the proceedings reached the Report stage in the House. He had also found that the hon. Baronet possessed a wonderful memory for pledges, and the assiduity shown by him to remind Ministers of them hardly made it necessary to provide an additional reporter. Besides the public necessity had already provided for what the hon. Baronet desired without any expense at all to the State. The proceedings of the Scottish Grand Committee were reported with the greatest minuteness, indeed almost verbatim, in the *Scotsman*, because the subject was of much interest to the people of Scotland. Any Bill of great public importance would always secure an adequate record of the proceedings connected with it in the public Press, and this was found to be the case in respect of the proceedings in Standing Committee. He thought that by way of experiment it was desirable to confine their efforts to the House itself and to the more modest proposal suggested by the Government.

*MR. MORTON (Sutherland) regretted that the Prime Minister had put his foot down so firmly against reporting the proceedings of the Grand Committees, because it was quite as necessary to report them as it was to report the Committee proceedings of the Whole House. Standing Committees had now taken the place of the Committee of the Whole House, and all their Bills, after the Second Reading, were now sent up to a Standing Committee unless the House determined otherwise by vote. His experience of the Scottish Grand Committee was entirely in favour of having an official report. It was quite impossible to remember what had been said previously, and it was essential that they should be able to refresh their memory as to what had occurred in the previous debates. He did not think it would cost a large sum of money. This was not the first time the House had considered the reporting of their Parliamentary proceedings. In the year 1893 he got a Committee appointed and they reported very much in favour of what was now proposed. They did not require a verbatim report; many of them would not like to see a verbatim report of their speeches. On the occasion of the inquiry in 1893 they came to the conclusion that there ought to be a fair report taken and that all Members should be treated alike. They should have a good and fair report or none at all. Difficulties arose with regard to reporting one-third of their speeches, because it was possible that the third reported hon. Members would prefer should not be reported, but that some other third should be. He was glad the Government had come to the conclusion that after this session they would have a fair report. He hoped the Prime Minister would reconsider his decision in regard to Standing Committees. The Members of the Government were always well reported and need not trouble, but in the case of private Members like himself, they felt that their constituents desired to see reports of the speeches of their representatives in order that they should know what their Members were doing. That particularly applied in his own case. His constituency was 700 miles away, and they could not afford the time or the money to come and hear the proceedings in Parliament, but they were, nevertheless, anxious to know what he was doing, how he voted, and what he said. He was not afraid of them knowing, and they could only know by being supplied with a fair and proper report.

Vote agreed to.

2. £405,212, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

CLASS I.

3. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £355,000, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1909, for Rates and Contributions in lieu of Rates, etc., in respect of Government Property, and for Rates on Houses occupied by Representatives of Foreign Powers, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Rating of Government Property Department, and for a Contribution towards the Expenses of the London Fire Brigade."

SIR F. BANBURY said that in years gone by there used to be a good deal of discussion on the advisability of this Vote. Originally the Government paid no rates on the buildings which they occupied but allowed the ratepayers to bear the burden which ought to have been borne by the Government. Later on, as the result of the outcry in this House against that evasion of payment by the Government, an agreement was come to that a certain contribution in lieu of rates should be made. He asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury how it was that, though a large increase had taken place in the rates, little increase had been made in the Government contribution. The increase only amounted to £19,535. Was it not possible that Government buildings could be rated in the same manner as buildings belonging to private people? It seemed to him that there was no reason why the Government should not be assessed in precisely the same way as private people. In these days when the rates were growing by leaps and bounds, and when the Government were putting up palatial buildings, he did not see why the ratepayers should be compelled to pay any part of the money which ought to be paid by the Government. It was very hard on people who lived in a particular area where there were Government buildings, though he did not deny that it was an advantage to the taxpayers as a whole, because they paid rather less—but it was hard on the people of London, where there were many large Government buildings, that they should be required to pay more than their share owing to the refusal of the Government to bear their proper proportion. Unless the hon. Gentleman could give him a satisfactory assurance on this subject, he would be obliged to move a reduction of the Vote. He wished to know more than appeared in the Estimates in regard to Item A. Salaries to the Treasury valuer, inspector of rates, assistant clerk, and second division clerk. As far as he could gather the only duty which these gentlemen had to perform was to pay the contributions in lieu of rates to the different municipalities in England. Instead of spending £2,615 a year on the salaries of these men, why could not the officials in charge of the buildings pay the contributions? He wished to know why we paid part of the rates in respect of houses occupied by the representatives of foreign Powers. We did not pay their salaries or provide them with houses, and he did not see why we should pay part of the rates on the houses which they occupied. The Estimate for this item said "*See* below," but when he looked below he saw nothing at all. He found at page 68 that of the total rates amounting to £8,500, the Treasury paid £3,415. On what principle was the sum of £3,415 arrived at? If there was an obligation on the representatives of foreign Powers to pay rates, why should they not pay the whole?

MR. HOBHOUSE explained that the representatives of foreign Powers were exempt by law from the payment of certain charges. If they refused to pay them, it would be perfectly impossible to recover by law, therefore an agreement was arrived at to the effect that the poor-rate should be paid by the British Government and the local rates on their houses by the representatives themselves, on the condition that reciprocity was observed in this matter in regard to our representatives abroad. As to the salaries in Item A the explanation was very simple. The official valuer had to perform most responsible duties, and he received a salary of £1,200 a year, while the assistant received £800 a year. They were responsible for the valuation of Government property in every part of the world, and had frequently to make journeys abroad. They received adequate but no more than adequate remuneration for their services. The hon. Baronet opposite was one of the few Members of the House who seemed to be not only surprised, but sorry that the expenditure by the Government in respect of contributions in lieu of rates had only increased by £19,000. He could not share his grief in that respect. On the contrary, it was satisfactory that, while there was an inevitable increase in rates, the sum paid by the Government this year had been kept within moderate dimensions.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD said he had no objection whatever to the way in which the Government dealt with the rates on houses occupied by the representatives of foreign Powers. It was a question of reciprocity, and foreign Powers met us in a similar way. He wished to draw attention to the question of the contribution in lieu of rates in relation to Government property in his own constituency. At Waltham Abbey there was an enormous number of buildings, and he urged upon the hon. Gentleman the absolute necessity of assisting the ratepayers of that locality with a further increase in the contribution in lieu of rates. He would like to know whether there had been an increase this year as compared with last, and also how the contribution to Waltham Abbey compared with the contributions to Woolwich, Deptford, and other places where Government Ordnance factories existed. The Government had bought at Waltham Abbey a site which was absolutely unique for their purpose, and it was right, especially in view of the dangerous nature of the operations conducted there in connection with the manufacture of powder, that the contribution in lieu of rates should be largely increased. Not only was there danger to those employed in the factory but to the occupiers of the houses in the immediate vicinity who were heavily rated. There did not seem much possibility of a decrease in the rates, but rather an increase. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would tell him what proportion of the increase of the Government contribution to local rates was given to Waltham Abbey. There had, he knew, been no increase to Waltham Abbey for the last five or six years, and the ratepayers in the district were fairly entitled to a larger contribution than was now given.

Sir F. BANBURY said that he quite accepted the statement of the hon. Gentleman with regard to the payment with regard to the representatives of foreign Powers. The statement was satisfactory and he had no complaint to make with regard to it. But he was afraid he had not made himself clear on the other point. He would be the last person to suggest an increase of expenditure, but rather that it should be decreased where possible. His complaint—and it had not been answered—was that the Government Department did not pay the local rates that the ordinary citizens paid. He thought it was very hard on the ratepayers in those districts where Government property was situated if the Government did not take its fair share of the rating burden. All that the Government said in answer to his complaint was that they made a contribution to the local rates; but he drew attention to the fact that the Government contribution had increased in a very small way. The hon. Gentleman did not argue the point as to whether a proper proportion of rates was paid by the Government, but only that a contribution was made. Why should not the Government make a larger contribution when there was a general rise in the rates? There was a general fairness among all the inhabitants of the country; they did not wish to gain a small benefit at the expense of other people, but he thought the Government should pay their rates in the same way as ordinary people did. He believed that the argument was advanced, especially in the case of London, that London benefited so much by the presence of Government officials and buildings that they ought to pay something for that benefit. But, unfortunately, that applied to only one part of London where the ratepayers were mulcted for the privilege of having Government buildings and Government officials in their midst. He begged to move the reduction of the vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £354,900, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Mr ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie) said that the question raised by the hon. Baronet was of very great importance and he did not hesitate to commend it to the consideration of hon. Members on both sides of the House. The principle undoubtedly was that the Government contributed to the local rates in places where there was Government property. But the system of contribution had this great defect, that as the years went on the rates of the localities increased while the contribution of the Government remained the same, and therefore the Government were evading their fair share of the expenditure which the locality had to pay. For instance, before the Government took over the telegraphs the telegraph companies made large contributions to the local rates; but when they took over the undertakings of the companies the Government, to his own knowledge, made very tight bargains with the local authorities as to the amount of the contributions they should make in lieu of rates. It was notorious that these contributions, fixed thirty years ago, were wholly inadequate.

Mr. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) drew attention to the fact that forty Members were not present.

House counted; and forty Members being found present—

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS said that the contribution system as applied to the telegraphs had ended in a miscarriage of equity. The bargain was made thirty years ago when the rates were probably one-half of what they were now. In the year 1910 the Government were going to take over the telephones throughout the country. Those telephones were at present charged for local rates at the full percentage. He had no doubt that when the Government came into possession of all the telephones up and down the country they would adopt the same principle as in the case of the telegraphs, and propose to give a contribution towards the local rates; that was to say the respective localities would be deprived of the rates they at present received from the telephone companies. That had already arisen in the case of Glasgow. The private telephone system carried on in that city had been sold to the Government, but the Government had refused to pay a single penny of the rates, which he believed meant a present loss of £2,000 a year to the local authority, which would be increased in a short time to £4,000 a year. And if, when the Government in 1910 took over the whole of the telephones, they treated Glasgow in the same illiberal spirit, the city finances would be short by between £9,000 and £10,000. He could understand the Government saying that they would pay no local rates at all. That was a comprehensible principle, although he did not believe in it. But he agreed with the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London in the view which he had strongly expressed that there was no reason why the Government, having property in a locality, should not be rated on that property the same as anybody else. Any other system was bound to be unfair and fallacious, and had probably been adopted by some official on grounds of timidity. It was not a fair and square bargain. It had been alleged that where there were Government institutions and Government telephones and telegraphs, there was a certain advantage to the locality. Granted; but he did not think these considerations ought to enter into the case. If they were to weigh considerations of that sort they would get into a perfect labyrinth. He submitted that if the Government were open to conviction, and if tradition did not hold the Financial Secretary to the Treasury too tightly in its control, the whole subject should be reasonably reconsidered. It was no argument to say that the present Government only followed in the footsteps of their predecessors. A Liberal Party was in power, and it was their business to reform everything. If the present system was conceived in iniquity and created in sin that was a reason why the Liberal Government should address themselves to its reform. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would be able to show the Committee some proper system by which the Government contributions to the local rates would advance with the increase in the rates. The old-fashioned practice was for some official to come from the Department and have a talk with the officials in the locality. Then there were deputations sent to London at great expense, and ultimately they struck a contribution which was not very equitable to the locality because the Government made hard bargains. The expenses of the locality went on increasing, but still it was held to its bargain. Was not this a question to be dealt with in a fair and liberal spirit? Was it fair to hold them to a bargain made twenty or thirty years ago when the rates were probably only one-half of what they are now? If the same policy were pursued when the Government took over the telephone system of the country it would mean that localities would be deprived of the rates which were at present paid by telephone companies. He thought the hon. Gentleman might strike away from these old-fashioned traditions and start a system once for all under which property in the counties, cities, and boroughs should be valued like other people's property, and should pay rates like other people's property, and then he would be put in a position at which nobody could cavil.

*MR. MORTON did not think this ought to be a party matter. He was one of those who, previous to 1894, called attention to it, and about that year they got from a Liberal Government a great improvement in regard to the question of contributions, although that did not put it on anything like a fair footing. The Government very often paid on an unfair valuation and that was not right. What he said then and what he said to-day was that the question would never be settled until Government property paid rates on the same valuation as applied to other properties. The Government said it was an act of grace for them to pay rates at all, but that was all nonsense. He was very grateful to the Government of that day for doing something, but he was sure that in London at all events the Government were not now paying on the net rateable value of the property in which they were concerned. Everybody who had gone into the question admitted that all properties ought to pay rates, otherwise in some parishes they got a very unfair and unequal burden put upon a certain class of ratepayers, especially in places where the Government had a large amount of property. He hoped his hon. friend who had just come into office would make up his mind to do justice, and that he would take a fair and business-like view of the question and get the Government to allow their property to be assessed by the local authorities in the same way as that of anybody else. Like anybody else they would have the right to appeal and get the assessments reduced if there was an unfair value placed on them, but the local authorities, who were responsible to the people for the management of local affairs, would never be satisfied until the Government in common fairness and justice allowed their property to be assessed in the same way as that of other people, and thus paid their share of rates and taxes so that there might be fairness and equal fair play to all parties in the State. He did not see that the Government would lose any dignity by doing this, because they said they were willing to contribute a fair amount towards the local rates, and surely, they ought to be bound by the assessment authorities when they valued the property. As he had said, this was no Party matter and he asked the Government to make this alteration and do justice all round.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) said he would like some details in regard to Ireland, as he thought preference had been given to the Colonies and Scotland. The increase for this year in the case of the Colonies was 50 per cent., in the case of Scotland 4 per cent., and in the case of Ireland only 1 per cent. If there was any principle in the way in which these rates were struck in the various parts of the country surely it ought to work out somewhat equally all round. But they found the Colonies having a preference. He was always willing and anxious to see the Colonies supported in every possible way, but they found in this case an increase from £5,000 in 1907–8 to £7,500 in the following year, while in Ireland the increase was only 1 or 2 per cent. The Government, he thought, had a scheme for purchasing the whole of the telephone system, not only in Scotland but in Ireland, and he supposed the postal authorities would acquire the buildings in which the telephone system was now carried on. What effect would that have in any town where the ratepayers had obtained the ordinary contribution to rates from the telephone companies. The Post Office would come along and claim exemption from the ordinary rateable value of their buildings, and immediately the other residents in the locality would have to be rated to the extent to which the Post Office mulcted the public authority in that particular locality. That would appear to any business man to be absolutely unfair. He hoped that some adequate explanation would be afforded of the figures which seemed to show that an increase had without justification been given to the Colonies, and of the other points raised. If the rates were not to be paid by the Government on the same basis as those of a private citizen who had a house or warehouse or shop or place of business what guiding principle was there? He supported the Amendment.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I think this will be a very opportune moment in which to give an answer to some of the points raised in the course of this discussion. The hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London has raised a point, not, I think, for the first time in these debates, as to the method in which the Government gives contributions in lieu of rates. The explanation I shall offer to him is an explanation which I am afraid will not be new to him, but being in accordance with the facts can serve the purpose of refreshing his memory. The valuations upon which contributions in lieu of rates are given are fixed after personal negotiation between the Treasury Inspector and the local authority. During ten years experience of the Treasury valuer there has only been one difference of opinion as to the proper value to be fixed on buildings and other assessable hereditaments between the two contending authorities. And, therefore, if I may say so, these local authorities seem to be rather less dissatisfied with their position than the hon. Baronet.

*Captain Craig.*

SIR F. BANBURY: Have they got any alternative?

MR. HOBHOUSE: Certainly; they can appeal to the Treasury. In 1907 the borough of Kensington expressed their appreciation of the consideration given by the Treasury valuer to all the circumstances of the case and their acceptance of the value he arrived at. That is only one of many, and they were satisfied as to the method by which the contribution in lieu of rates was arrived at. It has been suggested that there is no variation in the amount contributed by the Treasury. That is not so. If a rate goes up the Treasury contribution goes up, and if a rate goes down the Treasury contribution goes down. There is a definite identity about the amount of the rate which is paid by the local authority.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS: Is it not the fact that there have been no additions to the telegraph part of it since it has been taken over?

MR. HOBHOUSE: I must deal with one thing at a time. I am dealing with the buildings and not the telegraph. It is quite clear that the Government must be protected against the natural inclination of the local authority to assess unduly highly property which has no living representation in the district in which it is situated. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the Government property must make contribution to the expense caused in the locality in consequence of its position in it. The hon. Baronet, whom I do not see in his place, raised the question of the War Office building. The reconsideration of the value of that building is now taking place, and I have not the slightest doubt that in a short time the contribution which we now make will be largely increased. Then there is the question of contribution for the telegraph and telephone offices. The hon. Gentleman opposite has made a mistake in the statement he has made to the Committee. The people of Glasgow are not going to lose by the transfer of the telephone lines to the Government. The contribution will be paid on both lines and exchanges and there is likely to be no loss in any respect. The hon. Member for East Down referred to the increased contribution made to the Colonies. That has reference to the Colony of Malta, where the Government property is assessed for local rates. The Government property has gone up largely in value, and that is the explanation for that. The reason why Ireland's contribution has not gone up more than it has done is that the value of Government buildings has only increased by that proportion.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS said it was satisfactory to him to know that Glasgow would not suffer from the transfer of the telephone service to the Post Office, but he did not understand on what principle the valuations were made. There should be an annual revision. He did not suppose that there was any disagreement between the locality and the central authority, or could be, but he failed to see how the valuation was arrived at. His complaint was not only that the property of the Government was assessed at too low a valuation, but on the other hand the rates as assessed were largely going up. The hon. Gentleman was entitled to ask what the increase in the other rates was, and to contribute to them a largely increased sum. He also contended that while the rates were rising, the Government was contributing on a basis fixed forty or fifty years ago, and in any case on a valuation lower than they ought. On these grounds he, as a protest, would divide the Committee on this Vote.

*MR. MORTON asked whether the hon. Gentleman could arrange to have the Government property assessed by the local authority.

THE CHAIRMAN said that would involve a change in the law and therefore it was not in order to discuss it.

*MR. MORTON said in that case he would ask whether he would allow it to be valued in the same way and at the same rate as other property in the district. The appeal which they now had was from the Treasury to the Treasury. That did not strike him as being of much use. But if they appealed would the appeal be heard?

MR. HOBHOUSE: Certainly.

*MR. MORTON: They had made a great advance since 1894, because they used to be told they could not go beyond the Government valuation. He knew a great deal of Government property which was not properly valued and he would call attention to that at the proper time, and in some other place.

MR. ASHLEY said that if the hon. Member for the Camlachie Division of Glasgow was satisfied that no injustice would be done by the telephone offices being taken over by the Government, so far as his constituency was concerned he was not, because when these offices came under the Government they would come under the same system as other Government offices, and would be valued at less than other offices, and a great injustice would be done. He did not see how the Government could refuse to come under the same conditions with regard to their property as private owners. The argument of the Secretary to the Treasury in regard to this matter was rather weak. He said there was never any dispute between the Treasury and the local authorities; that the Treasury met the local authority, discussed the matter with them, and came to a decision satisfactory to all parties.

Of course, where one of the parties had both hands held behind its back, and knew it must accept the decision of the Government, the settlement was bound to be amicable because there was no chance of getting fair play. Having regard to the fact that the appeal from the Treasury was to the Treasury itself, he should support his hon. friend in the lobby.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he was satisfied with the answer which he had received with regard to Ireland, but he would urge the hon. Gentleman to give some further explanation so that the Committee might know exactly where they were. Everybody knew that recently there had been a revaluation, but, so far as he understood, in that revaluation the Government property was passed over, the valuer saying he had nothing to do with it. He would like to ask whether in Scotland, where the valuation was annual, or in England, where it was at varying periods, the bargain having been entered into it was not the duty of the valuer to value the Government property in the same way as the property of private individuals. Did the Government mean to say that their contribution of £665,000 was to continue from year to year on the old valuation while the local ratepayers had to pay on the increased valuation? The Government properties were valued many years ago, and there had been no increase in the Government contribution to local taxation. Owing to pressure of public business and different matters outside, he dared say that the Committee would break up without getting a satisfactory answer. They entered their protest against the treatment they received in Committee when they asked straight questions and did not succeed in getting straight answers. They asked their questions and were put off in a light and airy manner by being told, for instance, that Ireland had not done quite so much as Scotland. He wished to know whether some extensions which had been made to buildings in Ireland had been revalued for the purpose of their paying the ordinary rates of the localities where they were situate. He wished to know also whether the same value was put upon those extensions as was put on the original buildings years and years ago. If that was the case it was not fair to those who paid their rates on a proper valuation and had also to pay the difference that was caused by the Government's contributing on an old valuation. The Committee, with a very small attendance, was asked to sanction an arrangement which was obviously unfair on the face of it and was not in accordance with business traditions. An hon. Member below the gangway had addressed a very strong argument to the hon. Gentleman opposite, and what answer had he received? He had got no answer at all.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is repeatedly saying that he has got no answer. He really must confine himself to the Vote under discussion.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he should not have risen a second time if he had received a fair answer in the first instance. He asked the hon. Gentleman to give them some fair answer.

SIR F. BANBURY said the hon. Gentleman had not met the point. He had merely informed him that he was correct in all the objections which he had raised to the Vote. But then he had gone on to say that there was an appeal. The appeal was this. The valuation was made by the Treasury Valuer and by an Inspector. These were the gentlemen who made the assessments. Were they satisfactory to the people concerned? He did not think they were. The hon. Gentleman had produced a letter from the Kensington Borough Council in which they said that they were satisfied. They might have been satisfied in that particular instance, and he thought they were wise if they were satisfied. But it could not in any way be considered a satisfactory appeal, and it was evident that the unfortunate municipalities were bound to accept whatever the Treasury Valuer might say. What he desired was that these valuations should be carried out in a business like manner. The hon. Gentleman was the representative of a businesslike Government, which they had been given to understand when it came into power was to carry things out in an economical and efficient manner. What was to prevent a proper valuation being made on the basis upon which all other valuations were founded? He was glad that he had the support of hon. Members on the other side of the House, and he thought that it was absolutely necessary to express, by dividing the Committee, their dissatisfaction with the manner in which these valuations were carried on.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 28; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 94.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Ashley, W. W.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bull, Sir William James
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Dalrymple, Viscount
Forster, Henry William
Gretton, John
Guinness, Walter Edward
Hope, James Fitzalan (Sheffield)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
MacCaw, William J. MacGeagh
Magnus, Sir Philip
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Staveley-Hill, Henry (Staff'sh.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Fell and Mr. Cross.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Agnew, George William
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury E.
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Bowerman, C. W.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Compton-Rickett, Sir J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Curran, Peter Francis
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford
Grayson, Albert Victor
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hn. L (Rossendale)
Harcourt, Robert V. (Montrose)
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hart-Davies, T.
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman

Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Levy, Sir Maurice
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Meehan, Francis E.(Leitrim, N.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pollard, Dr.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, W.E.B.(Bradford,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n)
Richardson, A.
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rowlands, J.
Schwann, SirC.E.(Manchester)
Scott, A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset, E
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wardle, George J.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E(Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. J. A. Pease and Captain Norton.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

CLASS II.

4. £35, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

5. £8,420, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

CLASS VI.

6. £338, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances.

CLASS II.

7. £23,178, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

## ADJOURNMENT—THE TERRITORIAL FORCE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. J. A. Pease.*)

*MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) said he desired on the Motion for the adjournment of the House to raise a question which he thought was of some public importance, namely, the treatment which had been lately meted out to some of the permanent staff of the Territorial Force and the old Volunteer Force. These notices of reduction of salary had been given out in a few cases last year, but in the great majority of instances they were given out only two months ago, and it had, he thought, caused very great dissatisfaction among the Regular soldiers who were employed as instructors of the new Territorial Army, that their pa had been cut down not by 10 or 15 per cent., but by 50 per cent. On Monday he asked the Secretary for War whether the colour sergeants of the Regular Forces who took up the appointments of sergeant-major and sergeant-instructor of the Infantry battalions of the old Volunteer Forces were now on being transferred to the new Territorial Force to receive only about 50 per cent. of their former pay, and the answer he received did not traverse his main contention that the pay had been arbitrarily cut down. He wished the House to be in possession of the exact situation in respect of this matter. What were the facts? These men continued to receive their Army pay. They received it just as if they were serving with their battalions. They received neither more nor less for their Army service, but the House must remember that on taking up their position as sergeant-instructors of the Territorial and Volunteer Forces—a position which he thought the House would agree was a very important one—they lost 6d. a day for acting as colour-sergeants, and 6d. a day for paying a company. They lost, therefore, 1s. a day or 7s. a week. What did they receive in return for this loss of 7s. when they took on under the old Volunteer Force? The amounts varied according to localities, but in nearly all cases rates higher than were permitted under the new Regulations, invariably so in London. Take a typical case in the Metropolis of a well known corps, for the very important post of sergeant-major, 22s. a week, and as sergeant-instructor 12s. a week. That was not an excessive amount of remuneration for these men to receive in view of the very important and hard duties they had to perform. He understood that in some cases the change was made last year, but in the cases which had come under his notice, that was in the London district, it was only in March that the order came from the War Office that the sergeant-majors, instead of receiving 22s., were to receive only 10s. a week—a reduction of more than 50 per cent.; and sergeant-instructors, instead of 12s. were to receive 6s. 8d. a week. These unfortunate men were in this position, that the sergeant-majors for all their extra work got 3s. a week extra, and the sergeant-instructors not only did not get anything extra but lost 4d. a week. He would like to read to the House the answer he received to his Question. It began by saying that undoubtedly the Army pay was the same in the Regular Army as in the Volunteers. That he did not complain of. It went on to say—

> "Extra remuneration was permitted to be given by their corps for extra work performed in addition to military duties."

He traversed that statement entirely. The extra remuneration was not permitted: it was ordered to be given by the War Office Order of May, 1903, and had nothing to do with the corps itself. The reply went on to say—

> "and is permitted to be given by the County Associations at the present moment."

He again traversed that statement. That was not so. This reduced pay was owing to the direct order received in London last March from the War Office, and the County Association had nothing to do with fixing the scales of pay. It was plainly stated so at the recent meeting of the London County Association by Lord Esher. When the question was brought up at the meeting, and many of the commanding officers pointed out what a great injustice this order was, and how detrimental to efficiency, Lord Esher said, "I am very sorry indeed, but this has nothing to do with us; we have simply to carry out the orders of the War Office in this respect." Then the answer of the Secretary for War went on—

> "The Army Council, however, cannot approve of payments made simply for the

purpose of increasing the remuneration paid to the permanent staff without any reference to the extra work which they are required to do."

That statement added insult to injury. The County Associations could not approve any increase of pay when the pay was reduced by 50 per cent. It was said there was less work to do than in the past. He could not agree to that when they knew that the permanent staff of the Territorial Army had been reduced as compared with the Volunteer battalions, in some cases from four to three. He would press on the Government these two points. First, he thought it was not keeping faith with these men to allow them to take up their appointments on the faith of the War Office Order of 1903 in which the scale of payment was laid down, to make them leave their regular battalions and take their wives and children far away, and now suddenly to leave them in the lurch, perhaps within a year or two of getting their pensions, putting them in the dilemma of serving on at a very reduced income, and possibly—he did not know what view the Army Council took of it—of being obliged to serve on, because after all they were soldiers under military orders, and might not be allowed to go back to the colours. He took even a wider view than this, and thought it stupidity on the part of the Government at this time when the success of the Territorial Army hung in the balance—they knew that only about 30 per cent. of the Territorial Force had been recruited—to cut down the pay of the men who, even more than the officers, had it in their power to make the new force a success or not. Surely if it was to be a success it was not good policy to reduce by 50 per cent. the emoluments of the men who had the power to make or mar the force.

MR. HOBHOUSE said the *gravamen* of the charge which he understood the hon. Member brought was that faith

was not kept with the officers of what was now the new Territorial Force in accordance with the terms of the agreement of 1893.

MR. ASHLEY: And that you will not get the right class of men for the most important work.

MR. HOBHOUSE assured the hon. Member that he was appealing to one who was very largely in sympathy with him, but, of course, he had no warrant to speak on behalf of the War Office on this point. But standing there in quite another capacity and as one interested in the success of the Territorial Force, he felt there was great weight in what the hon. Member had said. It was unquestionably a fact that if they did not offer a sufficient consideration they would not get a satisfactory class of non-commissioned officers to come into the Territorial Force from the Regular Force. That was no new difficulty, for it had existed as long as the hon. Member had had any connection with the Auxiliary Forces, and certainly as long as he had had any connection with that force himself. He would take care to represent it to the responsible authorities at the War Office. Of course, he could make no pledge on behalf of the representative of the War Office, but he would represent the hon. Member's views, and, so far as he could, reinforce them.

*MR. GRETTON (Rutland) hoped the hon. Gentleman would also point out how very important it was to country corps that the sergeant instructors for the Territorial Force should be very carefully selected, and sufficient inducements offered to obtain the services of the most suitable non-commissioned officers from the Line battalions.

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at Twenty minutes after Eight o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Friday*, 15*th May*, 1908.

The House met at Twelve noon of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

Rhymney Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill. Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

## *PETITIONS.*

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Galashiels; and Whitworth; to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (NO. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Kilsyth; and Leigh; to lie upon the Table.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Two Petitions from Aberystwyth, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### IRISH UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Petition of the Society of Friends in Ireland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Birmingham, East (two); Bradfield; Colchester (two); Essex; and Rutland; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions for alteration: From Milnrow; and Whitworth; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour: From Aberdeen; Bagillt; Beulah; Birmingham; Blackburn; Bradford; Brecon; Bridgend; Bridlington; Cambridge; Clydach; Comsay; Congleton; Crosshill; Cwmdu; Dalmellington; East Kilbride; Edinburgh; Everton; Eyemouth; Florence; Galashiels; Garliestown; Glasgow; Guildford (Pem.); Harehills; Heanor (three); Hereford (two); Holywell; Horden; Langley Mill (two); Leeds; Leicester; Loscoe; Macclesfield (two); Manchester; Marlpool; Newcastle-on-Tyne; Newport (Pem.); Northwich; Perran-ar-Worthal; Ponterbury; Pontyclun; Preston; Rothesay; St. Leonards; Scarborough (four); Scottish Baptists Total Abstinence Society; Tain; Warth; West Benwell; West Linton; and Worcester; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Baltasound; Edinburgh (two); Glasgow; and Huntley; to lie upon the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### COAST GUARD.

Copy presented, of Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference on the Coast Guard, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### BANKING AND RAILWAY STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Report on the Banking and Railway Statistics of Ireland for the half-year ended 31st December, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1907.

Copy presented, of Return giving particulars of cases in which persons have been reinstated with the assistance of the Estates Commissioners up to 31st December, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3987 and 3992 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

### Post Office Female Medical Officer.

**Mr. FIELD** (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the late Miss Ida Watson

*An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.*

of the Postal Order Branch of the Money Order Department, with only three or four years' service, visited the official female medical officer on 30th March last on the ground that she felt seriously ill; that, instead of granting her sick leave, she was sent back on duty; that this young lady felt worse during the following week, culminating in collapse, having to be assisted by a colleague to complete her average on Saturday, 4th April; that she was on that day granted three weeks' sick leave by her own private medical practitioner and that on that night she fell into a state of unconsciousness and remained so for three weeks until she died on 28th April; that two specialists gave independent opinions in this case that death was brought about by suppressed influenza, and that if she had been properly treated at first she would likely be now alive; and whether, seeing that when the deceased entered the Post Office and up to the time of her fatal illness she was a bright healthy girl, he will say what are the medical qualifications of the official lady doctor to whom the deceased submitted herself for treatment; and whether, in view of the expenses incurred by the deceased's relatives in Ireland in connection with this case, he will order an independent inquiry into it with a view to prevent a recurrence of similar cases, and grant some compensation to the deceased's relatives.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Miss Watson visited the official medical officer on 30th March last, with the complaint that she was run down after influenza. She does not appear to have asked for sick leave, and was given a tonic and instructed to see the medical officer again. There was nothing in her appearance or symptoms to suggest the presence of serious disease. Miss Watson voluntarily remained at work till 4th April, and made no application for relief from duty. The assistance given on 4th April was solely because she happened to be engaged on work of an unfamiliar nature. On the evening of that day she developed tubercular meningitis, of which she died on 27th April. I see no reason to attribute neglect of duty to the medical officer, in whose skill and care for the welfare of the staff committed to her charge I have full confidence, and to whom considerable injustice is done by the terms of this Question.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the late Miss Houston, of the Postal Order Branch of the Money Order Department, had, prior to her sudden death on 20th March last, been ailing for some time and attending the official female medical officer, who treated her for dyspepsia and indigestion; that she saw this official doctor specially about a week before her sudden death on the ground that she felt seriously ill; and that, instead of granting her sick leave, she was ordered back on duty; and, seeing that the deceased died suddenly on 20th March, from supposed heart disease, will he take similar steps as requested in the case of the late Miss Watson.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Miss Houston was under the care of a private medical attendant, and had not been treated by the official medical officer since 21st October, 1907, *i.e.*, five months before her death. No question of neglect on the part of the medical officer therefore arises. I may say that Miss Houston had not been absent on sick leave between October last and the day before her death, nor was there anything to indicate the seriousness of her condition. I have entire confidence in both the skill and the kindliness of the lady medical officer concerned in this case, and much regret the implication unjustly thrown upon her by the terms of the Question.

### Sanitary Condition of Northwood Post Office.

SIR F. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that repeated complaints have been made to the postal authorities regarding the insanitary and unsatisfactory nature of the post office premises at Northwood, R.S.O.; that the sanitary accommodation for the female staff at the Post Office, Northwood, R.S.O., at the corner of Green Lane and Eastbury Road is only accessible through the letter-sorting room in which the male staff is constantly at work; that the whole premises are badly ventilated and dangerous alike to the health of the staff who work in them specially and to that of the public who resort there; that the public office is quite insufficient from the point of view of capacity, as it cannot contain comfortably more than four members of the public at one time; and whether he will take immediate steps for the provision at Northwood of new and larger premises in which the staff can work under proper sanitary conditions and which will be suitable to the needs of the rapidly increasing population of the district.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I am aware that complaints have been made with regard to the present sub-post office at Northwood, and the question of obtaining better accommodation has been under my personal consideration; but hitherto it has not been practicable to carry through any scheme for a new post office building owing to local building restrictions. Recently, however, I have received an offer of some premises which will, I hope, afford adequate accommodation at any rate for a time until an entirely new office can be provided. The present premises were the best which could be secured to serve the purpose temporarily, and since they were taken a good deal has been done to improve them as far as possible.

### Sick Leave of Civil Servants.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the sick leave which Civil servants were allowed was substantially reduced by an Order in Council issued in May 1905; if so, whether this was intended to apply only to new entrants or to the entire establishment; and, if the latter, whether it has always been the custom of the Treasury in making new regulations not to interfere with existing rights and privileges and conditions of employment.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The Order in Council referred to only enlarged a class of cases of sick leave which had to be referred to the Treasury for decision. The provision applies to officers appointed before as well as to officers appointed after the date of the Order. No question of saving existing rights arises, because no Civil servant has a right to any specified amount of sick leave; the grant of sick leave (even within the limits laid down by Order in Council) being in the discretion of the head of a department.

### Fairfield Shipbuilding Company, Employment of Boy Labour.

MR. T. W. WILSON (Lancashire, Westhoughton): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the Fairfield Shipbuilding Company, Govan, have put inexperienced boys to perform work on H.M.S. "Indomitable," which, previous to the lock-out, was being done by the most skilled workmen employed by the firm; and whether he will take steps to prevent the work on His Majesty's ships being executed in an inefficient manner and contrary to the terms of the contract.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) In accordance with the usual trade custom, the Fairfield Company are employing apprentices on certain work during the existence of the present labour troubles. Efficient steps have already been taken to ensure that such work shall be completed in a thoroughly satisfactory manner in all respects, in accordance with the terms of the contract.

### The Finance Act—Limits of the 10th Section.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state why the 10th Section of the Finance Act, 1907, is limited to the case of loan capital, in view of the fact that the grievance which the section was intended to meet also exists in cases where share capital is consolidated, as for example where an issue of preference stock is made by a railway company for the purpose of consolidating several existing preference stocks; and whether he will apply the provisions of Section 10 to such cases.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) Section 10 of the Finance Act, 1907, is limited to loan capital because the grievance which the section was intended to meet only exists in cases of loan capital

A company making an issue of preference stock for the purpose of consolidating existing preference stocks would not necessarily pay any share capital duty. Such duty would, under the law as it stands, only be payable in respect of any authority to increase the nominal share capital of the company. A consolidation effected without increase of the nominal share capital would not attract duty. A consolidation of loan capital under similar circumstances would, but for Section 10 of the Finance Act, 1907, attract 2s. 6d. per cent.

### Promotion of Irish School Teachers.

MR. J. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland can state the number of teachers in Ireland who are deprived of promotion under the existing conditions as to average attendance at their schools; whether many such teachers have shown themselves to be thoroughly efficient and experienced; and whether he will ask the Commissioners to adopt some means of recognising the ability of these teachers, who are compelled to remain stationary owing to circumstances over which they have no control.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Commissioners of National Education inform me that it would not be possible without a detailed examination of each case to say how many teachers are deprived of promotion solely on the ground of insufficient average attendance of pupils at their schools. There are, however, 647 teachers in charge of schools in which the average attendance does not warrant promotion of the teachers to higher grades, even if they are eligible for promotion in all other respects. While so many of the schools remain small, there must be a considerable difficulty in substantially improving the position of the teachers of such schools. I understand that the Commissioners take steps for the amalgamation of small schools whenever the opportunity arises.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Rose Riggs.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that. in the case of Mrs. Rose Riggs, evicted tenant, Westmeath, the Estates Commissioners have not yet exercised their compulsory powers, under the Evicted Tenants Act, 1907, for restoring Mrs. Riggs to her old farm of 50 acres, which is vacant and on the landlord's hands, but have offered her 25 acres of inferior land with no house on it; will he ascertain and state the reason for the neglect; and when will the Commissioners reinstate Mrs. Riggs in the farm from which she was capriciously evicted.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners are of opinion that, having regard to Section 7 of the Evicted Tenants Act, they cannot acquire Mrs. Riggs's former holding compulsorily, and the owner is not prepared to reinstate her voluntarily. The Commissioners have offered to Mrs. Riggs 29 acres of land on an estate about three miles from her former holding, and have offered to build a house on the land and to give assistance in providing stock, but Mrs. Riggs has refused the offer. Mrs. Riggs is a widow seventy years of age, with but one daughter living at home, and the Commissioners are of opinion that the land which was offered to her is as much as she would be able to work.

### Board of Intermediate Education (Ireland) —Issue of Rules.

MR. HAZLETON (Galway, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state when the rules of the Board of Intermediate Education, Ireland, will be laid upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that the rules are still under the consideration of the Intermediate Education Board, and it cannot yet be said when they will be laid before Parliament.

### Motor Traffic in Ireland.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can give for 1906, 1907, and for as much of 1908 as possible, statistics regarding the number, etc., of motor-cars, motor-cycles, and industrial motor vehicles in use in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Local Government Board are not in a position to give the information asked for. To do so, it would be necessary to apply to the various registering authorities throughout the country.

### The Ballyglass Estates.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the estate of Ballyglass, in the barony of Ballymoe, County Galway (sold through the Court to the Land Commission in 1900), contains twelve holdings under £1 valuation and four over that amount, whilst a Mr. J. P. Mulligan holds a non-residential grass farm which he has refused to sell for the extension of the uneconomic holdings; and whether he proposes to give power to deal with such cases as this under the promised land legislation.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that the lands referred to in the Question formed part of an estate which was sold in the Land Judge's Court to the occupying tenants under the Land Purchase Acts, 1891–1896. The sales were made under ordinary proposals by the tenants to purchase from the Land Judge, and were carried out in, and subsequent to, the year 1898. One of the purchasing tenants was Mr. J. P. Mulligan, whose holding consisted of a non-residential grass farm for which he paid £5,000, the advance by the Land Commission being £4,000 and the remainder paid in cash. There were eighteen other purchasing tenants, in ten of whose cases the tenement value was under £1. I am not at present in a position to give details of the proposed legislation for amending the Land Acts, but the question raised in the hon. Member's concluding inquiry will receive full consideration when the Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion is being dealt with.

### Reinstatement of David Riordan.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state whether the Estates Commissioners are taking steps to effect the reinstatement of David Riordan in his former holding on the Sherlock estate, Araglen, County Cork; and what is the present position of the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Before considering the necessity of applying the provisions of The Evicted Tenants Act, 1907, in this case, the Estates Commissioners are about to ask the owner to allow an inspection of the holding with a view to their estimating a price to be offered for it.

### Case of Hugh Cunningham on the Bruce-Nason Estate.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state whether the Estates Commissioners have had further communication with the owner of the Bruce-Nason estate, County Cork, respecting the case of Hugh Cunningham; and with what result so far.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) In March, 1907, the Estates Commissioners intimated to the owner the amount they were prepared to advance for the purchase of the holding in question, but the owner refused the offer. According to the Commissioners' information Cunningham was not evicted, and the Commissioners therefore do not propose to take any further action in the matter at present; but will again consider the case if the estate should be sold under the Act of 1903.

### Army Razor Contracts.

MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether, in view of the decision announced by him, tenders for the supply of razors for the use of the Army will be shortly issued.

(*Answered by Mr. Acland.*) Tenders will be issued shortly.

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## SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee B (in respect of the Children Bill): Mr. Gill and Mr. Curran; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Children

Bill): Mr. Tyson Wilson and Mr. Keir Hardie.

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Irish Universities Bill): Mr. Cullinan, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, and Lord Willoughby de Eresby; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Irish Universities Bill): Mr. Gwynn, Mr. Gordon, and the Marquess of Hamilton.

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal Bill): Mr. McKillop; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal Bill): Mr. Kavanagh.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

## HOUSE LETTING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Order for Second Reading, read.

*MR. SPEAKER: With reference to this Bill I have to say that I have examined the contents of it, and I find that a considerable number of clauses go beyond the title of the Bill. Therefore, the Bill cannot be proceeded with.

Order discharged, and Bill withdrawn.

## ACCESS TO MOUNTAINS BILL.

Order for Second Reading, read.

*MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) in moving the Second Reading of this Bill said the measure was not a new one, either to the public or the House of Commons. The Bill was almost the same as that associated with the name of the present Ambassador to the United States, the only difference being that the measure which he was now proposing applied not only to Scotland, but was extended to England as well. Mr. Bryce's Bill actually passed the Second Reading in 1888, but was not proceeded with further. In 1892 in a Conservative Parliament, a Resolution was passed by the House approving of the general principle of the Bill. Since then the question had sunk into the background of politics, chiefly, of course owing to Mr. Bryce's ill fortune in the ballot. No doubt there had also been another and secondary cause. In Scotland there had been, perhaps, a slight decrease of public interest, not because of the removal of the general grievance, which he would maintain had increased, but because the Winans scandal—an instance of private selfishness so gross that no one defended it—had disappeared. The Winans forest of 200,000 acres or more no longer stretched across Scotland from sea to sea, perpetually defended by an army of keepers, each having his beat, and many of them sentry boxes—an area from which the people were excluded, and where even pet lambs could not wander without their owners being in danger of prosecution. That social scandal, grotesque in its enormity, had gone, but the law or the absence of law, which permitted it, still remained. The general evil had increased in the last fifteen years, and it was now more difficult to walk freely in the wild places of Scotland and England. The need for legislation pressed more and more every year. He based his argument in favour of this measure in the long run on the ground that it was necessary for the highest health of the people. When introducing the Housing Bill the other day the President of the Local Government Board told them that our population was becoming more and more urban. Sixty years ago, when their fathers were free to wander all over the wild places of England and Scotland, only 35 per cent. of the population lived in towns; now 75 per cent. lived in towns, and there was a growing feeling in all classes of society that in order to live a thoroughly healthy life in a town, and in order that vigour might be properly maintained, it was necessary that the population should have country air, exercise, and pursuits, at any rate during the holiday periods of the year. No one among the well-to-do population ever dreamt of staying the whole year in town. Every rich man either bought or hired some place to go where he had his special share of wild country, and where he could enjoy in the fullest and freest way the most beautiful wild places. Fortunately the rich were not alone in recognising that their health and happiness depended largely upon their having recreation and exercise outside of towns, and that the fullest and best recreation for body and mind was, for at all events a great many of them, to wander over mountains and moors in the wilder parts of the country. There was a rapidly increasing mass of our population of moderate and small means in the great towns who, realising this, were forming walking and climbing clubs, and devoting portions of their leisure to the study of natural history during their country rambles. There was no country in the world except our own where any serious barriers were placed upon people going out into country districts. Abroad our people in Switzerland, France, Germany, and Italy, were free to go where they liked in the wild places of these countries. Who had ever been forbidden to wander over an Alp? Who had ever been threatened with interdict in the Appenines? Who had ever been warned off the rocks of Tyrol? Who had every been prosecuted for trespassing among Norwegian mountains? What was the state of things in our country? All the resorts in England or Scotland where people might go, such as the Lakes and Arran, were full to overflowing, and a large part of our not very well to do population was forced to go abroad for its holiday. The rich people in England stayed at home to the exclusion of the poorer part of the population who were forced to go abroad to Switzerland, Norway, and other countries, and pay for expensive journeys in order to get to places where they could walk and wander. This condition of things was not improving. Large tracts of the most beautiful parts of Scotland were being more and more closed every year. In 1882 rather under 2,000,000 of acres were under deer forest; now 3,500,000 of acres were under deer forest. From all that tract the public were practically excluded. The ordinary and less enterprising tourist could not go there at all. The owners of deer forests and grouse moors were increasing their strictness. In many directions rights of way were being closed. In many places the cottager had been forbidden to take in tourists. Even hotels in some places had been closed in which visitors could possibly stay. More and more the science of strict game-keeping was making resort to these sacred preserves more and more difficult. It was often asserted that the owners of forests did their best to help the public. He had been reading an article written in 1901, by a gentleman, who boasted the fine name of Duncan Darroch of Torridon, in which he said—

> "To the majority of the owners and occupiers of deer forests in Scotland it is a great pleasure to be able to allow the climbing and scientific public to share as far as possible in the delights of climbing the hills and scenery.

He heard a curious commentary on that the other day. He was told by an hon. friend that a gentleman of wide scientific attainments in Edinburgh some time ago wrote to ask all the owners of deer forests in Scotland if he and some of his friends might have leave, under any conditions, to go into the deer forests for scientific purposes for a botanical survey. He got less than a dozen answers and all of them were refusals.

*MR. CHAPLIN (Wimbledon): Who was the gentleman? Can the hon. Member produce the letter?

MR. A. DEWAR (Edinburgh, S.): I have not got it with me. The information which my hon. friend has given to the House came from me. This botanical survey desired to have access to mountains, and wrote to the owners—and tenants—of every deer forest in Scotland asking for permission to go at any time most convenient, and undertaking that they would do no damage. They did not get permission, I regret to say, from one.

*MR. TREVELYAN said that the grievance against which this Bill was directed was not confined to Scotland alone. Every year it was getting a little more difficult to go on the English hills as well. It was true that in one respect the English were profoundly fortunate. Their English Braemar was not a game preserve, and in their English Lakes they were not confined to the motor road. The Cumberland Lake District was a free paradise. They owed that partly to the existence of large common rights, and partly to the traditional public spirit and unexclusiveness of the great landlords of that district who had never closed any part of it. But they owed that state of things most of all to the accident that over this great mountain district there were very few grouse and hardly any deer. The consequence was that there were hundreds and thousands of men and women scattered over England to whom the freedom of these hills was one of the chief joys and benefits of their life. He said there were many of them who would be different and less good men and women if Skiddaw, Wetherlam, Great Gable, and Scafell were closed, in order that a score of men might shoot every year for a score of days. In other districts of England the story was different. All down the Pennines it was steadily becoming more difficult for our people to get access to the moors. He had had a good deal of information sent to him in regard to restrictions of access since he brought in this Bill. Sheffield was a type of a great town, dingy, smoky, and colourless in its unattractiveness, but which had the natural advantage that at its very gates there was a great moor district which was the proper recreation ground of the people. In the old days it was open to them. Almost the only poet of the people whose reputation has lived in England was Ebenezer Elliott, and he became a poet because he loved the moors around Sheffield. The successors of Ebenezer Elliott—the workmen who had come after him—were not allowed to walk on the hills where he got his inspiration. These hills were almost entirely closed to the people of Sheffield. Every year more land was included in the ban, and another crag edge was forbidden to the climbers of Sheffield. They might go and look at Kinderscout through glasses, but they could not go up without the chance of being chased by gamekeepers. This Bill would open the mountains to everyone who wanted to go there for recreation, health, and scientific purposes. That liberty, however, was carefully qualified so as to prevent abuse, and if other dangers were apprehended by owners or tenants, the promoters would be ready to consider in Committee whether further arrangements and compromise could be made. But he knew perfectly well what the chief opposition to the Bill was likely to be. A certain number of people thought the Bill was an attack on sport, and was intended to destroy grouse-driving and deer-stalking. His own motives were above suspicion. Personally, he yielded to no one in the House in his love of shooting, and he did not believe any reasonable sport was going to be stopped by the Bill. He knew that ridiculously exaggerated pictures were drawn of a crowd of tourists walking across a grouse-drive and spoiling a day's sport. There was a moor in Northumberland which he was in the habit of shooting over, and this moor happened to be on the way along which a lot of tramps had been going for the last four or five years to certain waterworks in course of construction in the Northumbrian hills. On one occasion he admitted that a drive was spoilt, and very likely he muttered imprecations upon that occasion, but he would not be such a sulky and selfish curmudgeon as to give orders to gamekeepers that they were to exclude tourists or make these men go four miles round in order to get to their work in future and to save him from another annoyance of that character. The real walker and climber was not going to do very much harm; for the climber being a sportsman himself, he did not want to stop other people's sport. He himself had probably walked further than almost any other Member in the last ten years over moors and mountains, and he could only remember two occasions on which he had come across a shooting party. If walkers saw shooting parties they would keep out of their way, and if they deliberately annoyed the shooting parties, he ventured to say that Clause 4 of the Bill would bring them under the law. In any case, he maintained that even if an occasional grouse-drive was disturbed there ought not to be anyone in this House who, for the sake of that annoyance to the most rich and most fortunate, would exclude the rest of the people permanently from our mountains. As to the deer forests in Scotland, it appeared to be imagined from the way some people talked that if this Bill were law an army of tourists would begin to tramp in extended line through the Highlands.

The forest owners were seized with panic, and each saw his deer being driven into his neighbour's forest. The last time this question was discussed in the House, Lord Elcho, speaking against the proposal, suggested that his sanctuary might be invaded by Scottish Alpine Clubs marching to the wail of the bagpipes. No one who knew the touring and walking community would be afraid of anything of that kind. He had often studied the tourist community in the Lake District. There were three kinds of tourists. The first and most numerous class never went into the centre of a grouse moor or a deer forest at all. They frequented the main roads. They were driven about in various kinds of carriages. Occasionally they left the main road and wandered a little way through the woods, or went a few yards up the mountain side in order that they might get a good view. They were a very timid tribe, afraid of getting their feet wet. Yet this numerous class of people was frequently incommoded, bothered, and frightened if they dared to go on the edges of the moors. Instead of having their freedom curtailed, they were exactly the sort of people who ought to be encouraged to trespass, for it would do their souls and bodies good, and the game no harm. The next class of tourists was a very large one—the trampers who wanted to go very often long walks. They were not, however, very pertinacious persons, and always stuck to paths or clear tracks through the hills. They were rather afraid of getting lost in the mountains, and would, whatever freedom was given them, certainly never be guilty of wandering over the hills. They would always be inclined to walk along the lower plain, and to follow beaten paths, and therefore cause little disturbance. Yet this was the class which was most persecuted by the gamekeepers. These were people mostly from the big towns, who were just beginning to have this enthusiasm for a walk on the hills, and would be content with existing paths. Then there was a third class, comparatively small in numbers, who would walk over all the hills and mountains if they got a chance. The really bold walkers who wanted to go everywhere were few and far between, and it was absurd to exclude all the others because of these, and require all classes to stick to the main road. If anything could be done in Committee to allay the fears of deer forest owners, the promoters of the Bill would meet them in every possible way in a friendly spirit. He had heard it suggested that some sort of schedule should be made of sanctuaries in deer forests from which the public should be excluded. There was something in that, and it would be carefully considered by the promoters. He hoped however, that the attitude taken to-day would not be that where the deer treads there man must not tread, and that a deer forest or a grouse moor could not exist if man had free access to it. He hoped in the interest of sport itself that that attitude would not be adopted; if it were, he was sure that it would react dangerously on the best interests of sportsmen. Our town population did not know or care much about shooting, but were willing to live and let live. If it once got into their minds that their opportunities of recreation and holiday were seriously curtailed and spoiled by a class of rich sportsmen, then it was going to be an evil day for the game laws. If once their indignation was aroused the game laws would be roughly handled in a way that would make sportsmen sigh for the mild proposals in this Bill. He did not want to see this, and therefore he appealed to shooting men to support the Second Reading of the Bill. He believed that exclusion from mountains and moors was entirely indefensible to the unprejudiced person. There was a reasonable and unanswerable basis for exclusion from land where industry was being carried on. That was the same as securing the privacy of a man's house and grounds; but in the long run they could not defend to the unprejudiced mind a claim to exclude a large and increasing number of men and women who were seeking health and recreation in the best and most beautiful wild places of the country on the ground that another set of people, much less numerous, but with more opportunities, wanted it for their exclusive recreation. Surely it was better while the new system of enclosure was in its comparatively early stages, and before feeling was embittered further by increasing provocation, to come to some reasonable terms which would preserve for many generations, even in our democratic country, the best sport which a wealthy nation ever evolved, by showing that it was not incompatible with the elementary right of any population to know, to frequent, and to learn to love all that was wild, magnificent, and beautiful in this various and pleasant land.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*MR. J. F. MASON (Windsor) said he did not move the rejection of the Bill because he thought nothing could be done in the direction desired. He moved its rejection not because he did not think that the principles embodied in the Bill were most desirable; but because the disadvantages would be found to outweigh to a very considerable extent the advantages which were aimed at. He believed that the object desired would be better attained somewhat on the lines of the Bill presented by the hon. Member for Leith Burghs, which, however, only applied to Scotland. The objects of that measure were not only the preservation of the rights of way at present existing, but the creation of new rights of way in a considerable number of cases where it was found to be desirable in the interests of the people. He proposed to argue this Bill so far as possible from the point of view of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and as little as possible from the point of view of the protection of the rights of property. He knew, although he was by no means sure that it would be acknowledged in some quarters of the House, that the rights of property had their full justification. He also knew that that argument would appeal less to Gentlemen opposite than the argument based on the question of the advantages to be gained by the Bill. The object of the Bill could not be said to remove any painful evil or any pressing grievance. He acknowledged that the object was to give to a large number of people a certain liberty which they did not now possess, and in so far as that liberty was connected with the improvement of the health of the people, it would meet with the support of all Members of the House. He might say in passing that they might consider that the Bill applied, both from the remarks made by the hon. Member who moved its Second Reading, and from the nature of the case, more to deer forests than to any other form of property. The natives of the deer forest districts had all got their occupations, to a great extent of a laborious kind, and did not hanker after climbing up hills for the sake of climbing. What they did desire was to get from one village to another or from their homes to where they worked in the shortest possible time, and by the shortest possible route. Where that occurred he acknowledged that there was a very good reason for creating a right of way for the benefit of those people. The next class of people interested in the Bill consisted of those engaged in scientific and artistic work. He was sure that no one would deprecate more than he did anything which stood in the way of science and art, and he confessed that the case put before the House that owners of deer forests stood in the way of a scientific survey, except at a time when sport was in full swing, had greatly surprised him, and he could not for a moment approve of it. He thought that the greater number of sportsmen would be only too glad to do everything in their power to assist the cause of science or the work of the artist. The third class of people, and that most affected by this Bill, were the tourists. The hon. Member who brought in the Bill had already told them that the number of those tourists who had muscles sufficiently strong to take them up to the top of high hills, and were not afraid of getting their feet wet, was comparatively limited; and he thought that they might consider that the benefits of the Bill was mainly open to that comparatively limited number of tourists. The question was, what were the disadvantages which stood in the way of giving them this access to the mountains? He acknowledged that the Bill had several very useful safeguards. Clause 3 dealt with defences in proceedings for trespass. Clause 4 forbade tourists to carry guns, to be accompanied by dogs, to dig up roots, and so forth. These provisions, he acknowledged, were designed to protect property; and he did not think that the damage done on sheep runs would be very material. But he was quite prepared to base his argument on the question of deer forests, which he believed were the only form of moorland which would really suffer any serious evil from the tourists. It should be borne in mind that deer were animals of the most extraordinary eyesight and an astounding power of smell, especially apparently when the smell came from a human being. It was a well-known fact to all who had indulged in deer-stalking that the deer did not take much notice, and frequently no notice at all, of men walking along the valleys or below them; but they had an instinctive feeling of danger the moment they saw a man go up the hill and likely to get into a position above them. That was the reason why he said that, as long as people in deer forests kept to the low ground, he did not think the landlords would interfere, but the moment anyone walked to the top of the highest hill they could see, it was quite easy for such a man, without the least intention of doing harm, to clear the whole valley of deer and drive them from the forest in such a manner that they would not come back for several days. Of course, if a clause could be introduced into the Bill by which the tourist should become invisible and divest himself of this odour, there would be no objection to his going up to the hill-top. The owner of a deer forest would be exposed to three dangers, first, the danger of the tourist, who quite innocently, without any evil intention, walked up to the top of a hill during the stalking season, which only lasted five or six weeks—and it was during those weeks that the damage would be done—and drove the deer out of the forest altogether; secondly, to the danger of anybody who desired to do this to spite him; and thirdly, to the danger of blackmail by anyone who threatened to do so unless he were paid. With those dangers in front of him no reasonable man, whether an owner or tenant of a deer forest, would feel justified in spending the amount of money he now did to protect the sport he enjoyed for a few weeks. Unless safeguards could be introduced, he ventured to say that both owners and tenants would abandon the sport, and the owners would be constrained to put the deer forests back to their original use of grazing land for sheep. ["Hear, hear."] Hon. Members opposite seemed pleased that that should be the case, but let them consider whether the abolition of deer forests was really to the interest of the community of Scotland. There were 3,500,000 acres of deer forests. At the ordinary estimate of one sheep to six acres they would support 600,000 sheep running for three years, which would mean an increase of 200,000 sheep a year towards the food supply of Great Britain; but, as the amount of sheep in Great Britain totalled to 25,000,000, he did not think the food supply of the country would be materially increased by the addition of these 200,000 sheep. As to whether the deer forests were desirable in the interests of the community he might point out that these 3,500,000 acres of deer forests brought in a rental of £165,000 a year or approximately 1s. an acre. From personal knowledge that he had of two forests in Inverness-shire he could say they would not be worth so much as they now were as sheep grazing lands. One of those forests was now let at £3,000 a year. It was originally a sheep run, and as such brought in £700. The present rental of the other forest was £3,100, and it was formerly let as a sheep run at £400, and the grouse shooting at £600, making £1,000 in all. As a sheep-run it employed four men permanently; as a deer forest, six, and twenty-eight gillies temporarily during the season. Those two cases clearly showed that the land as a deer forest brought in from three to four times as much as it would if it were a sheep run, and in addition to that it found more employment for the natives of the country. If it were let as a sheep run at 6d. an acre, which was over the amount it would fetch, there would be a net loss of £80,000 odd a year, and the loss to the local authorities, in the shape of rates, would be £12,000 or £15,000. And whatever the net loss on the assessments of these deer forests was, that would have to be made up by an increased rate on the houses and the agricultural property in the locality. These were points that required consideration, and if the Bill passed its present stage, it would be worth while to consider whether it would not be desirable in the Committee stage to introduce a provision for local option so that the people of the county could decide for themselves whether they would adopt this Bill or not. He begged to move.

MR. LANE-FOX (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash), in rising to second the rejection of the measure, congratulated the hon. Gentleman who moved it upon his eloquent speech and the sincerity he undoubtedly showed in an object with which all must thoroughly sympathise, namely, the desire that those who needed it most should be able to get fresh air and recreation in these parts. The hon. Member had drawn a touching picture of the various classes of tourists who found the rights of way closed and places shut against them. He had drawn a picture of that class of tourist who was afraid to get his feet wet, who was absolutely harmless, and to whom access to a mountain side would be of little value. He himself was perfectly independent in this matter. He neither owned nor was he ever likely to be in a position to rent either a deer forest or a mountain; and he was afflicted with that kind of nature that he would always rather look at a mountain than climb it. It seemed to him, however, either that this Bill would be ineffective or that it would inflict great injustice on a certain class of people, and if this kind of legislation was to be embarked on other classes ought to be dealt with in the same way. The whole Bill depended on the interpretation of Clause 5. He presumed the hon. Member had had expert advice as to what that clause meant, but if they attempted to define what was or was not a park or pleasure ground it was very possible that many of the deer forests with which the hon. Gentleman wished to deal under this Bill would not be included in its scope, but would come within the exemptions of Clause 5. A deer forest was very often in connection with or in proximity to a dwelling-house, and it could be described as a park if a park was a place fenced off from the rest of the land, because everybody knew there was a deer fence running round a deer forest. Why should a man in England be allowed to buy a large piece of land, not cultivated, and to exclude people from it, and the same rule not be applied to a man in Scotland? He had no desire to import personalities, but within the last couple of years the Parliamentary Secretary had bought an estate in Shropshire. Everybody knew how that beautiful place called Hawkstone stood up as a landmark against the whole of the surrounding flat and uninteresting country. He presumed that the hon. Gentleman would have a right, which was by this Bill to be taken away from the people of Scotland, to keep out the general public. If this House was once going to sanction the principle that no man had a right to keep the public off his wild and uncultivated property they had no right to single out a particular class. They had no right to make Scotland a *corpus vile* and not make the law general. What was to be the distinction between the land subject to this Bill and that which was not? Was the test to be cultivation? Because the previous section referred to uncultivated mountain or wild land. Would it be allowed to run a plough once or twice across a hill, or what would be the test which brought this land within or kept it outside the scope of the Bill? Owners of deer forests in Scotland had created forests, made roads, built bridges, and done a great deal to develop the country with the object of making it attractive to sportsmen. Were all those improvements and the expense which had been involved to be dedicated to the public without any compensation being given to those who made them? If that sort of legislation was to be applied it ought to be applied to all classes. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen were not justified in introducing legislation which they thought would hit a certain class. He believed this Bill was introduced mainly in the interests of tourists and not of the population of these districts. He believed there was no very serious grievance among the people dwelling in the vicinity of these deer forests. He believed they could obtain the necessary leave to go across the ground when they required it. When the Bill said that access was to be allowed for purposes of recreation, or scientific, or artistic study, hon. Members must know what that was likely to lead to, having regard to what they knew of the failings of tourists in many parts of the country. They knew what was seen in the way of forest burning, names cut in trees, plants taken up and destroyed, horns blowing, and cornets playing.

AN HON. MEMBER: Look at Clause 4.

MR. LANE-FOX said he was quite aware of the text of Clause 4. But how were they to find out who had taken the roots or done the damage? They knew what was left in the track of the tourist traffic in this country in the shape of orange peel and ginger beer and whiskey bottles. This legislation should be applied to all parts if applied to one; and if it was to be applied, some recognition ought to be allowed to those who had developed the country. Much as he desired to see those who surely had a right to obtain the healthy recreation and mental improvement which they needed and was so desirable, still he was not prepared to accept this Bill, and therefore he begged to second the Motion for its rejection.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. J. F. Mason.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. A. DEWAR said the House had listened to a very good and reasonable argument from the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, but he understood the hon. Gentleman who moved the rejection to say that the only damage this Bill was likely to do was to deer forests in Scotland. He thanked the hon. Gentleman for that statement, and hoped to be able before he had finished to persuade him that he was under a misapprehension, and that even deer forests would not be damaged under the Bill. He was convinced that the hon. Member's objection to the Bill was based on a misapprehension of what the Bill intended to do and a lack of knowledge of Scottish law. It was necessary to consider, first, what was the law, and, secondly, what the law would be if this Bill passed. Then it was necessary to consider how it would affect a landlord, the owner of a deer forest or grouse moor. The law of Scotland with regard to trespass was that the owner could prevent any man putting a foot on his land, but he could only do so by civil process. He could only make application to a Civil Judge to prevent the trespasser coming back again, and he would obtain an interdict and the trespasser would pay the costs. If the trespasser gave an undertaking not to trespass again the interdict was entered all the same, but in that case the trespasser might not pay the costs. If he was found trespassing again after the interdict had been obtained the trespasser was imprisoned, not for the trespass, but for contempt of Court in not obeying the interdict. Under this Bill the landlord would still have a right to make application to the Court to prevent a man coming on to his property. But in Clause 3 there was a new definition of the trespass. Under the Bill a man might say, "This moor is uncultivated land, and in the next place I am doing no damage." At the end of the clause hon. Members would see the words "that no special damage resulted from the alleged trespass." The word "special" was put in because a man did nominal damage wherever he put his foot. Of course, if a man wandered up to the top of a hill in a deer forest at a particular season the deer would flee to the next forest, and that would be special damage in a high degree, and an interdict would at once be entered by a Judge. The Bill was a modest and moderate one, and enacted nothing more than that innocent and honest people should be allowed to go where they could prove they were doing no harm. Hon. Members opposite might say they had no desire to curtail the liberties of anybody else. That was the meaning of the Bill. The man must prove, and the onus of proof was laid upon him, that he only went over the land when he could not possibly do any harm. He knew what it meant to have a picnic party on his best grouse moor, with the sandwich papers left lying about and scaring the grouse for miles round, but that was done solely in ignorance. Special damage did not mean great damage, but damage of a special character. After all, was there not plenty of room for restrictions? There were certain seasons of the year when special damage would be done, but there were also some seasons when a man could go into a deer forest without doing any damage. Would hon. Members agree to their getting into deer forests at those seasons? It was a fact that the sheriff wrote to every owner and tenant of a deer forest.

SIR ARTHUR BIGNOLD (Wick Burghs): I have been an owner of a deer forest for twenty-five years and he has not written to me during that time.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Nor to me.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT (Marylebone, W.): Nor to me.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): Nor to me.

MR. A. DEWAR of course accepted the disclaimers at once, though it was just possible that the letters might have gone through some channel so that they did not reach hon. Gentlemen. He would give the hon. Members his authority privately if they desired. His information was that application was made to everyone, and no owner or tenant ever replied to the letter at all, but it was only fair to say that the Botanical Survey went on every deer forest in Scotland without authority, and what was more, they neither did nor received any damage. He only quoted the matter as an illustration of how careless one could be of public rights, and there was no doubt that all of them were careless, especially if they did not live on the estate. Not only that, but was it not a fact that landlords left a good deal in the hands of their gamekeepers? One did not blame these gamekeepers, but they were autocrats on their beats; and they were not always conciliatory. They placarded up everywhere "Trespassers will be prosecuted," and that was bad law—a terminological inexactitude if ever there was one, but it was quite enough to frighten away perfectly innocent people, because they did not know the law. That was the position just now with regard to innocent recreation. He appealed to the House whether it was not a fact that the sportsman who really had the broadest mind with regard to these matters got the best sport. It was the sportsman who remembered that the farmer liked to be asked to shoot occasionally, and who remembered that his wife liked a brace of pheasants, who got the best sport, and the man who took a contracted view of his own rights who always had difficulty in finding birds. He appealed to sportsmen in their own interests in this matter, and he maintained that there was room both for sportsmen and for those perfectly innocent people who did not wish to do any harm. Let their right be regulated, and if hon. Members opposite would support a Bill that would regulate their right, they would have done a great deal for sport. Times and circumstances were changing for the tourist and for the man who used to find his enjoyment in walking on the public roads. This was the day of the motor car, and the landlords' and the city merchants' motor cars were to the innocent passenger a very great nuisance indeed. This was a new nuisance, and it was an additional reason for giving the innocent tourist and passenger some little concession on the moors and the hills, where he could do no harm. It was hard that a man who went to enjoy a week or a fortnight in the country should be hounded from places where he was doing no harm, and then have to stand and be covered with dust by the proprietor's motor car on the public road. It was wonderful how careless one could be of the rights of others when one had either a moor or a motor car. This Bill would make a man think just a little of the rights of others, and he appealed to hon. Members that in a correct reading of the Bill it did no harm. He asked them not to oppose it, but to support it unless they could give some other reasons than those already advanced, which were based on a misapprehension. If his reading of the Bill were wrong, he would never think of suggesting that liberties should be tampered with without due compensation, but there was nothing of that kind in the Bill.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY said he was glad to hear from the hon. Member for Edinburgh his explanation of the law of trespass as it existed now in Scotland, but this Bill also applied to all parts of the United Kingdom, he understood, and he hoped some legal Member, equally well up in the law, would give them an account of how the law of trespass stood in England and Wales. Personally, he was one of those who believed that some clearer definition of the law of trespass would be a very good thing in this country. He did not yet quite understand from what the hon. Member told them how the law stood in Scotland. He always understood that the law of trespass did not exist there, and therefore he was rather doubtful what the use of the Bill was. He was doubtful whether the Bill would give to the public any right which they did not have before, because he had always understood the law in Scotland to be that if anybody walked about in any place, no matter where, and one did not want him to walk about there, one could go to the Courts and get an interdict against him. That was in the first instance, and then one had to catch the man a second time doing what the Court told him not to do. The whole process in Scotland seemed to be very difficult, and the hon. Member who wished to explore every mountain peak in the United Kingdom might take it from him that he could do so certainly in Scotland at the present time. If he went only once, he could go to the summit of every mountain in Scotland perfectly freely, and he would only be stopped if he was caught a second time and the proprietor happened to have obtained an interdict against him. He had met a great many people on the mountains at the place where he went for some months in the autumn, and he did not think he had ever told them to go away; they had asked him which was the way, and he had told them. If he said to one of them that he had got to go back, and the man was stronger than he, he would probably continue to go on.

AN HON. MEMBER: You cannot use force except at your own risk, and then probably you would have an action for damages.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY said the law practically came to this, that the law of trespass did not exist in Scotland at the present moment, and he really did not know what the object of the Bill was. He hoped that before they got much further with the discussion of the Bill some hon. Member well up in the law would give them a definition of the law of trespass as it stood in England and Wales, because in the case of a wood, for instance, he believed that there was no question of trespass: one had to prove that a person had done damage.

*MR. HERBERT (Buckinghamshire, Wycombe) said that perhaps the noble Lord would allow him to say something about that. If one prosecuted a person for trespass criminally, one had to prove that he had done damage; that was in England. Supposing the noble Lord were to meet somebody walking over his property in England, he would be entitled to say, "You must go back," and if that person insisted on the right to go on he would be claiming to be entitled to some right in the noble Lord's land, and he would be subject to an action for an injunction to prevent him. He could prevent that action being brought against him, by telling the person who interfered with him that he claimed no right or title to the land and going back, and if an action for an injunction were brought against him, then it would have to be proved that he threatened or intended to repeat the trespass on the land in order for the action to succeed.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY said he was very much obliged to the hon. Member for his definition. It seemed to him that in Scotland, if one told a man to go back he could go on, but in England he had to go back. The Bill did not appear to do any great good in regard to the general public, and their right of access to mountains and moors. As regarded moorland, he thought that if the Bill became law there certainly ought to be some very strict regulations as regarded fires in dry seasons, because anybody walking about promiscuously on moors caused a risk of damage in dry times from fires. He was not sure that if the Bill was to work well there should not also be power given to the owner or tenant, or whoever was looking after the place, to ask for the name and address of anybody he found on the land. There would be no question of insult, but there would be a very great safeguard against damage being done, because afterwards, if damage were done, at all events there would be some guide as to who the person was who did the damage. During dry seasons of the year, if they had people walking about all over the moors, and it was not in the least known who was on the place, they might get people through carelessness starting great fires, which would cause considerable damage to owners and occupiers, and also to that very class to whom the hon. Member who proposed the Bill appealed, those large numbers of people who were lovers of the beautiful in this country, and who liked mountain scenery. There was one other point which he thought had been overlooked. There was a large number of Members who took their exercise and amusement in what some people called a very good game, viz., golf. There were many golf courses which would certainly come under the definition of mountains or moors, and as the Bill stood at present there was nothing to check anybody who wished to make himself a nuisance sitting down with a sandwich on the eighteenth green and refusing to move. He could say he was sitting there for recreation, and therefore had no right to be removed. He was only giving that as an instance where he certainly thought, if the Bill was to pass into law, there ought to be some unmistakable words inserted. If people were to go about as they liked on wild and uncultivated ground there ought to be very strong provisions made that they should not make themselves a nuisance and try to spoil other people's amusements. He did not believe for a moment that the landlords in the country in the least wished to stand in the way of the pleasure and pastimes of the people. One could easily see that by the generous manner in which landowners in this country threw open their parks and pleasure-grounds, in many instances practically keeping up pleasure grounds for the benefit of people in the district. It seemed to him, therefore, that there should be a stringent provision in the Bill to prevent people from wilfully trying to obstruct the sport and pleasure of other people. It might happen on very many golf-courses in England and Scotland that a man who objected to golf might sit himself down on one of the greens and absolutely refuse to move, and he thought there ought to be power given by the Bill to remove him from that position. So far there had been very little acrimony in the discussion. The hon. Member who had proposed the Bill, and also the hon. Member from Edinburgh had not, he thought, attacked the deer forests and grouse moors at all, and he was extremely pleased that they had not done so. He was bound to say that he had often heard in that House great fault found with proprietors in Scotland for having turned a certain amount of land from bad sheep land into deer forests. That had always struck him as a very bad argument on the part of hon. Members opposite, who were great free traders, because, after all, one of the great doctrines of free trade was that if one trade or profession did not answer they ought to turn their ingenuity and capital to some other. He could not see how hon. Members could throw in the teeth of proprietors the fact that, because they had found that sheep-farming did not pay, they had turned their land to what would pay, namely, deer forests. It was perfectly certain that any legislation which adversely affected deer forests in Scotland and caused them to cease, would do very serious injury both to the inhabitants and proprietors of the North of Scotland, because there was absolutely no doubt, as the hon. Member for Windsor had so ably pointed out, that an enormous amount was gained in rates and taxes from land which was valueless until it was turned into deer forests, besides which these deer forests afforded a great amount of employment and caused

*Lord Willoughby de Eresby.*

the expenditure of large sums in wages. He believed the inhabitants of the districts would suffer very much if legislation were passed rendering it practically impossible for deer forests to exist. There happened to be in his family two or three spots which were the most frequented by tourists of any in these islands, the Trossachs and Betts-y-Coed; yet he did not remember a single case of any trouble with regard to access to the moorlands under the law as it at present existed. He did not know what alteration in the law was necessary, but, if greater freedom for the people was required, personally he would not be opposed to it, provided always there was a distinct clause in the Bill prohibiting people from wilfully trying to interfere with a proprietor or tenant. He was sure they could all go on the principle of live and let live, and he for one would be only too delighted that people should enjoy the scenic beauties of their native land. He desired to refer, in passing, to what the hon. Member had said about foreign countries. He had described in a poetical and picturesque manner the charms of travel in Switzerland, the Appenines, and other mountain ranges. Personally he had always looked upon Switzerland as a region of desolation, and he, for one, hoped that Scotland would never be reduced to such a state as Switzerland, with funicular railways climbing up the mountains. They had far better leave Switzerland to manage her own affairs. He would like to see a little game on their hills, for it would be a very large source of profit to the Swiss. He did not know that game was very plentiful there. If they walked a long way they might shoot a deer or bag a magpie, or something of that kind. In Hungary the law was a great deal stricter than in Scotland, and instead of being only interdicted, he believed in some cases they might very nearly be shot at sight. In France, again, in his rambles with friends, he had frequently been confronted by the notice *chasse reservee.* He did not know what the *chasse reservee* consisted of, but he fancied they would not get a very heavy bag at any rate. What the penalty was for going into a place where the notice *chasse reservee* was put up he had never taken the risk of finding out. Personally, as regarded this Bill, he did not see any harm in it, provided always there was a distinct understanding that, if it were passed into law, there would be a clause preventing the people who were granted this public access from inflicting injustice on the proprietors and tenants.

*MR. ANNAN BRYCE (Inverness Burghs) said that if all the landlords and sporting tenants in Scotland were of the character of the noble Lord, he was perfectly certain there would have been no thought of introducing this Bill. As the noble Lord himself had said, in the Trossachs and Betts-y-Coed there had never been any difficulty with tourists nor any damage done to the deer forests; and he had told them in a delightful way how when he found a person—who might under other circumstances and other landlords have been served with an interdict—asking the way to a particular point, he informed him, instead of telling him to go off the ground. Though the noble Lord was perfectly right in saying that in practice this Bill would make very little difference, yet in theory it made a great deal of difference. What they wanted was that the people should not have this access to mountains on sufferance, but that they should have it as a right. The hon. Member who moved the rejection of the Bill had given them no instance where any practical damage had been done under the present law. If he could have shown in many cases, or even in a few cases, that deer forests had been damaged or sport stopped by tourists or artistic people walking over the mountains, then something might be said for his argument. He had himself never heard of such a case save that when Mr. Jowett, the late Master of Balliol, first made the acquaintance of a well-known Peer. Mr. Jowett had taken a party to a remote part of the Highlands in the neighbourhood of Glenshee. He had ascended a mountain, and as he came on the sky line in his black coat and white tie, he was met with the irate exclamation: "Who the devil are you, Sir?" Mr. Jowett replied in his gentle voice: "I am the Rev. Benjamin Jowett. Have I done anything wrong?" That was the foundation of a firm friendship with the noble

Lord. The hon. Member who moved the rejection of the Bill based his opposition to it mainly on the pecuniary damage which would be suffered in the Highlands if the Bill were to become law. That damage he had contended would arise from the fact that landlords might not be able to let their forests for the large rents they at present obtained. The hon. Gentleman had not considered one very important factor on the other side. At the present time the cottars and crofters in the neighbourhood of deer forests were almost universally prevented from taking any summer lodgers, and the hon. Member himself had last year voted for the rejection of the Small Landholders Bill, which would have remedied that disability. In a great many of these deer forests the land was formerly occupied by a thriving population of crofters who cultivated the soil, and who, if the Bill to which he had referred had been passed, would again have had the opportunity of cultivating the ground, and probably providing out of those parts of it which were cultivable a very much higher rent per acre than was got from the land in its present condition of deer forest. He was certain that a large part of the land would be lettable for sheep farms, and that a considerable part of it could be utilised for cultivation to far better advantage than at present and that for such part perhaps a rental of 30s. or £2 an acre could be obtained. ["No."] He believed that was so. Statements to that effect were made during the debate on this subject in 1892 by Mr. Angus Sutherland, then Member of Parliament for the county of that name and now a member of the Congested Districts Board and Chairman of the Fishery Board, a man of great experience. Was the hon. Member aware that the land which in the last fifteen or twenty years had been turned into deer forests amounted to about a million of acres? [" Not all of it."] He did not say that all of it could be let at £2 an acre, but facts like these largely controverted the statements which had been put forward by the hon. Gentleman. He had heard it said that tradesmen in towns in the neighbourhood of these deer forests would suffer if sporting rights suffered. But nowadays those who exercised sporting rights were no longer always landlords themselves, but often persons from America or from England to whom the lands were let, who were much less considerate of the interests of the people than the owners used to be. He held that the whole population of Scotland would be very much better off if there were a diminution in the number of deer forests. The introducers of this measure did not propose it in any spirit of antagonism to sport, but they wished to remove from the minds of the population in the neighbourhood and of tourists the idea that going upon a mountain was an illegal thing. The mover of the rejection seemed to think the case would be met by providing rights of way to enable the inhabitants to get from hamlet to hamlet or from house to house across a mountain, but he seemed to forget the fact that the ancestors of these very inhabitants originally had an equal right with the landlord. Why should they be compelled to keep to a footpath when the lands originally belonged to their clan who had a free right to roam over them? On their behalf as well as that of the people generally he said that no regulation, by which mere rights of way were safeguarded, would satisfy the demand which existed for the free enjoyment of the mountains and the moors.

*Sir ARTHUR BIGNOLD said the Bill struck so directly at the question of the Scottish deer forests that it would be hardly possible to consider it without taking into account the conditions under which the deer forests existed. Having been himself for the past thirty-two years a resident in the Ross-shire hills and the owner of deer forests, he was fairly well familiar with the changing conditions of forest life. If it were desirable it would be by no means impossible to acquire the forests of Scotland for the use of the crofters and cottars; nay, more, there were in these forests the most splendid stone quarries from which excellent houses might be built for the people. But let him put the case at its highest. Suppose they acquired these forests for the people either by purchase or by confiscation and built houses for them and allowed them to live there rent free, tax free, and free in all respects, there would be but one chance left for them, and that was the old Act of Queen Elizabeth which provided that no man, woman, or child in these islands should starve, for starve they undoubtedly would if they had to dwell upon land which would not carry even sheep save in the summer, and was totally unfit for cattle or men and would carry nothing but deer and goats. To add to the misery of the people they would have to live very far from any place where they could obtain employment. To his mind, every year which passed since the Trevelyan Commission in 1892 had proved the wisdom and the justice of its findings. It said, in reference to deer forests—

> "Though it may be that some individuals are now desirous of settling in those places, we are satisfied that desire is not widespread. In any case we are not prepared to make any representation as to any part of that area which is not scheduled."

They scheduled 1,782,000 acres of land as suitable for the creation of grazings and crofting, and of that there was but 5 per cent. under forest, and by no perversion of ingenuity could that 5 per cent. be described as cultivable. It was a negligible quantity. There were to-day in Scotland 129 deer forests, and their rentals were from £400 to £6,000 a year, and the average rate paid by the owner on the assessable value was 3s. 4d. in the £. Scottish forests, such as Applecross, Freevater, and Athole, had been forest land since the days of Robert the Bruce, and, as in nineteen out of twenty of those of modern creation, there was not a plot of ground on which a croft could be established. Formerly, no doubt, a sheep run could be made, but then they had sheep farmers who could send their sheep to the lowlands in winter and feed them in the summer on the hills, and there was a small rental returned for the land. If the Bill passed as it stood, with the permission which it gave to all and sundry to enter the deer forests, it would not be a question of what would be the depreciation of value of the deer forests, because there would be no value at all. They would become absolutely valueless, and it would be necessary to institute a complete revaluation of the whole of the North of Scotland. A deer's senses were acuter than ours. He could see a man distinctly at a mile, and took the wind at a mile and a half, and it would be perfectly possible for one man in an hour to clear a whole forest. If the Bill passed, and the House rose early this summer, it was not improbable that hon. Members might see a personally conducted party of Cook's tourists climbing up the slopes of Ben Mohr with an effect that could be easily imagined. They would never see a deer, for there would not be one left within miles. He knew of more than one range of hills in West Ross where they had at the same time a forest on one side and a grouse moor on the other. It was perfectly open to a man to go on to the moor, to mount the hill, and enjoy the benefit of the heather and the scenery and the fine air, and to walk down again and do no harm to anyone. Why did they want to pass a Bill which would simply destroy property belonging to their neighbour, and do no real good to any human being? Why should not a man walk up the hill on the grouse side? Beside that, they destroyed the rating value of the forest, and the consequent loss fell on the poor crofters whose rates would be proportionately increased. They were intimately connected with the forest and loved it as much as he did, and did not want it to be destroyed. One inevitable result of the destruction of deer forests would be the impoverishment of the North of Scotland, and another would be an increase of depopulation. They had had a Committee of the House, twenty-one strong drawn from every section—landlords' men, tenants' men, crofters' men, and even cottars' men, and their decision was unanimous. They said—

> "The evidence submitted to us did not bear out the allegation that deer forests tended in any way to the depopulation of the country."

He could understand the position of the man who would like—though he did not agree with him—to take the forests of Scotland and for what they were worth distribute them for the benefit of the poor, but he could not understand what could prompt or promote a Bill of this wanton character, which would do no good to any living being, and would injure far and wide the now unhappy lot of the crofters in the forest districts of the North of Scotland.

*Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) congratulated the hon. Member who brought in the Bill on the manner in which the discussion had generally proceeded. There was a very strong case for legislation in Scotland. He had proposed one way. This Bill proposed another. The question was how to obtain access by the public to the enjoyment of the country, and to do the least possible harm. This legislation was interesting as part of the whole question of gaining access to the land, and the use of the land by the public. They had had the English Small Holdings Bill, which gave access to the land in one form. They had had the Town Planning Bill, which made the urban authority master in its own house, and would enable it to obtain the use of land for building and recreation purposes. They had also the land values proposals, which would indirectly give the public access to the land. Those four branches covered the whole question. The case for legislation was a very strong one, and it originated, in the first place, in the exclusion of the people from great tracts of land in the deer forests. Another ground for legislation was that the rights of way in Scotland were much less numerous than in England. Rights of way in Scotland had been shut up wholesale within the last half century in the Highlands. In Ross-shire, for example, many old roads had been closed. Were these re-opened, and if the public had reasonable access to the higher grounds through rights of way, along with those through the glens, the grievance would be much less. With regard to motor cars, one might as well walk along a railway as along some of the high-roads nowadays. Local authorities had not been sufficiently reliable custodians in the matter of these rights of way, and it was upon that footing which he introduced his own Bill. He tried to meet this question by giving either the parish council or any six electors the right to appeal, through the county council, to the Local Government Board either to revive lapsed rights of way or to create new public paths. The Local Government Board would institute an inquiry, and if the report was in favour of rights of access then these would be secured on payment of a cheaply conducted valuation to cover the damage to private property by creating the new public rights. They had been told that practically this Bill would not apply during certain seasons. The hon. Member for South Edinburgh said that moving deer would be a damage. The same thing would happen with regard to nesting or the shooting season on moors. It would occur also on a sheep farm in the lambing and other seasons. Those things would practically exclude the public from the hill land during the season when they most needed recreation in the summer time. That made it a very open question whether if they asserted what were the existing rights of way, and created new ones, they would not secure freer access to the moorlands under the plan he suggested than under this Bill. That point was worth considering also because the scheme of the Bill would operate very unequally upon owners and communities. They might in the one case have a community like Glasgow who might obtain the run of the whole countryside under the Bill, whilst in Dundee or Aberdeen there was very little opportunity for access to uncultivated land as compared with Glasgow. The question was whether, if it were perfectly simple to create rights of way they would not meet the requirements of the community better under his proposal than under the Bill, which would give access to one centre of population but not to another. The effect, too, would be very different upon different property. In the part of Scotland where he lived it would make little difference, but in some cases it would destroy the whole sporting or grazing value. These were cases in which it would operate very injuriously upon the individual. Where any serious damage was going to be done there was no reason why Mr. Winan's fence should not be renewed. Barbed wire was a difficult obstacle to tackle, and by a judicious distribution of strips of trees and barbed wire access to the country could be made very difficult. He did not attach much importance to the deer forests, but they were important from the rating point of view. It would have been an advantage to the Highlands if they had never had a shooting rent there at all. What the Highlands needed was sylviculture rather than sport. It was a pity that successive Governments had not made any effort at afforestation in those parts which could have been purchased at from £1 to 30s. per acre. It should be remembered that they could not carry on local government without the sporting rental in some places, and they had got to recognise that fact, because it was often all they had got to rely upon for rating purposes. Then besides the question of sheep farms in lambing times, the maintaining, meanwhile, of the sporting values, and protection during the nesting season, there was great danger from fires, for the town tourists were often very thoughtless on the moors. It was a very different matter when people came upon the land by invitation and when they came on as a matter of right and in large numbers. He did not think that Parliament should expose industries like timber raising and sheep farming to danger without protection. Further, it was not merely access to mountains that was asked. He was not sure that to many people access to streams was not even more important. He had discussed this question with those who took an interest in it, and they were of opinion that if a great extension of the right of fishing could be got it would meet a public demand and be extremely advantageous to the community. On the other hand they had no right to allow a rich man with rich pastoral land, where no harm could be done by access, to go immune, while in certain cases they let loose a number of people, who might unintentionally do considerable harm, upon the poorest land of a poor owner. That would not be just, nor did he think that the general community could be allowed to destroy the rateable value of property to the local community, whose requirements would be met by a sufficiency of rights of way They were dealing mainly with a national demand which might be met by the cheap purchase or renting of land for recreation and by the extension of rights of way in the manner he had tried to lay down. This was a subject which certainly had to be dealt with for the reasons he had given, and he submitted that the nation, and all local authorities, landward or burgh, in conjunction with the Local Government Board, should have the widest powers and facilities to acquire land at a fair valuation, and to assert existing public rights in the use of lands or rights of way so as to preserve rights and create others for the community as a whole.

*MR. CHAPLIN: There is a legal aspect of this question which has been suggested to me, and which has not up to now been discussed in any way. It appears to me to be a serious one, but not being a legal authority, I cannot venture to express an opinion upon it. I hope that during this debate it will be seriously considered. It is whether this Bill, which proposes to give the public the right of access on all occasions, subject to certain limitations, to this particular kind of property, may not go much further than has been anticipated, and prevent that property in years to come from being applied to other purposes for which it might be necessary and desirable. I hope those who can express a legal opinion of weight and authority on this subject may turn their attention to that side of the question. The hon. Member for the Leith Burghs has added to the importance of that view of the question, for he has told us that it is almost impossible for this Bill to stop here. He has mentioned other kinds of property to which it might be desirable that there should be access, and if there is force in the demand which is made in the one case, it seems to me that there is force in that particular respect also. I agree with what was said by the hon. Gentleman when he pointed out—I have had some experience of this myself—the great danger there is from fire. Whole tracts of country may be easily set alight, and I am assured by those who have had painful knowledge of the subject, that it is very difficult to get reparation of any kind, or to bring home responsibility to the person really at fault. I should like to say at the beginning of the few observations I desire to address to the House that nobody can possibly complain of the tone and spirit of the speech made by the hon. Member who moved the Second Reading of the Bill, and I am sure that there is no one on either side of the House who desires in the slightest degree to interfere with the advantages and privileges that may be conferred on many members of the community by this Bill, provided they can be granted without injury to other interests which ought also to be considered. There is no hostility, so far as I know, on the part of the hon. Members with whom I am associated, to the general objects which the hon. Member has in view. I do not think that the hon. Member was quite correct in one observation he made early in his speech. He called attention to the Lake District, and I understood him to say that there are few grouse and no stags there.

*Mr. TREVELYAN: I said hardly any deer.

*Mr. CHAPLIN: There are more than the hon. Member seems to be aware of. Early in the debate I consulted a Member of this House who is a very high authority, and who is sure to have accurate knowledge of the subject, and I was informed by him that there are two forests there where there are stags—in one of them I have deer myself. One of these forests is in the hands of a distinguished representative in this House who is either the tenant or the trustee, and the experiment of giving the public access has been made without harm or injury in this particular district. I say this because I desire in dealing with this question, as with all other questions, to be as fair as I possibly can. The real mischief and danger to be apprehended from the passing of a Bill of this kind, in my humble opinion, is the possible injury to the sporting rights of the owners of the property, and the sporting value of the property. It does not rest there only, because even if there was no injury or harm to be done in this particular respect, it would affect a great many more people besides the owners. There are many parts of the country which would be affected by this particular Bill where sporting rents are really the chief value. I do not speak without some practical experience on this subject. I have had perhaps as much practical experience in regard to deer forests in Scotland as any Member of the House. I heard the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs say, if I caught him correctly, that he thought the bringing into being of sporting rents in the Highlands had done great mischief to the country. I know a case of one county in the Highlands at the present moment where, if the sporting rents were done away with, a most serious financial condition in the whole of the county would be produced. The revenue from other sources is very small, while the revenue from sporting rents is very large, and there is, so far as I can form an opinion, no reasonable possibility in any way of greatly extending the natural revenue from other sources. Why, I cannot imagine a greater loss in that part of Scotland than would result from the disappearance of the sporting rents. It would reduce it to something almost approaching bankruptcy, I believe.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): Will the right hon. Gentleman state the name of the county?

*Mr. CHAPLIN: I am speaking of the County of Sutherland.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): What happened in Sutherlandshire before the sporting rents were created?

*Mr. CHAPLIN: Is the hon. Member referring to the clearances? I wonder whether the hon. Gentleman has any true knowledge of the clearances in Sutherlandshire. I have had the opportunity of knowing the facts. I had no intention of referring to the subject when I came into the House to-day, but still I recollect enough to tell the hon. Gentleman what the real truth on that question was. The real truth was that in the wildest and most distant part of that county in those days when people lived in the glens and were attached to their homes—as naturally they would be, and where everyone would have desired them to remain if possible—throughout the whole area the conditions with which they were confronted were these. The climate in that county is, perhaps, one of the most inclement at certain times of the year in any part of Scotland. Climates were worse then than now.

But there was something worse. There were no roads or means of communication. It was extremely difficult in good times of the year to get from one end of the county to the other, but when winter came what was the condition of the people? I will give the hon. Gentleman a single instance by which he may judge for himself what their condition was during the winter in those days. There was one occasion when there was an exceptionally severe winter, and in various parts of the county the people were absolutely at the door of starvation, for no reason whatever except that snow and the difficulty of access made it absolutely impossible to convey food to them to keep body and soul together. The then Duke of Sutherland some generations ago spent enormous sums of money, not derived from his revenues in Scotland, but from his revenues in other parts of the kingdom, in conveying meal to those poor people, and in that particular year no less than £11,000 was spent in conveying meal to the people living in the glens, and even under those circumstances there was the greatest difficulty in maintaining them alive and preventing numbers of them from dying of starvation. What would any humane man do under the circumstances? Why, he said, "This thing must be stopped. It is impossible that I can allow these people, who in a sense are under my care, to run the risk of dying of starvation. They must be removed from that part of the county, and brought near the coast, where with small crofts they can combine the industry of fishing." At great difficulty and enormous cost this was carried out. That is the truth, and the whole truth, in regard to the clearances in Sutherland in generations gone by, out of which so much capital has often been made. I ask the pardon of the House for departing from the subject immediately before us to refer to this matter.

I was going on to say that if a measure like this is really injurious to deer-stalking, as I think very probably it would be, the mischief and the injury does not rest merely on the owner or tenant of the deer forest. It is the people in the very locality who will suffer more than anyone else. There are few of the large deer forests in Scotland that I have not walked over. I have also made a deer forest under very peculiar circumstances, and I should like to state them as I think the case bears directly on this matter we are now discussing, and as there is misapprehension in the mind of the general public with respect to deer forests. There had been a very bad winter and all or nearly all the sheep on a certain farm died, and the farmer suffered terrible loss. I wanted to make a forest at that time, and I applied to the owner to give me the farm for that purpose. He refused. His answer was: "I do not want to have stories again about clearances such as have been made in this part of the world before." Next year the same thing happened, and the sheep died through an exceptionally bad snowstorm. Next year I was more successful; I got the farm and made it into a deer forest. If I had not taken the farm, it would have remained unlet, because it would have been useful for no other purpose. This morning I got some figures by telegraph and I shall read them in order to show the difference it makes to the people of the locality when that land, which otherwise would have been derelict, for nobody would take it as a sheep farm, is used as deer forest. First of all there are certainly three keepers and their wages will not be less than £50 or £60 a year. In the season, which may be taken at eight weeks, there are twenty-six gillies employed at 18s. to £1 a week. That is, say, £26 a week. Some of them are always engaged with ponies, and when that is done they get £2 a week. Their wages and board amount to £448 a year, and the keeper's wages are additional. That is the amount of money spent in giving employment in that particular district. If the place had remained a sheep farm, what would you have to place against that? The wages of two, or, at the outside, three shepherds. Last year in the wet season I said to a man employed on a deer forest: "I am afraid you are going to have a bad harvest again," and he replied: "Our best harvest is what we are doing now." That is true of those districts, where two seasons out of three the crops are entirely lost on account of the weather, and where very often they are never reaped at all. I have said this to show that if it be true that a matter like this would be seriously injurious to the sporting interest of the Highlands of Scotland. There would be no people so much injured by it as the population of that particular locality. That is the result of my own experience in this matter, and I believe it to be absolutely true and incontestible. I have only one further word to say, and this applies still more to England than to Scotland. I do not think it would be open to question that it would be ruinous to grouse holdings. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Second Reading of the Bill gave an instance of certain tramps who had walked over a moor and interrupted a grouse drive in which he himself was engaged, and which produced some grumbling. The hon. Gentleman said that, of course, he would be sorry to interfere with those people and make them go a long way round, but probably they had a right of way.

Mr. TREVELYAN : No, they had not.

*Mr. CHAPLIN : But suppose that was repeated constantly, that would be a very serious matter, and, as the hon. Member knows very well, even one man at a critical moment, coming at the wrong time, might spoil a whole drive. If that were to happen, not from any desire on the part of the person to spoil the drive, but from ignorance, it would be a cause of great annoyance, and one which any Member in the House would be sorry to see. I have nothing further to say, except that I gladly acknowledge the spirit in which the hon. Gentleman moved the Second Reading of the Bill. He himself made the suggestion that in large deer forests he would be ready to consider the question of establishing sanctuaries from which tourists should be excluded. I do not see how that could be made easily practical. I cannot see how a stranger walking up in the mountains is to know what is and what is not a sanctuary. But even if this practical difficulty were dealt with, deer may be disturbed in unfavourable winds by the intrusion of anyone not acquainted with their habits of the forest. There is another suggestion more worthy of consideration. Why should there not be a close time during the short shooting season when the Bill would not be in operation, leaving spring and summer open to the tourist? That season would be much more favourable to those friends of the promoters of the Bill who are afraid of getting their feet wet, because then the weather was generally dry. I make this suggestion because there is not the smallest desire on this side of the House, I am certain, to do anything to interfere with what we all like to see—the enjoyment of the beautiful prospects in the mountains by these tourists. There are, however, two sides to the question, and I have, to the best of my ability, put the objections, which are serious, to the Bill, in fair and reasonable language.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. Thomas Shaw, Hawick Burghs): I listened with great interest to the speech just delivered. The right hon. Gentleman did say in the early portion of his observations that, substantially, he did not feel any hostility to the principle underlying the measure and in his concluding remarks he certainly echoed that sentiment. I hope, therefore, that under the circumstances the Party with whom the right hon. Gentleman acts will not put the House to the trouble of a division. It is perfectly clear that the reception given by both sides of the House to the measure is, on the whole, eminently favourable; and in this we all agree, that the Bill was introduced in a speech of the most admirable character. I wis also to say to the hon. Member for Windsor that, as I usually do to any speech delivered by him, I listened with great pleasure to his observations. I feel bound, however, to say that the Amendment is directly contrary to the Bill, and that notwithstanding the friendly spirit of the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite, the two Parties stand in the position of either supporting or voting against the Second Reading. In regard to the attitude of the Government, I have conferred with my right hon. friend the Secretary for Scotland who naturally takes a favourable view of this measure. It is of a similar character to that honourably associated with the late Member for Aberdeen, now our Ambassador at Washington, which was regarded as a hardy annual for many years. Many of us regard it as a happy day when we have a full dress discussion on a Bill of the same kind. The House may not be aware that prior to the election of 1892 it was perfectly manifest in Scotland that Mr. Bryce's Bill had caught the popular imagination and the sense of justice in the North, and just at that juncture —I do not for a moment suggest that it had in view the impending general election—a Bill was brought into the House by the Tory Party backed by the present Lord Pearson, and the present Lord President of the Court of Session. That Bill provided for access to mountains, and it was a Bill conceived in many portions in identical language with that of Mr. Bryce. When I say "in identical language," I mean that the Unionist Party is deeply committed to the principle of the Bill the Second Reading of which was moved by the hon. Member for Elland. All that remains between that Bill and the present is a comparison and an adjustment of the various restrictions to be applied in working out the measure. I repeat, the Tory Party is deeply committed by Parliamentary action to the principle of the present Bill, and in consequence of that record I am not surprised at the amiable sentiments expressed on the present occasion. While there has been a good deal introduced into this debate which is not strictly *ad hoc*, I am not prepared to say that the references to deer forests are wholly out of place, and so far as these have been made they permit me to give the latest figures in regard to deer forests in Scotland. According to the latest returns, there are in a country of 19,000,000 acres—the dimensions of Scotland—3,481,000 acres devoted to deer forests alone. Now, when I say "devoted to deer forests," what do I mean? I mean devoted to an object very properly characterised as a sport, an essential condition of which consists in securing solitude. The condition of deer forest sport is solitude. You must make it a solitude, and call it peace. Thus in a territory of 19,000,000 acres you have conditions of solitude imposed in the present state of the law on 3,500,000 acres. Now that is in itself, on the face of it, a matter for very serious public consideration.

*MR. CHAPLIN: What is the solitude more in a deer forest than on a great sheep farm?

MR. THOMAS SHAW: May I answer that by saying that one of the most apt observations in the debate was that of the mover of the Amendment when he said that in so far as the principle of the Bill is concerned, he could see no conceivable injury to pastoral or agricultural land.

*MR. CHAPLIN: To sheep farms in the Highlands?

MR. THOMAS SHAW: Yes. He said he could see no conceivable injury to pastoral or agricultural land in the Highlands. The conditions in regard to deer forests he attempted to show were totally different. He could see very little objection to including grouse moors in the Bill, but he would wholly and radically object to deer forests. That being the case, all that has happened with regard to these deer forests is this. They have not stopped in consequence of the ripening of public opinion against them; they have gone on. Every fresh return, and they are frequently made, shows an increase of land devoted to this sport, the condition of which is solitude. "Oh," it may be said, "but this land is not suitable for cultivation." Well, in 1892 the state of the crofters in the Highlands was investigated, and at that time far from there being 3,500,000 acres devoted to deer forests in Scotland, only 1,750,000 acres were certified by the Deer Forest Commissioners as devoted to deer but land which was likewise certified to be capable of being cultivated to profit or otherwise advantageously occupied by crofters and other small tenants. I admit that large proportions of that land should only be occupied in large holdings, but there are three Schedules attached to the Report setting forth the land which should be devoted to additions to existing holdings, to new holdings, and to large farms. What is the policy of the Government in regard to this matter? Confronted with figures of that kind and the increasing gravity of the problem, the Government introduced last year and this year a Bill to ameliorate the condition of affairs. They produced the Landholders (Scotland) Bill in order to invoke the assistance of the population in these districts in some respects to destroy a solitude by cultivating the land. The policy of the Bill of this and last year was to substitute for deer forests the effective cultivation of the land, notably by small holdings, and making provision for new holdings—to make an excellent beginning by cutting into that solitude. That being so, the hon. Member for Leith Burghs is perfectly right in saying that this Bill does not apply merely to access to mountains. There is a movement which is most regrettable. The hon. Member for Leith Burghs referred to the question of access to streams which is coming to be of importance in the future. In my own experience within the last two or three years thirty or forty miles, even more, of river banks of great beauty, on which from time immemorial people have enjoyed the right of angling, have been absolutely shut up against the public. How can you resist the conclusion that the time is rapidly drawing nigh when the whole public of Scotland, nay of these Islands, must insist on some legislative steps being taken to preserve for their enjoyment these spots of recreation, beauty, and splendour in this land so much loved by them ? It is absolutely impossible that this state of matters can any longer exist or be allowed to become more acute, and therefore I welcome the spirit in which this Bill has been received. While giving their cordial assent to the Second Reading, the Government reserve their judgment in regard to details, in reference to one or two of which I will be perfectly frank. As to fires, we consider that to be the most important point, but we think it is met to some extent, if not entirely, by one of the subsections of the Bill, which reads—

> "Where any person encamps on any land, or lights any fire, or does any damage to the surface of land, or to any trees, growing thereon, or to any building, fences, or other erections thereon."

That is a subsection which also appeared in the Unionist Bill, so that both Parties in the State are absolutely agreed on that point, for they have adopted the same language. I speak somewhat frankly on this matter, because I am deeply interested in the Rothiemurchus district, where there was a dangerous and destructive fire in a most valuable forest from this cause. With regard to the time-limit on the exclusion of the public during a short period of the year, that occurred in the Unionist Bill of 1892, and it may possibly be admitted as a means of compromise. There are other points in the Bill to which I do not make any detailed reference. I wish to repeat very distinctly that the arguments against the Bill have been solely against the inclusion of deer forests. It is very remarkable that the opposition to this Bill was pervaded by the admission that no damage would be done to ordinary farms or to sheep farms. One of the most interesting speeches delivered was that of the hon. Member for the Horncastle division of Lincolnshire, and I can only say, what has been already stated on this debate, that if all the landlords who owned deer forests had acted as that hon. Member and his family have acted there would not have been, not only with regard to this question but with reference to a great variety of other questions intimately associated with the land, any necessity for appeal to the State. In certain parts of the Continent *chasse reservee* is put over a certain part of the territory, and you enter that at the peril of your life. I regret that in Scotland *chasse reservee* is written over nearly one-fifth of the area of Scotland, and inside that *chasse reservee* there is excellent sport for the few, but outside are the people whose only desire is to have some access to what is some of the most beautiful scenery in Europe, with no desire to injure sport. I agree that injury to sport can be done by the invasion of the sanctuaries of the deer or by wanton or malicious acts, or even by stupid acts repeated after warnings, but all that kind of thing, so far as it is malicious and wilful, is governed by the existing clauses of the Bill, and if those clauses are not tight enough and strong enough, let them be made so. But as to the matter of the Bill I hope there will be no division, in consequence of those amiable observations from the other side of the House to which I have referred, but if there be a division let it be clearly understood what the division is. The division is: "Shall you prefer the interests of solitude, in consequence of solitude being a necessary condition of the one sporting right which is affected, or shall you prefer the interests of the people at large who desire access to these portions of the country?" It is quite clear that the debate is raised mostly with regard to this deer forest question, but whether it is raised with regard to deer forests or not, any other argument has disappeared, because it is now conceded that there is no question of injury to any other right. [Cries of "No, no."] If you get protection for injury by fire and malicious injury on the admissions of the mover of the Amendment, what remains? There is no injury at all.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON said that he had mentioned two most important points, one with regard to lambing season and the other with regard to sylviculture. He had laid stress on these two points.

MR. THOMAS SHAW: My hon. friend is quite right. He did refer to the lambing season and sylviculture, but I think that his point can be met by Amendments, and by the admissions which have been made. All that I meant to urge was that the substance of the case put against the Bill was not a case which could be adjusted by the time-limit, but a case which could be wholly adjusted because the conditions of that sport was the only difficulty. I do not wish to detain the House further except to say that I think my hon. friend the Member for Leith Burghs is also right that there is a question involved as to rights of way. The House knows that the rights of way question has been whittled away by the Courts of Law, and it is almost impossible to obtain a correct indication of a right of way in the ordinary natural sense. I know that the doctrine is imported by the Judges that you must not only have a public place from which a right of way begins, but also a public place to which the right of way leads, and this does not cover the mountain top and river and stream in the sense of being a resort of the people of this country. That is the sole object of this reform, and it is quite possible that this reform will be part of a series of reforms to enable the people at large to take more interest in and to have more concern in the country at large.

*MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester) said he desired to address the House for a few minutes on behalf of the principle of the Bill. The observations which the hon. Member for Leith Burghs had made must undoubtedly be very seriously considered by the Committee on the Bill, and attention had been drawn to other matters also which must be debated. But the time for debating these points was in Committee, and not in the House on the Second Reading. Nor was the question one merely of the deer forests. He ought perhaps really to apologise to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wimbledon for having interrupted him as he did in respect of the clearances to which he referred, but all these matters were involved in the very general consideration which, in one respect, was a little outside the scope of the Bill, but nevertheless was somewhat germane to the discussion upon which they were centred that afternoon. He wished to associate himself, with a very considerable amount of knowledge of these districts, gained not from the inside but from the outside of the shooting lodge, with what the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs had said—that they in the Highlands owed absolutely nothing to the establishment of shooting lodges or the extension of deer forests. Of course, if they abolished a certain social system they must put another in its place. The deer forest was now essential to the county income of Sutherland, Inverness, and Ross. If in order to bring about the present state of things they destroyed the social economy that preceded the deer forest, then, of course, at a certain period hon. Members could turn round and ask them: "What can you do without the deer forest?" That was perfectly right. Hon. Members have destroyed the old, and now told them they could not do without the new, conditions. If this Bill, or any other Bill, would make such a revolutionary change in the social economy of the Highlands at the present time as was contemplated by some speakers above the gangway, of course this House ought not to give the Bill a second consideration. It would be suicidal, absolute folly, and little short of criminal. But at the same time, while they were ready to consider all these points and give these interests due force, hon. Members above the gangway on that side must remember that there was a history in this matter. He, for one, had listened with much pleasure to a great many of the fair words which had been said about the desire of shooting tenants to allow the outsider to enjoy the beauties of Scotland, but he remembered what had happened when he walked, say, over the Larig Ghru Pass with which he was acquainted. That was kept open by litigation, and now he found that every sign-board erected by the Scottish Right of Way Committee had been destroyed by the gillies of interested parties. He knew about the Glentilt case, and they all remembered the Dunkeld right of way case, where the decision of the law Courts revealed such an extraordinary fault in the law of right of way in Scotland that he did not believe that there were half-a-dozen fair-minded men in Scotland who would say that that decision was right in equity, though it might be so in law. These things were behind them. They who wished to have the right to enjoy the scenery of their country found that the area open to them was diminishing and the prohibited areas increasing. Estates were now passing under the control of gentlemen who were applying more stringently than the old aristocratic families their rights of exclusion. He was sure, if he was ever inclined to have any sympathy with the aristocracy, it was when he compared the conduct of the real aristocracy with the conduct of the *nuveau riche*. He called the attention of the House last session to certain things which were happening at Aboyne in Aberdeenshire. Members had turned round and said that if they limited the shooting rights they limited the county income, but that could not be said in this district five years ago. The game preservers had evicted the tillers of the soil who once paid the rates and they would by and by turn round and say, "How can Aberdeen exist without the rates levied on shooting property?" Now, people who used to take in lodgers five years ago were prohibited from doing so, and hotels were now closed. People who formerly carried on this very innocent and profitable industry were to-day informed that they would be evicted if they took any stranger in, more particularly if the stranger tried to walk about on certain preserved areas. The principle which they were endeavouring to discuss that afternoon was this. There were certain interests very well-to-do, very rich interests that had for the purposes of sport—with which he had profound sympathy—taken hold of certain areas of the country. Naturally those areas were beautiful—mountain areas, heather-clad areas or wooded areas—and they had monopolised them in a perfectly legitimate way, and he did not blame them for it. But there were other people who were penned up in towns, and were compelled eleven months out of the year to stay in towns. [AN HON. MEMBER: More than that.] He was putting it very mildly. For eleven months out of twelve these people were compelled to live in towns, and in order that they might enjoy some sort of expansive life in which the enjoyment of natural beauty was part they went into the country for the other month. Did any hon. Member desire to say that these people had not got a natural claim against those who monopolised these choice spots of natural scenery and health? That was really the case—the necessities of the town *versus* the vast economic power and interests which could create a monopoly of natural beauty and natural scenery. The question became more imperative when they remembered that the high roads now were not what they were twenty years ago. He was one of those who delighted in trespassing. He dared say he knew the inside of the deer forests of hon. Members who had been talking that afternoon. He had been there without permission, and he proposed to go again without further permission. But one of the reasons why it had become more imperative that action should be taken was that the highway was not the old highway. Again, he put it fairly to hon. Members, between man and man, human being and human being, did any in this House mean to say that the holiday-maker, one who enjoyed nature, one interested in natural science and one enjoying walking—did any one mean to say that the highway, used as it now was, gave an opportunity for that quiet rest and recreation that it did twenty years ago? It did not. But that was not all. It might be said that one could turn from the highway to the footpath, but that was less true than it was. There was not a year passed but those who were members of footpath preservation associations got scores of applications from localities asking them to defend the public rights to footpaths, and those who followed this matter very closely were undoubtedly finding that year after year public rights were taken away for the want of pecuniary backing. He put it on a wider ground. He was thinking that afternoon what was the patriotism of our people. How could they create a rational patriotism if they confined the people to towns? Take a city like Edinburgh. If Edinburgh was placed right in the centre of a desert it would still be a precious possession. But a large part of Edinburgh patriotism was not the patriotism of Edinburgh at all, but the patriotism of Edinburgh *plus* her surroundings. What would Edinburgh be without the Pentland Hills? The Pentland Hills were as valuable to Edinburgh as her Castle. But they must remember that if they had had to trust to the landlords of Scotland there would have been no rights of way on the hills outside Edinburgh. They had protected one the sources of Edinburgh patriotism and Edinburgh pride by subscribing their money in order to put up warnings to the landlords that they would not be allowed to appropriate the Pentland Hills as they had so many other spots and districts in parts of Scotland. They had to settle that afternoon this very broad question: Was this House going to recognise, or was it not going to recognise, what he might call, for want of a better phrase, the national right of the population to enjoy national scenery? Was this House in favour of declaring that the mass of the people of this country, whether they lived in town or in the country, had a right to enjoy wild, uncultivated, and unspoiled nature? If any limitation of that right ought to be imposed he was sure it would be very carefully considered by the promoters of this Bill. He was going to vote for the Second Reading on that broad and general ground, but he wanted to say, in conclusion, that the more the working classes in the towns took an intelligent interest in their own lives, the more would this Bill, if it became an Act of Parliament, be to them. They were trying more and more, by organising clubs—walking clubs and clubs of all kinds—to take the people out of towns on to the moors on Saturday afternoons, Sundays, half-holidays and every conceivable occasion, and that would do them an immense amount of good, but it could not be done unless the law were laid down on the broad and generous principles and ideas contained in this Bill.

MR. LAMBTON (Durham, S.E.) said that the last speaker had laid it down that they ought to allow the population of their towns to enjoy natural scenery, and if that was all this Bill did he would have no objection to it. But it was far wider than that. The debate had been rather dominated by Scottish Members, but of course they were quite accustomed to that in this House owing to the composition of the Government and the affection which the Government had for Scotland and Scottish constituencies. The Lord Advocate had told them that the opposition to this Bill had been entirely confined to the question of deer forests, and that this Bill was a repetition of Mr. Bryce's Bill. Further, he had said that the Tory Party were committed to this Bill, because in 1902 a Bill containing its principle was brought in by a noble Lord who was in another place. But that Bill was confined to Scotland. This Bill was not, but applied to mountain and moorland in England as well. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that this movement for getting at the mountains and rivers, and so on, had grown — that sixty years ago there were thirty or forty miles of water which the public could go and fish in, but now could not But that was not the question. People who lived in the vicinity of streams were allowed to fish in them, but now there came down streams of excursionists, some 200 or 300 or more in number, and it would be perfectly ridiculous to give them the same rights as existed in the old days and were enjoyed by those who lived in the neighbourhood. The hon. Member who moved the Bill had made a good speech, as he always did, but he had told them that the cause of this Bill was Mr. Winan's conduct in Scotland.

Mr. TREVELYAN wished to point out that all he said about Winan's forest was that he thought there might be a little less enthusiasm about the Bill because Winan's forest had gone, but still the grievance remained.

Mr. LAMBTON said the hon. Gentleman went so far as to say that pet lambs were not allowed to stray about Mr. Winan's property. He also said that the population had a right to wander over these mountains for the sake of their health. It was a very good thing for people in towns to go over mountains, and no one had ever held that where there were rights of way, and they had been closed, the people should not assert their rights. But that was not this Bill, and it was not a question of giving access to mountains only. This gave people the right to tread over moorlands and mountains, and any uncultivated land, without any control whatever, and threw the onus of taking care of the properties upon the owner. The hon. Gentleman had talked about grouse and deer, but if people were allowed to roam about flying kites and playing concertinas there would soon be no grouse or deer forests. He thought the Bill went a good deal further than breaking the rights and the amenities of shooting. It distinctly altered the law of trespass. They had been told that day about the law of Scotland, but the Bill did not apply only to Scotland, and he wanted to know what the English law was. A definition of trespass had been given to the effect that it was the entry upon another man's ground without lawful authority, and at some damage, however inconsiderable, to his real property. When the right of *meum* and *teum* in regard to property in land was once established it followed as a necessary consequence that this right must be exclusive, that the owner might retain to himself the sole use of his right and that every entry without his sanction or leave or contrary to express orders was a trespass. Did the Lord Advocate consider that a fair definition?

Mr. THOMAS SHAW: Is the hon. Gentleman referring to an English definition of the law?

Mr. LAMBTON: Yes.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW: I am no authority on the law of England.

Mr. LAMBTON said that that was what he thought. They were asked to discuss a Bill of this sort, full of legal questions, and they had no one on the Government Bench ready to give them any information. He had been waiting since twelve o'clock to see if anyone would be present who could give them an explanation. Perhaps the hon. and learned Member for South Edinburgh could enlighten the House on the subject.

Mr. A. DEWAR: I am afraid I am not an authority on the law of England either.

Mr. LAMBTON said that this incident showed that they ought to have more advice about this question from English lawyers. This was a very serious question of *meum* and *teum*, as recognised by hon. Members below the Gangway. The Bill attacked not only the ownership of the landlords of deer forests, but the whole question of the owning of land. How could a man be said to own land if he had not the exclusive right to it, and if he could not keep people off it who were doing damage to his land or injury to his crops? As to these "mountains" and "moorlands" there was no definition laid down in the Bill. Hon. Members were aware that mountains were of different sizes. The highest mountain in the world was, he believed, 29,000 feet above the sea-level, while Ben Nevis was only 4,000, but the Bill laid down no definition of where a mountain began. Moreover, there were dangerous places in these mountains, and he believed that as the law stood the owner of land containing unfenced holes and other dangerous places would be liable to any person coming on lawful business, and other than a trespasser, who sustained an injury in consequence of this want of fencing. That was to say that anybody who possessed a mountain or a moorland was to fence in every dangerous hole so that people who came on the land should not fall in, or he would be liable for damages; for if people were given a right of access by Act of Parliament they would not be trespassers, and so would be entitled to be compensated. He was himself unfortunate enough to be a landed proprietor in Northumberland, and had on his property a mountain called Humbleton Hill, near the site of the battle of Flodden Field, and providing extensive views from its summit. Twenty-five years ago there was no railway near this place and it was very little frequented, but the railway had come there and at present large numbers of people to the extent of 150 or 200 at a time came and wandered about certain portions of the hill, and did considerable damage. He had not so far restricted them. He would be very much injured if these people were encouraged to do more damage by spreading all over that country instead of confining themselves to that portion which took them in a convenient way up the hill. By this Bill, however, in the interests of science and art they were invited to spread themselves all over the moor. Then, again, hon. Members talked as if sheep only existed in the lambing season, but he thought he would be corrected on that point and told that sheep were there and might be disturbed at any time. These moors, moreover, were called uncultivated, but in a sense they were cultivated because they were fenced in, and shepherds had to watch the ground. Heather was, he believed, a crop. Scottish law was a very curious thing, and heather was a crop, and young heather was damaged by having vast crowds of people wandering over it. Having received no answer on the question of law as to trespass, he would ask the Home Secretary or the President of the Local Government Board if they would be so kind as to give him some satisfaction on this point, that they would look at the Bill and see that exemptions were put in so that a landlord would not have to keep an army of watchers to look after everybody who came upon the land. He also wanted to ask whether it was not unfair that the present rights of owners and occupiers in regard to commons in this country should be interfered with. Moorlands were not confined to Scotland, and there were many commons in this country over which the commoners alone had rights. A stranger was, it was true, never allowed to walk about the paths, but under this Bill the public would have a right to come on a common—because it was called a moorland—to go all over it, and set fire to it, and cause great loss to the commoners because of the depreciation of the brush. He also wanted to know whether, if they took away the rights of one person and gave them to another, compensation ought not to be paid? This country was a small one, and he wished the people had a great deal more land on which to work; but so long as it was an agricultural country they could not allow people uncontrolled to wander where they liked over fields and farms. In the United States they had Yellowstone Park, and if we had it here it would give room for our own population to wander about. While giving every credit to the people who brought this Bill in to increase the facilities for the enjoyment by the people of natural scenery he thought it was unworkable and that it would do a great deal of harm to a good many innocent people, and no good to the people for whom it was intended.

*Mr. HERBERT said he felt a difficulty about supporting this Bill, not because he disagreed with its object or with the speech of the mover, who made a very eloquent and very moderate speech, but because he did not think it was drawn upon the right lines. It did not approach the subject in the right way, and he doubted whether in Committee it could be so altered as to be made a good Bill which was entitled to support. He did not take up a position in defence of deer forests at all, although he yielded to no one in his adherence to sport. He always took up the position that if sport interfered with the interests of the community the interests of sport must suffer rather than those of the community. But he thought that every Member who had spoken on the other side had shown a most reasonable spirit in regard to this question, and it was agreed on all hands that some legislation was required to deal with an admitted evil. As he understood from the hon. Member who introduced the Bill the object was to prevent a landowner occupying the position of a dog in the manger, and it was not intended to deprive the landlord of his rights or damage him or interfere with him in the proper occupation of his property, nor would the hon. Member desire to allow the public to acquire rights which were inconsistent with the landlord's rights. But this Bill appeared to go far beyond what was necessary. What was it that it did? It gave the public a statutory right of way by the easiest path to a mountain, with which right of way the landowner would be absolutely unable to interfere, and which might very seriously injure the management of his property. But, apart from that, it went very much further, because the Bill gave to the public the right to go on a hili and wherever they pleased over mountain and moorland. That was a general right of wandering which the law of this country had never recognised, because it had always been held that it would be an unreasonable right, as the effect of it would be to deprive the landlord of the use of the land. The effect of it would be to stereotype uncultivated land in the position in which it was at the time of the passing of the Bill. Supposing the owner wished to cultivate it or to build a house on the side of the hill, he would be told that he was withdrawing rights from the public, and he would be put in the position of a landowner of the present day who wished to block up a road with a right of way over it. He would not be allowed to do it. Further than that, it would give the public the right of wandering over uncultivated land or moorland. It would prevent the landowner from cultivating the land, because if he did so the effect of so doing would be to withdraw from the public land over which they had a right to go. It would be tantamount to inclosing a common. Those points could be met by Amendments in Committee, but he did not quite agree with what had been said by a great many hon. Members that the public did not abuse their privileges. His experience was that the public were very liable to abuse their privileges, even when they were only privileges enjoyed by consent of landowners, and the public would be in the position of having a right and not a privilege if the Bill were passed. The effect of the Bill was practically to make every mountain and moor into an unregulated Hampstead Heath. It had been the policy of the law in this country to give to Commissioners or some public authority, rights as to making regulations for the use of places on which the public had the right to go. Under the Bill there was no possibilty for anybody to make regulations with regard to the way in which the public should exercise their rights. No public authority had any such power, and no landowner could do so; because the public was given an unrestricted right, and for the landowner to make regulations would be a derogation from the rights of the public. They had heard about the public being driven off the roads by motor-cars, but motor-cars also affected the question in another way. The introducer of the Bill pictured the quiet lady artist or the professor in search of specimens walking over the secluded plains; but there was another side of the picture. There was the possibility of a regular train of motor-omnibuses filled with rowdy and drunken tourists, who certainly did require regulation. They had a precedent in previous legislation with regard to analogous matters. He would like to read to the House some of the powers which were given to the Enclosure Commissioners under the Commons Enclosure Act of 1876. He would do that because it seemed to him that those were the lines upon which legislation of this sort ought to be drawn. Either the Enclosure Commissioners or some other public body ought to be given the power to make regulations enabling the public to have access to these places upon reasonable terms, and to lay down the conditions upon which it was to be done. That was necessary because circumstances varied in different localities, and it was not possible to lay down at Westminster general principles with regard to the matter which would be universally applicable. He thought something very much more was required than was provided by the Bill of the hon. Member for the Leith Boroughs, which had been referred to, as it would only lay down distinct rights of way. The public ought to be given the right of wandering at will over places where they could do no harm, but in order that it might be reasonably done, it seemed to him that the right way to approach the question was as in the case of the Enclosure Commissioners, viz., to empower some public body to make regulations with regard to enabling the public to go on mountains and moorlands. The powers he would read were as follows:—Power of giving free access to particular points of view; power to make particular trees or objects of historical interest objects of preservation; reserving particular places for playing games, so as not to injure the rights of those interested in the common; setting out roads or paths where they were most convenient for approaching objects of interest; and any other thing which was equitable or expedient, regard being had to the benefit of the people in the neighbourhood. It seemed to him that if they got those conditions or some similar conditions given into the hands of some public body it really would solve the difficulty which had to be met and in a way which would meet the objections raised to this matter on every side of the House.

*MR. YOUNGER (Ayr Burghs) said he was sorry to intrude on the House, because he felt that the Scottish Members had occupied rather too much of their time, and that the Bill was not the Bill they were traditionally accustomed to dealing with for Scotland alone, but one which dealt with the whole of England as well. He could only approach discussion of the Bill from the point of view of the Scottish Members. He agreed largely with his hon. friend the Member for Windsor, that this was not a Bill, or not a principle to which he was actually opposed, but he did not agree that the Bill would do no harm. Indeed, he thought the Lord Advocate went a little too far in saying that his hon. friend had said that. He did not go quite that length; he merely agreed that the state of the Scottish law made the position of tourists and others in Scotland as regards access to mountains and moorlands rather different from their position in England. The hon. Member for South Edinburgh had given them his opinion as to the law in Scotland on this subject, and he thought he was strictly accurate in what he had said, but it would have been desirable to have some statement from the Lord Advocate, and to have received an assurance from him that the third clause of the Bill did give reasonable protection to such owners in Scotland as the hon. Member for Wick in connection with deer forests and their sporting rights. His impression was that the third clause sufficiently safeguarded those interests and that any Court in Scotland would hold, under that clause, that interference with sport would be a sufficient ground for the Judge to grant the interdict required. He did not know whether the Secretary for Scotland was in a position to answer the legal inquiry, but he put it to him as to whether his construction was accurate or not. If Clause 3 did give that protection the Bill could not be objected to, and if not the right hon. Gentleman should see that it was amplified. The noble Lord, the Member for Horncastle had asked a question of the hon. Member for South Edinburgh as to what his rights were in connection with the removal of any person who might be on his land. He (Mr. Younger) agreed that the owner had no rights of removal. He might simply ask the trespasser to go off, and if he did not go he could not interfere with him by personal violence; he could only ask the Sheriff to interdict him from coming back. He had heard of a difficulty which arose with one eminent English sportsman, not understanding quite what his rights and privileges were, who, some time ago in Scotland, had his sport interfered with by a trespasser. He did not know that he used or thought of using the invective which the hon. Member for Elland applied to one in a similar position, but he asked the keeper what he might do, and he was told to shoot at him. The sportsman did not quite see that he could accept that advice, and he said "I can't do that." But the keeper said "Shoot at him." He did not realise that the keeper only meant "Shout at him." his knowledge of the vernacular being deficient. That, he believed, was the extent of an owner's rights in interfering with a trespasser. The right hon. Gentleman would no doubt deal with that particular point in his speech, and would assure the House that if the clause was not strong enough it would be strengthened. He did not think that, so far as grouse shooting was concerned, any serious harm would be done, provided that a right existed to prevent interference with drives and so-forth, but the Bill raised a serious economic problem. Anybody who knew anything about shooting in Scotland knew that they had to double the rent to find out exactly the benefit which the country and the people derived from sporting rights in Scotland. If a man paid £500 a year for a grouse moor, it meant that he spent £1,000 on the shooting. One half went to the landlord and the other half to the people who were there, and he knew many parts of Scotland in which a good or a bad grouse season meant all the difference between a comfortable and an impoverished winter for a great many people. It would, therefore, be a very serious matter to do anything which would reduce rental in the first instance and in the second the employment afforded by the sporting rights which were so valuable to Scotland and which were so much appreciated by their Sassenach friends. He should not vote against the Bill, but he hoped this aspect of the case would be very carefully considered in Committee.

MR. MOLTENO (Dumfriesshire) thought there was much consensus of opinion on both sides of the House as to the principle of the Bill, because it seemed to him a matter of justice and a matter of bringing back this country to the historical condition in which it was at one time. How was it that they were discussing a Bill of this kind at all in Great Britain? One hundred and fifty years ago there would have been no necessity for it, because every man had a right then to go where he pleased; and, coming to a later period, even so recently as 100 years ago, they found the Agricultural Commissioners or the Board of Agriculture reporting that there was an enormous area of waste land in Great Britain, which could be used freely by the public for all kinds of purposes. From their return they said that in 1808 there were 6,259,000 acres of waste in England, 1,629,000 in Wales, and 14,218,000 in Scotland. What had become of that area since then? Was it still waste? They had a Doomsday Book published in 1875, giving an account of the landowners in Great Britain, and looking at the area in Scotland in the hands of private owners it appeared that the whole of that area was claimed with the exception of half a million acres, so that a private appropriation had taken place of that enormous area. It was stated in that Report that the ground upon which it was taken was that of the public interest. It was considered to be in the public interest that that area should be enclosed and cultivated; it was a kind of panacea for distress. But at that time the danger which faced the country was in the minds of the Agricultural Commissioners, and he would like to quote a paragraph in their Report in which attention was drawn to this point. In discussing a general Enclosure Act it said that waste lands had been occupied in some sort as the common estate of those who had no other; they were spaces of the earth on which every man walked in freedom and imagined he was committing no trespass. In view of the law which was proposed to enable the land to be enclosed, the Report added, every man not possessing a share of landed property would be a trespasser when he stepped off the high road. That enclosure was carried out, and what had been the result? Every man who was not an owner of landed property in Scotland was a trespasser. That position was really an extraordinary one when they found that nine-tenths of Scotland's nineteen million acres were owned by only 1,700 persons, who were thus able to make the whole of the rest of the population trespassers in their own country. If the ground on which that right to enclose was given had failed, as it had failed in many areas, surely the State now had a right to say that the conditions on which those areas were made more or less private property had not been fulfilled, and that they should be treated as waste and open to the uses to which that land could be put. They were all agreed that no damage would arise and no abuse be made of this right. It was most important that a country, as an hon. Member had pointed out, should be in a position to encourage the patriotism of its people. He was much struck by a military friend of his telling him of his difficulties in training men. He said he was discussing the proper tactics to approach a fortified position, and endeavouring to explain how his men should take advantage of cover, but the difficulty was that his men had never seen cover. They had been brought up in the towns, and did not know anything about cover or the contour of land, and he had most serious difficulty in getting his men to appreciate what he wanted them to do. That was a curious light thrown on the exclusion of people from all the natural features of the country which ought to be a part of their character.

**Viscount CASTLEREAGH** thought the speeches to which they had listened proved that this was a very ill-considered measure, and that, at the present moment, it should under no circumstances be passed into law. The hon. Member who proposed the Bill certainly made a very interesting speech, but he did not know that he had considered the scope of the Bill; while the hon. Member who followed him mentioned that the Bill was of a moderate and modest character. He thought they on that side of the House had had ample evidence in the past that a Bill which was called moderate and modest must be looked upon with the greatest possible suspicion, and as far as the hon. Member had explained it appeared that the success or the non-success of the Bill depended upon the sporting instincts of the Judges who would be called upon to decide as to what the law of trespass was. To his mind, there were two very important and, he thought, obvious qualifications necessary for the passing of a measure into law. First of all, it should be for the benefit of the community, and, secondly, there should be some demand behind the Bill for its passage into law. He would ask Members of the House how this measure was calculated to benefit any section or individual belonging to any class of the community? He ventured to join issue with the hon. Member for Edinburgh when he said there were difficulties placed in the way of tourists who desired to visit the beautiful spots in the United Kingdom. As far as he was concerned, he had been in the position of renting a deer forest in Scotland, and he received very few requests to visit the mountains there. He need hardly say that whenever he received any request he was only too delighted to grant it, and to let anybody who desired visit the mountain scenery. From what the hon. Member for Leicester had said they had conclusive evidence that there was no need for this Bill, because the hon. Gentleman said that he had been in the habit of visiting all the beautiful spots in various parts of Scotland and had never asked permission, and that he would continue to do so. The hon. Member did not appear to have met with any difficulty, and he did not think that those who had visited those places, or were interested in botanical or scientific research, would in any sense be impeded from doing what they had done in the past. He thought it was obvious that either this Bill would be a dead letter or, if carried into effect, and if the population of all the towns of England and Scotland used these places to the fullest extent, it meant that the deer forests and the grouse moors, which hon. Members seemed so anxious to take, would have to be swept away, because it would be impossible to maintain them. He did not go into the question whether or not that was desirable. He did not think that the promoter of the Bill had exactly calculated its scope. The Bill meant—and a good many Members opposite would support it for that reason—an invasion of the rights of property. He knew that that was a very popular feature with some Members.

**Sir F. BANBURY**: As long as it is not their property.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: Yes, as long as it was not their property, as his hon. friend reminded him. The promoter of the Bill had made reference to a gentleman who owned a property which stretched between the two seas, and when they remembered that the gentleman in question was a member of a republic, a community which desired to see liberty for everyone, he thought the hon. Member had made use of a dangerous instance, if that was his idea of a liberty-loving community. As far as he could see, the Bill was unworkable. It depended altogether on Clause 4, and that clause appeared to him to be largely a matter of opinion. If a large number of tourists were to be permitted to go on to the moorlands in Scotland he did not see how anyone would be in a position to say that they had or had not done damage. It was obvious that if this was to be left to the discretion of the Judges a very difficult situation must arise, because each party of tourists might destroy all those objects of the deer forest for which the tenant had paid a large sum of money, and in an action it might not be the opinion of a Judge that the community of tourists had driven the deer away. He sincerely hoped that this measure would not pass the Second Reading, chiefly for the reason that he regarded it as an ill-considered proposal and, in its present form, unworkable. He hoped that the promoter of the measure, if he desired to go on with it, would consider very carefully its scope, and the purpose for which it might be used. They opposed this Bill not with the object of preventing individuals and the inhabitants of our large towns from enjoying beautiful scenery in this country, but first of all, because it was not desired by any large section of the community, and, secondly, because it would not attain the object which its promoters had in view.

MR. ROGERS (Wiltshire, Devizes) said he desired to say a few words in support of the principles of this Bill from the point of view of one who lived in the South of England. In the South of England, especially the middle south west, in Wiltshire and Berkshire and Hampshire, there were very large stretches of downs which had never been cultivated, and which had been made by the public practically a walking and riding tract from time immemorial. Those downs were at the present time in some considerable danger owing to two reasons. In the first place, there had been a great extension of the practice of keeping sheep within wired areas; and, secondly, there had been a great extension of the practice of making these downs a camp for the training of racehorses. He thought that no one who had followed the history of this matter would disagree with him when he said that there should be some greater security, which he understood that this Bill would give, to those who desired, in a perfectly innocent fashion, to walk or ride over those downs, as their fathers and grandfathers had done since the day Julius Cæsar landed in England, or since Stonehenge was erected by a former people, whoever they were. Might he just point out again why this was so important a matter? There had been access to Stonehenge not by one but by a dozen different paths. Twelve tracks led in one direction, and they were not able to prove that any one of those tracks was actually the original way. A case was fought out in the Courts on the question of Stonehenge, which, as hon. Members would recollect, was included some time ago in an enclosure. The case was fought by the Society for the Preservation of Footpaths and Commons, and, speaking as a layman, he understood that the society failed to resist the enclosure because no track direct from one place to the other could be proved. On the other hand, everybody knew, and there was a good deal of evidence brought to show, that people had been in the habit of going to Stonehenge without any opposition by all the tracks that passed over that part of the open downs. But the fact that they had gone by so many tracks from so many directions made it impossible to prove that they had gone by any one track that could be turned into a right of way. He mentioned that to show the very great importance not only of keeping open rights of way, but of preserving access to the unenclosed and uncultivated places in that part of the country. There was no question of game in the down country, for there was very little game on the downs, and it was very doubtful whether any damage could be done to any game there. Consequently, this was a question every bit as important to those who rode as to those who walked. He might say, in conclusion, that just as the hon. Member who brought in the Bill mentioned that it was the moors around Sheffield which produced the poet Ebenezer Elliott, so it was the downs in the south which had produced one of the most charming writers—Richard Jeffreys.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.): In all my experience I never heard a more extraordinary reason given for voting for a Bill than that given by the hon. Member for East Wiltshire. I have only one single advantage over the hon. Member, and that is one of which I am not proud; it is age. I am a much older man, and I venture to say I have both ridden and walked over the Wiltshire downs which he has just described twenty times for once that he has done. I live near them, and I know every inch of them. I believe I could find my way to any part of them blindfold. I have, however, never known any inconvenience to arise, nor any one to stop or interfere with any rider or walker, except it be by a tenant farmer who wants to protect his crops. I am sure the hon. Member does not want to diminish the right of a tenant farmer to protect his crops. There is now only sheep farming on a large scale within wire fences left, and the hon. Member cannot seriously propose that that system should be interfered with. He knows the great difficulties which beset the farmer in that part of the country. He knows that land has been kept in occupation and partly in cultivation only by this large system of farming and sheep grazing. In no other way would a great part of the Salisbury Plain and those adjoining be occupied at all now; and even under that system they are occupied under a rental involving a loss to the landlord. It is only by almost tempting the farmer by peculiar terms and conditions that you can get the land occupied at all. The suggestion therefore that the hon. Member would vote for the Bill because he believed that in some manner—he did not know how—there would be interference with these large sheep farms within wire enclosures, is extraordinary. We have learned by slow degrees and painful steps as the debate goes on what the intentions of the Bill are. So far the Bill has been supported almost exclusively by Scotsmen. I include the hon. Member for Leicester, because he spoke not so much as the Member for Leicester as a Scotsman. The most remarkable speech of all, however, was that of the learned Lord-Advocate. I listened to his speech very carefully, and he will correct me if I am wrong. It appeared to me that the whole of his speech, the statistics he quoted, and the information he gave, went to show that at all events he regards this as a Bill which by a method of its own will result in displacing a portion, at all events, of the existing deer forests and replacing them by a better system. I do not think he will deny that that was his main argument. If I am wrong of course he will say so.

MR. THOMAS SHAW: The right hon. Gentleman is entirely wrong. I referred in no way to the displacing of the system. I said that Amendments might be introduced in Committee such as had been enumerated by his Party to preserve all legitimate rights, and the right hon. Gentleman will, I think, do me the credit of saying I quoted the text of the Bill introduced by his own Party affecting this topic and including these safeguards.

MR. WALTER LONG: I, of course, entirely accept the right hon. Gentleman's statement. I was no doubt, as some others were, misled. The Lord Advocate quoted the Bill introduced by my right hon. friend who is now a distinguished member of the Scottish Courts as a precedent for the one which the House is now considering; but it was a strange lapse of memory on his part that, while he told us of the security with regard to game, he forgot to tell us of the most important part of the Bill, viz., that it not only had a time-limit in it, but included certain restrictions which were so important that they can hardly be described as matters for Committee. Further still, the Bill applied only to Scotland and was intended to deal, and only in a limited way, with the difficulty which exists in Scotland. We are asked to take this Bill on the action of Lord Dunedin. With the exception of an angel visit on the part of the learned Solicitor-General, we have not been honoured to-day by the presence of one single Cabinet Minister, representing either England, Ireland, or Wales, nor have we had the presence of one single law officer. In the absence, and perhaps because of the absence of the law officers, others have been more expansive, and we have been favoured with certain opinions from the hon. and learned Gentleman who sits for South Edinburgh, and the hon. and learned Member who sits for the Wycombe Division of Buckinghamshire. Their speeches were very interesting. We are obliged to them for the learned advice given to us in circumstances of difficulty, and on the whole I think we may be content to accept their view of the Scottish and English law as being perfectly accurate. They will not suggest that I am wanting in courtesy to them if I say it is the immemorial practice and custom of this House when it asks for information on legal questions to expect to get it from the law officers of the Crown. It is very largely for this purpose that law officers exist. It is very largely for this work that they are paid. We have asked, and I am going to ask, one or two questions which no Minister at present on that bench can answer. The learned Lord Advocate has told us himself that he is no authority on English law. The Secretary for Scotland cannot be expected to answer questions which are legal in their character and do not apply to the country which he specially represents. Why is it that the Government to-day have been represented solely by Scottish Members? The Bill does not apply to Scotland alone. In some degree its application to England and Wales and Ireland is of a far more serious character than its application to Scotland. The hon. Member congratulated the House and the promoters of the Bill on the fact that the debate had been so satisfactory, and that there had been a general agreement. I have listened to the greater part of the debate and I do not think his description of it is an accurate one. There has been, I admit, and I hope there always will be, a general agreement upon the propositions that have been laid down by two or three Members, especially by the hon. Member for Leicester, that it is desirable that there should be access to the beauties of their native land for the people under reasonable conditions. There has been a general agreement that there ought not to be undue interference with the rights of the general public by the selfish and illegitimate assertion of their rights by individual landowners. That is an academic statement, which, if embedded in a Resolution, might have found general acceptance. But this is a Bill, and those highly benevolent intentions which have been expressed in different quarters find very little expression in it. We might be content to let the Bill pass without opposition were it not for this unfortunate fact which has come into existence almost exclusively during the period that the present Government have been in office, namely, that at a late period of the session, particularly when you have an autumn session and when the account for the past year is being made up and the Government find that either in regard to a particular part of the United Kingdom or in respect of some particular industry they have not done quite as much as they ought to have done, they look around them to see what private Member's Bill they can take up and star. I do not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give us an assurance—probably he would say it is a matter for which only the Prime Minister can speak, and at a time when he is in a position to consider what the business as a whole is. The Government cannot commit themselves, and therefore we are in this position, that if the Bill passes its Second Reading to-day, the Government may make it a Government measure. "A good thing too," somebody says. It must be somebody whose experience of Parliament is very limited. I appeal to the common fairness of the House. There has not been one Minister on that bench to-day able to answer any questions which have been put. There has been nobody here to tell us why, for the first time, this particular measure, which we have had introduced frequently before, has been made applicable to any other part than Scotland; and all the speeches that have been made in its support, with the exception of that of the hon. Member for Wiltshire, have been directed exclusively to questions of deer forests or moors. [At this point the Attorney-General entered the House, his appearance being greeted by OPPOSITION cheers.] I rejoice to see that late in the day the Attorney-General has put in an appearance. He is under the disadvantage of not having heard the questions which have been asked by speakers on this side of the House in regard to the application of this Bill to Great Britain and Ireland. After some little difficulty it was found, not by the statement of any law officer but by the voluntary statements of private Members, that the law of trespass in Scotland differs entirely from the law in England. So far as Scotland is concerned this Bill is not required to a very large extent. With regard to England, in order to assert trespass damage has to be included. Has the Attorney-General considered in regard to this Bill who is to interpret the meaning of these words, "mountain," "uncultivated" and "moorland"? Mountains in some parts of the country, certainly in parts of the South and West, would not be considered in the North or in Scotland more than hillocks. To places that we consider high hills which would take a great deal of climbing, and which exactly answer the hon. Member for Leicester's description, namely, places that people like to go to and enjoy, within my experience the vast majority of landowners give free access, subject only to certain simple conditions. Is this Bill to apply to these places? Are people to have a right of access to hills which are used practically only for game purposes? If so, who is to be liable supposing an accident occurs? The people who own these places indulge in rabbit shooting. Very often there is no other game there. A personal friend of mine was once shooting rabbits on one of these hills. He was a very good shot, and was shooting with a pea rifle. He shot at several rabbits, and did not hit them. He took a different position in the hope that he would get nearer the quarry, and discovered behind the nearest hillock that he surmounted, a wandering artist on a camp stool making a picture. He asked him whether he was really alive. He said: "Yes, why should not he be?" My friend said: "I have been shooting at rabbits in your immediate neighbourhood for the last half-hour, and have not hit them. The wonder is that I missed you." Supposing in that particular case the unfortunate owner of this bit of land had hit the artist instead of the rabbits, who would have been liable?

Mr. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): The artist.

Mr. WALTER LONG: If the artist is responsible I do not think anything more is required than that the fact should be known. But if, on the other hand, the owner of the property is to be liable, then I submit that the Bill will be absolutely mischievous, and it involves interference with the rights of property, which has been disowned by all its promoters and even on the Front Bench opposite. The Bill is drawn entirely in the interests of Scotland and is intended practically, as we see from its phraseology, to apply to Scotland and, as everybody has shown, to deal with those cases where there are great enclosures of land for game purposes, to the injury of some, at all events, of the people in the neighbourhood. How is it going to be made applicable to England and Ireland? Surely we ought to have an undertaking that if the Bill is to proceed it should be limited, as it has always been hitherto, to Scotland, or, if it is intended to apply to the rest of the United Kingdom, that it shall be done in such a way as to make the effect of the Bill clearly intelligible, and that we shall not be asked to accept on Second Reading a Bill which its promoters admit requires considerable amendment, with the assurance that the Amendments shall be carefully considered in Committee. What is the advantage to us here under the new procedure of assurances in regard to the Bill? One speaker to-day rather found fault with us for raising these minor questions now. He said that they are entirely questions for Committee. That is all very well, but under our new procedure, what guarantee has any one of my hon. friends who are here to-day of having a chance of raising any of these questions in Committee? The Committees have only a small section of each side of the House upon them, and many of us may not be on the Committee. But even if they were on the Committee this is not a Bill which requires only a general consideration. The hon. Member for Leith approves of the Bill with certain alterations.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON: I did not approve of the Bill. I approved of my own Bill.

Mr. WALTER LONG: I claimed for the Government a support they were not entitled to; there is even less support to be found for it than I thought. Even the Lord Advocate, who is not generally driven into a tight place, spoke in the most generous terms of the intention of the Government to support Amendments, provided they were reasonable, and so on. Surely this is a purely academic debate, in which the Bill is proved to be, first of all, not justified by any of the facts which have been advanced by its promoters, and secondly, drawn to go a great deal further than its promoters realised in the first instance. Surely it should be treated as was advocated by the hon. Member for Wycombe, when he said that if we were to have an alteration of the law of this kind we ought to proceed on the lines of the Enclosures Commissioners, that the Bill went a great deal further than its promoters intended, and, therefore, ought to be regarded with very great caution. That is the course which ought to be taken and not the course which we are asked now to adopt, viz., to read the Bill a second time, to leave it to a Committee, and enable the Government to star it in order to get credit for a section of their supporters. The hon. Member for Leicester made a very important speech on this subject. He was absolutely honest and straightforward, as he always is, and perfectly clear. He told us that the object of the Bill was to enable people to visit parts of the country that they cannot now. But he was contradictory even in his speech, because he went on to tell us that he did not care about the Bill. He had been, without leave, to every forest owned or rented by hon. Gentlemen behind me and he gave them due notice that he meant to go there again. That proves, if it proves anything, that the man who legitimately desires to enjoy the beauties of the country, and does it in a reasonable way with due respect for the rights of others, is not interfered with. I believe the passage of a Bill of this kind, ill-drawn, ill-suited to the purpose for which it is drawn, is more likely to interfere with the rights the people now enjoy than to confer new rights. I believe that in those cases where existing owners give these privileges, a Bill of this kind will induce them to withdraw them rather than to allow them to continue. The wise course to take would be not to press the Bill to Second Reading, because it goes a great deal further than is intended, because there is no precedent for such a Bill applying to the whole kingdom, because no one has advanced one reason or argument in support of its application to the United Kingdom, and because we have had on the bench opposite no single English Minister until this moment able to answer any question put by the opponents of the Bill. Much as I dislike that proceeding, and I dislike it intensely, I felt sorely tempted an hour ago to move the adjournment of the debate in order to make my protest clear and distinct against a system which is within my experience perfectly novel. It has hitherto been the invariable practice for Ministers representing the United Kingdom to be present when a Bill applying to the United Kingdom is being considered and to be ready to answer questions which may be raised in debate. I do not believe you can properly carry on debates in this House if you adopt the system which has been followed to-day. I make my protest in the strongest terms I can, speaking with many years' experience, against a system which is perfectly novel and absolutely unjustified. To-day questions have been asked and the answer has been: "I cannot answer for the English law." I believe there has been no case made out for the Bill, because it applies to the whole kingdom while the arguments apply only to Scotland, and because it is badly and loosely drawn. I shall certainly support the Amendment.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir W. ROBSON, South Shields) said he was agreeably surprised when he entered the House a moment ago at the unaccustomed warmth of his reception, but he was more surprised when on inquiry he ascertained its cause. Hon. Members had referred to a certain amount of legal embarrassment, to which they contended this Bill gave rise. He was asked by the right hon. gentleman what was meant by a mountain or moorland. He thought the Judges of the land had a very fair acquaintance with the English language. They had to define words very much wider in their meaning. But it was suggested that Judges in England and in Scotland might take different views, and that in Scotland they might treat a hillock as a mountain.

MR. WALTER LONG said he had merely made the statement that hills varied in height. The hon. and learned gentleman now told them that any one who was called upon to interpret this clause must wait for the decision of a Judge. Therefore, those for whose benefit this Bill had been introduced would have to wait until Judges decided what it meant.

SIR W. ROBSON said that he was about to suggest that mountains varied in height. They had done so ever since they were established. But that had not invested the use of the word "mountain" with any great difficulty. He did not think there was any Judge who would have any difficulty in telling them what a mountain was. Then they had the House of Lords, and whatever else it could or could not do, it had shown itself equal to the task of reconciling conflicting decisions in different parts of the United Kingdom. The right hon. gentleman opposite had asked who would be responsible under the Bill if a person who was shooting at rabbits hit an artist who was sitting on a stool sketching. The right hon. gentleman's sporting acquaintance would not show any negligence in firing, except in so far as the rabbits were concerned. If he had not shown any negligence *quoad* the artist, he could see no ground of action against him so far as the artist was concerned. If, however, the artist became alarmed, was roused by the sound of the gun and put his head up, and the sportsman had continued to fire in his neighbourhood, then the artist would have had good cause of action if he had been hit. He did not think any more serious point than that had been put to him.

MR. LAMBTON: I asked the Lord-Advocate a question about the law of trespass to which I should like an answer.

SIR W. ROBSON said he was told the hon. Gentleman had read a passage from Blackstone. He knew that passage fairly well. It pointed out that in order to maintain an action for trespass there must be damage. He understood the hon. Gentleman put the point of someone wandering over mountains and moorlands and tumbling into a hole, and asked who would be responsible—the man, the landlord, the hole, or who. If a man wandering over a mountain tumbled into a hole, the landlord need have no fear. That would not make him responsible. There was a case which said that a man wandering on to premises, a dockyard or a warehouse, and getting injured, might in certain conditions get compensation, because there was an implied invitation. A man who opened a shop had that in view and must take reasonable care; but who would apply the doctrine of an implied invitation to the right of wandering over a mountain under this Bill? It would be ridiculous to talk about an implied invitation. If these were the kind of points of law raised in the debate, he thought it hardly necessary to call the law officers of the Crown from urgent public duties to answer them.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said the hon. and learned Gentleman had made a humorous speech, but if it was designed to enlighten the House all he could say was that it did not appear to have done so. He desired to put one point which was, he thought, more serious. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said that if somebody, having come on to land under the Bill, was injured by accident, the owner would not be responsible unless he were guilty of negligence. He did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman had read the Bill. Clause 2 provided that—

> "No owner or occupier of uncultivated mountain or moor land shall be entitled to exclude any person from walking or being on such land for the purposes of recreation or scientific or artistic study or to molest him in so walking or being."

He thought that if a man who was walking on land was shot in the leg he would regard it as molestation. The question of negligence was ignored altogether, and a statutory obligation was imposed on the owner not to molest any one. It was totally inadequate for a law officer of the Crown to come in at the last minute without having read the Bill and without being cognisant of what had been going on and answer them by making a few jokes in reply to serious questions. In view of the speech of the Attorney-General he begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) seconded.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Lord R. Cecil.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 59; Noes, 195. (Division List No. 95.)

## AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bull, Sir William James
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W.V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gooch, Henry Cubitt (Peckham)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
MacCaw, William J. MacGeagh
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Winterton, Earl
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Lord Robert Cecil and Captain Craig.

## NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight
Barker, John
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Boland, John
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Branch, James
Bright, J. A.
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, CH (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cox, Harold
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Donelan, Captain A.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Grant, Corrie
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Rt Hn. Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Robert V. (Montrose)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r

Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, W. E. B. (Bradford, E.)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walton, Joseph
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Wardle, George J.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Williamson, A.
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Captain Norton and Mr. Whitley.

*SIR SAMUEL SCOTT said the hon. Member for South Edinburgh had stated that every owner of a deer forest in Scotland had been written to asking for permission for botanical surveys, that twelve only replied, and they all refused permission. The hon. Member had also told them that these learned and scientific gentlemen from Edinburgh, in spite of the refusal of the different owners of deer forests to grant them permission, had gone to those forests and had carried out whatever investigations they desired to make without the smallest molestation. Therefore, there was no justification for the charge that the proprietors of deer forests prevented people going over their land so long as they did no damage or harm. This Bill not only applied to Scotland but also to England and Ireland. They had heard some very interesting things about the law of trespass in Scotland, and they had only quite recently heard something about the law of trespass in England. But during the whole of this debate they had not heard from any speaker sitting on the front Ministerial Bench or from any hon. Member from below the Gangway a single word about the application of this Bill to Ireland. It was impossible for any ordinary Member——

Mr. TREVELYAN rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 190; Noes, 61. (Division List No. 96.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Boland, John
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Branch, James
Bright, J. A.
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S
Cleland, J. W.

Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cox, Harold
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Donelan, Captain A.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Grant, Corrie
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Rt Hn Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Robert V. (Montrose
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary M
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton underLyne)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walton, Joseph
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent)
Wardle, George J.
Wason, Rt. Hn. E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax
Williams, J.
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Williamson, A.
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Arthur Dewar.

## NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bull, Sir William James
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Cross, Alexander
Dalrymple, Viscount
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
MacCaw, William J. MacGeagh
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham

Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Priestley, W.E.B.(Bradford,E.)
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Rees, J. D.
Roberts, S.(Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ
Walker, Col. W.H.(Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Winterton, Earl
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Samuel Scott and Sir Frederick Banbury.

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 177; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 97.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Boland, John
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Branch, James
Bright, J. A.
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir Wm.J.(S.Pancras,W
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cox, Harold
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson,W.H. (St.Pancras,N.
Donelan, Captain A.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Flynn, James Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Grant, Corrie
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon,Rt Hn.SirW.Brampton
Harcourt, RobertV. (Montrose)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy(Essex, Harwich
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down, S
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan,Francis E.(Leitrim,N.)
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Morgan,J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, William (Cork)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Rendall, Athelstan
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Scott,A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Walton, Joseph
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
Wardle, George J.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.

Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams,Llewelyn(Carmarth'n
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Arthur Dewar.

### NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn.Sir Alex.F
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bull, Sir William James
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Coates, E. Feetham(Lewisham)
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.
Fell, Arthur
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gooch,Henry Cubitt(Peckham)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lamont, Norman
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
MacCaw, William J. MacGeagh
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G.(Petersfield)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford,E.)
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Rees, J. D.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Ronaldshay, Earl of
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S.(Marylebone, W.)
Stanley, Hn. A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Walker, Col.W.H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Winterton, Earl
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. James Mason and Mr. Lane-Fox.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question put "That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 61 ; Noes, 177. (Division List No. 98.)

### AYES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn.Sir Alex.F
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bull, Sir William James
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Craig,Captain James(Down,E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol West)
Gooch,Henry Cubitt(Peckham)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Kerry, Earl of
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
MacCaw, William J. MacGeagh
M'Arthur, Charles
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morrison-Bell, Captain
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson,John FrederickPeel
Rees, J. D.
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ
Walker, Col. W.H.(Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Winterton, Earl
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Evelyn Cecil.

### NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)

Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Boland, John
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Branch, James
Bright, J. A.
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir Wm.J.(S.Pancras,W
Corbett,C H.(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cox, Harold
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, Sir William Randal
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander
Curran, Peter Francis
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph
Dewar, Sir J. A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W.H. (St.Pancras,N
Donelan, Captain A.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Sir Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Flynn, James Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gooch, George Peabody (Bath)
Grant, Corrie
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon,Rt Hn SirW.Brampton
Harcourt, Robert V. (Montrose
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Horniman, Emslie John

Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Joyce, Michael
Kavanagh, Walter M.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lardner, James Carrige Rushe
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex,Harwich
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim,N
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Morgan,J.Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James (Aberdeen, E.)
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)

Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rendall, Athelstan
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,Sir G Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Scott, A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William (West Ham)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Walton, Joseph
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
Wardle, George J.
Wason,Rt.Hn.E (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams,Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Williamson, A.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Arthur Dewar.

Bill committed to a Standing Committee.

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DONCASTER CORPORATION BILL.

Reported with Amendments [Title amended]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at twenty-nine minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

# HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Monday*, 18*th May*, 1908.

### VISCOUNT GORMANSTON.

Ordered, That the Report of the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, made to the House of Lords on Friday last, that the right of the Viscount Gormanston to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to his satisfaction, be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, together with a certificate stating that such Report has been made, and that the House has ordered it to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.

### SAT FIRST.

The Lord Gormanston (Viscount Gormanston) sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3.) [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (London) [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Cornwall, &c.) [H.L.]

Also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Leeds Corporation; Cheshire Lines Committee; Margate Corporation.

And also the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the additional provision in the following Bill have not been complied with: Holderness Water.

The same were ordered to lie upon the Table.

Ammanford Urban District Council Water Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Leith Burgh Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Blaydon and Ryton Water (Transfer) Bill. The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn; the orders made on Wednesday and Thursday last discharged, and Bill committed.

West London, Barnes, and Richmond Tramways Bill [H.L.].—Read $2^a$ (according to order), and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Thames River Steamboat Service Act, 1904 (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—Read $3^a$, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

River Wandle Protection. Moved, that the Order made on the 25th day of March last, "That this House will not receive any petition for a Private Bill later than Tuesday the 5th day of May next," be dispensed with in respect of a petition of Gilliat E. Hatfield, W. R Lloyd Jones, and H. F. Bidder, promoters of the River Wandle Protectio Bill; agreed to, the said petition praying for leave to bring in a Bill for the preservation of the underground sources of the River Wandle, presented accordingly, together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto, and read and referred to the Examiners.

Southwell District Gas Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read $1^a$, and referred to the Examiners.

Interoceanic Railway of Mexico Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to.

## *PETITIONS.*

### LAND VALUES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition against; of the county council of the county of Perth; read and ordered to lie upon the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### COAST GUARD.

Report of the Inter-departmental Conference on the Coast Guard, 1907.

### TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3987. Italy (Rome).
No. 3992. China (Antung)

### CONGESTION IN IRELAND (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Final Report of the Commissioners; with appendices, index to and digest of evidence.

### EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND).

Return prepared pursuant to Section 3 of the Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Act, 1907, giving particulars of cases in which persons have been reinstated with the assistance of the Estates Commissioners, up to 31st December, 1907.

### BANKING AND RAILWAY STATISTICS (IRELAND), DECEMBER, 1907.

### RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

Returns of accidents and casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several railway companies in the United Kingdom during the three months ended 31st December, 1907, in pursuance of the Regulation of Railways Act (1871), with reports of the inspecting officers, assistant inspecting officers and sub-inspecting officers of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain accidents which were inquired into. Part II. Reports on accidents.

### DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Statistical tables for the year 1907.

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

### INDIA (PROGRESS AND CONDITION).

Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India, during the year 1906–7. Forty-third number.

### SHOP HOURS ACT (BOROUGH OF DARLINGTON).

Order made by the Council of the Borough of Darlington, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for a certain class of shops within the borough.

### POST OFFICE (INLAND) POST.

The Inland Post (No. 10) Warrant, 1908, dated 28th April, 1908.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and ordered to lie on the Table.

### UNION OF BENEFICES (METROPOLIS) ACT, 1860.

Scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for effecting an union of the benefice of St. Luke, Charlton, and the benefice of St. Paul, Charlton, within the Metropolis and county of Kent, and for effecting certain other measures incidental to or arising out of such union. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and to be printed. (No. 67.)

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## *NEW BILL.*

### STATUTE LAW REVISION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill for further promoting the Revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary was presented by the Lord Chancellor, read 1$^{a}$; to be printed, and to be read 2$^{a}$ on Wednesday next. (No. 68.)

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### THE LATE PRIME MINISTER.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, I am sorry for the absence of my noble friend Lord Crewe, in whose name stands the Motion which I am about to make. I cannot hope to emulate the felicitous words he would have addressed to you; but it needs no speech of mine to recommend the Motion to your Lordships, and you will desire me to use but a few words. On two recent occasions, tributes, cordial in feeling and graceful in appreciation, have been offered by the official spokesmen on both sides of the two Houses of Parliament to that kindly and honoured figure whose passing from amidst us unites all parties of the State in a common sorrow; and if we refrain now from further speeches of eulogy it is not because his memory has ceased to dwell in our hearts.

The action which the Government have determined to take is in accordance with precedent. Thrice in my own presence and recollection similar Motions have been laid before the two Houses of Parliament after the death of a statesman who had filled the highest office to which a servant of the Crown can aspire, and curiously enough on all those three occasions the Motion was made in the month of May. On 9th May, 1881, in honour of Lord Beaconsfield; on 20th May, 1898, in honour of Mr. Gladstone; and on 17th May, 1904, in honour of the late Lord

Salisbury; and now, on 18th May, a similar Motion is proposed in honour of my dear friend the late Prime Minister. My Lords, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was not endowed with the brilliancy of Lord Beaconsfield, the universal genius of Mr. Gladstone, or the commanding intellect of Lord Salisbury; but he yielded to none of them in the unbounded devotion with which he inspired his followers, and the affectionate esteem with which he was regarded by his political opponents. *Justus et tenax propositi*, he lived his life and served the public weal, endeared to all who knew him by his modesty, his transparent straightforwardness, his genial humour, and his responsive sympathy with the weak and suffering amongst his fellow men, He was pre-eminently a good man as "goodness" is defined by Bacon—

> "The parts and signs of goodness are many; if a man be gracious, and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them; if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm."

May I add a few words as to the private life of my friend Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman? I had the privilege of living with him on intimate terms for more than thirty years; he was a trusted friend, and I know how he sympathised in the joys and sorrows of all around him. He was a good guest; he was a better host. He was full of good stories and recollections of the past. He was a marvellous French scholar. I think all of you will agree that some of his French speeches were really *tours de force,* and combined humour with the very best French idiom. These were great qualities. But he had a higher quality still, and that was the great love and devotion he showed towards his wife, Lady Campbell-Bannerman. He had the most absolute confidence in her judgment. He referred to her in all difficult situations, and I am sure that many of the decisions of his life were come to upon her advice. I have twice stood by the open grave that contains the coffins of Sir Henry and Lady Campbell-Bannerman, and I can assure you I have brought back from that experience a sweet and fragrant memory. I close my few observations as I began. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman may not have been cast in the same mould as the three giants of whom I have spoken; he, I think, was made of a milder steel; he trusted to conciliation rather than to aggression and compulsion, and so did good service to his party, his country, and his King. My Lords, I submit that it is meet and right that a memorial should be raised to him in our Abbey of Westminster, where are found the effigies of so many British statesmen of renown close to the scene of their most arduous labours.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying that His Majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the late Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with an inscription expressive of the high sense entertained by this House of the eminent services rendered by him to the country in Parliament and in great offices of State, and to assure His Majesty that this House will concur in giving effect to His Majesty's directions."—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I have already on previous occasions endeavoured to express, and, I believe, with the concurrence of those who sit near me, our admiration for the many qualities that distinguished the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. We sympathise and we desire to express our sympathy with those who, either as colleagues or private friends, are lamenting his loss. It is right and proper that such men, with such a record, should be honoured, and that their memories should be kept alive by suitable memorials erected at the public expense.

We certainly, therefore, on this side of the House offer no sort of objection to the Motion of my noble friend so far as it relates to the propriety of honouring the late Prime Minister; but I do trust that noble Lords opposite will not think I am approaching the subject in any carping spirit when I venture to address to your Lordships a word of warning with regard to that part of my noble friend's Motion which proposes that the memorial shall be erected in Westminster Abbey. I say this for three reasons. In the first place the Abbey, the noblest of our national Cathedrals, is already crowded, I might almost say indecently crowded, with memorials to public men, some eminently distinguished, others not so well known to fame. This congestion of memorials, in my opinion, detracts from the beauty and dignity of the Abbey. It is so great that, as your Lordships will recollect, when not long ago it was determined to erect a monument to the late Lord Salisbury, it was found that this could only be done by interfering with the position of other monuments already in possession of the ground. I cannot, my Lords, help thinking that the time has come when we might cry "Halt" in this process of erecting monuments to our public men in Westminster Abbey.

My noble friend relies in this instance on precedents, and he has mentioned cases in which memorials have been erected to deceased Prime Ministers within the precincts of Westminster Abbey. But I am sure it must have been pointed out to my noble friend that a considerable number of Prime Ministers, men of great distinction, have not been honoured by memorials within the precincts of the Abbey. There have been eight since Pitt. I may mention the names of Lord Liverpool, Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, and Lord Derby, none of whom have been honoured by memorials in the Abbey. There would, therefore, have been nothing at all invidious so far as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was concerned if it had been decided to erect a monument to his honour in some place other than the Abbey. It cannot be contended that there are not other sites convenient for the purpose. There are, for example, the precincts of the Houses of Parliament, whether inside or outside the precincts of the House with which he was closely associated. For these reasons I should not have been surprised had His Majesty's Government hesitated to propose the erection of this monument in the Abbey itself.

*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*

But that is a matter which no doubt they have fully considered. I do not at all desire on this occasion to press my objection or to say anything that might seem to denote a grudging acquiescence in the Motion; all I wish to do is to raise a note of warning and to express the hope that in future we may think twice before we lay down a rule that all Prime Ministers are, as a matter of course, to have monuments erected to their memory in Westminster Abbey.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I am quite sure that the remarks—the just remarks—which my noble friend has made with regard to the overcrowding of Westimnster Abbey were not suggested to him in any degree in connection with the person whom we propose to honour this evening. What my noble friend has said is perfectly true. No doubt Westminster Abbey is much crowded, and I hope that future Governments will bear the suggestion of my noble friend in mind; and, though I do not think it is so very easy to find a place equally suited to the purpose as the Abbey itself, yet I am quite sure we all feel the force of the observations of the noble Marquess.

On Question, Motion agreed to *nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered that the said Address be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with the White Staves.

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## TERRITORIAL ARTILLERY.

*THE EARL OF DENBIGH rose "To ask His Majesty's Government whether they are prepared to reconsider the general scheme for raising horse and field batteries of the Territorial Forces, and whether they will in the first instance confine themselves to the raising of a limited number of such batteries in certain selected areas where the local conditions may be considered favourable and encouraging, and whether, until the practicability of these Territorial batteries as efficient units for war is considered proved, the Government will devote the balance of the money already allocated to Territorial Artillery to maintaining the Regular Horse and Field Artillery at a greater numerical strength."

The Noble Earl said: My Lords, the Question which stands in my name has been on the Paper for some time, and I greatly regret that it was not possible for me to ask it at an earlier date. The reason mainly was that the sudden and unexpected adjournment of Parliament happened on the day on which I had it on the Paper, and it has been impossible to bring it forward before now. I know many will say that it is now too late to discuss this question of the Territorial Artillery, that no good can be gained thereby, and that the argument ought now to be considered as closed. I beg to differ from that. There was plenty of plain speaking on this subject a year ago, but unfortunately it was very difficult to direct public attention to the details of the whole scheme at that particular time, and it is only recently that the people of this country have begun to realise what it all means. The result is that anything which is said now on the subject of the Territorial Army attracts considerably more attention than exactly the same thing did when said a year ago. The reason why I venture to bring this matter forward is that there are large numbers of those whom I respectfully consider to be most competent judges, who regard it as a most serious and vital question; we feel that a very great mistake has been made, and we are trying, even at the eleventh hour, to make people realise this fact, that a Territorial Army is one thing, but that the question of having that Army entirely dependent on Territorial Artillery is a totally different one.

I wish to say, in the very clearest way, that I do not desire to utter any criticism whatever upon the Territorial scheme as a whole. In common with most people, I look upon it as a most ingenious and praiseworthy one, and I sincerely hope it will succeed. It is because I hope it will succeed that it is my earnest wish to see one of its weakest spots remedied, and that weakest spot I consider to be the question of the field artillery. We are told that we must not criticise, and that the whole scheme is hanging in the balance. But if this new creation is of such delicate growth that the merest breath of criticism will make it wither and die, then I respectfully suggest that the sooner we know the fact the better.

To begin with, I consider that the whole artillery scheme was founded upon absolutely wrong lines from the very beginning. We were told of what had been effected with the Lancashire Field Artillery Militia, and we heard a great deal of the C.I.V. battery which went to South Africa, and which was formed from the corps that I have the honour to command. Neither of these is in any way a proposition similar to one of the Territorial batteries which is now being formed. In South Africa they never met any properly-trained artillery; but there is no getting away from the fact that the special purpose for which the Territorial Army and the Territorial Artillery are being formed is that of meeting the trained artillery which will most assuredly accompany any Army that may land on these shores, whether it is bent on a raid or actual invasion. Then we are told what single guns of the Elswick battery did in South Africa, and of similar work done by other corps. I believe their work was very good indeed, but it is not the class of work that is going to be required of the Territorial batteries in this country.

Next we are told that we must have the full Continental proportion of five guns per 1,000 men for our Territorial Army. We are told that the country will not pay for regular artillery to that amount, and I daresay it would not, because it would not be necessary, and that, therefore, we must have Territorial Artillery; and I noticed the other day that the eloquent and gifted Military Correspondent of *The Times*, who seems to hold a brief for the War Office at the present moment, stated that the reason for adopting the present scheme of Territorial Artillery was that when it came to the question of providing artillery for the Territorial Army this particular scheme was believed to be the cheapest and the quickest. Now, I admit the cheapness of it, but it is certainly not the quickest, and it will be many years before any of these batteries now being formed will be of the slightest possible use as a fighting unit. Then, again, with regard to the proportion of guns required, I know it to be the fact that many most distinguished and experienced officers, some of them occupying the highest commands in this country and looked upon as leading authorities, are entirely unable to understand why it should be necessary to adopt this particular standard of five guns per 1,000 men for use in an enclosed country like England, where it would be practically impossible to use such large masses of artillery. I received a letter the other day from an artillery friend of mine, from which I should like to read to your Lordships a paragraph. He says—

> "Another fact in which I think the War Minister has made a fundamental error is in allotting only Volunteer Artillery to the Territorial Army. The Territorial Infantry cannot be as highly trained as the Continental troops, and it was an axiom with such masters of war as Frederick and Napoleon that as the quality of their infantry fell off so they increased the efficiency of their artillery. We, on the other hand, allot our least-trained artillery to our least-trained infantry, and to make matters worse the theatre of war (viz., England) in which such artillery is to be used is the most difficult in Europe for the successful employment of the arm."

That is worth thinking over. Mr. Haldane and the Army Council do not agree with Frederick the Great and Napoleon. They either refuse to admit that what was true in Napoleon's day is ten times more true in these days of modern weapons of precision, or they shrink, from motives of economy, and perhaps from political reasons, to tell the people the real truth, and they prefer to let the country think that artillery on the cheap will answer the purpose just as well.

We are suffering at the present moment from lamentable ignorance on the part of the general public as to what is required of field artillery and what constitutes the training of field artillery of which we hear so much. The first thing to remember is that artillery cannot win battles of itself. Artillery exists for the purpose of helping infantry to win battles, and in modern warfare infantry cannot win unless they are backed and supported by good artillery. When I say good artillery I mean artillery that is absolutely reliable, and I assert that reliability cannot be obtained except under certain conditions which are well known to every artillery officer. We hear about the mysteries of artillery. Mysteries of artillery only exist in the minds of those who know very little about it. There are no mysteries of artillery; but surely those who have been through the mill and are acquainted with artillery training may be credited with knowing perhaps a little more than those who have not.

I wish to say, therefore, that one of the first requirements is good and experienced officers, more especially battery commanders. There has been a vast amount of most mischievous and pernicious nonsense talked recently in the country as to the ease with which artillery work can be picked up. I call that nonsense most advisedly. I think it is a great pity that the people of this country, who are not familiar with artillery work, should be misled and be made to think that artillery work can be picked up easily, when the reverse is the fact. I would suggest that if it is so simple to pick up artillery work, then the donning of artillery uniform must have a singularly deadening effect on the intellects of our cadets when they leave the Woolwich Academy, or else we spend unnecessary time and money in training artillery officers. A good artillery officer must be a good rider. If a battery commander is always thinking what his horse is going to do next he cannot give proper attention to what he ought to do next with his men. He must have a good eye for country, he must be capable of quick decision, he must be a good horsemaster, and have a thorough knowledge of fire discipline and gunnery; above all things, he must be a good and trained observer of fire. Although it may sound not a very difficult matter to judge the burst of a shell and to say on which side of a target it falls, if those who doubt the difficulty would watch some of the artillery practice carried on on Salisbury Plain they would very soon find how singularly deceptive the observation of fire is, and how dependent on correct observation is anything approaching to accurate practice. This, as I say, is a most difficult matter, and requires constant practice.

Then, again, the non-commissioned officers and men must be well trained until the whole battery is like a machine. No battery commander can make good practice with a bad battery, and the best-trained battery in the world must fail absolutely in the hands of an incompetent battery commander; it would not only fail, but would be absolutely at that battery commander's mercy for good or for evil, and it might easily be annihilated in a very short space of time through some misjudged act or move on the part of the commander. To have either officers or men well-trained requires constant work with the battery as a whole. Yet at the present moment you are raising Territorial batteries all over the country to be commanded by men who have had absolutely no field artillery experience whatever; not only that, but I notice that in some places the batteries are being divided in sections, two guns in one place and two guns in another; and I read with astonishment two days ago of a horse artillery battery which is to be divided, with each of its four guns in four different towns situated some eight or ten miles apart. The consequence is that the commanding officer will rarely be able to get those guns together except in camp, and it will, therefore, be practically impossible for him to train either the men or himself. The result is that when he gets into camp he has to begin teaching his men elementary work which should have been learned weeks before, and the camp training in this way loses half its value.

It is impossible to exaggerate the helplessness of ill-trained artillery, or of an ill-trained battery or battery commander, in the face of a well-trained quick-firing battery. The latter would come into action quicker; it would get its first gun off quicker; it would pick up the range quicker, and then possibly with a blast of shrapnel would obliterate the other battery before it had begun. People do not realise what a quick-firing gun is. It is not a gun for the purpose of continual firing at great speed, for in that way you would soon use up the ammunition. A quick-firing gun has been aptly described as a gun of opportunities. It is one which enables you to take advantage of your enemy if you catch him at a disadvantage, and it enables you, in that particular case, to pour in a fire that is absolutely overwhelming. All that requires great quickness, coolness, thorough knowledge, and accuracy; and I respectfully state that those conditions cannot be obtained without very careful and elaborate training.

Then take the case of covering infantry in the assault—one of the most responsible and difficult duties of field artillery work. This means being able to keep up an accurate and well-timed fire over the heads of your own infantry up till the last possible moment, for the purpose of compelling the enemy to keep their heads down and take shelter and thus prevent them pouring in an accurate rifle fire themselves. If the supporting artillery engaged in this delicate and critical work is not absolutely reliable in its shooting, it would demoralise the very best of infantry; it would demoralise them at the most critical moment of the attack, and might bring about an awful disaster.

We are told that this great scheme of Territorial Artillery is absolutely essential to the Territorial scheme as a whole, that its absence would spoil the symmetry of the organisation. When I hear that I am afraid I feel inclined to say rather irreverently: "Hang your symmetry." But in your Lordships House we must not say that sort of thing, and therefore I will content myself by observing that I think the results to be obtained are of rather more importance than the symmetry of the scheme. If the rest of the Territorial Army would only realise the position and the real duties of artillery in the field, I think they would be the first to insist that they should be supported by something better than Territorial Artillery. I am perfectly well aware of the fact that the Secretary of State for War has said on many occasions that there was no intention of using Territorial Artillery untrained, and that the whole basis of the Territorial idea is that we are to have six months of preparation before the enemy lands in this country. If that comes off, all well and good; but Mr. Balfour, in the other House, pointed out, in a very forcible way, the unsoundness of tying the whole argument to this one hypothesis. Is it not the least likely that we might be attacked by a fresh enemy, and is it absolutely certain that we shall be able to choose our own time for sending the expeditionary force from these shores? At all events, it must be conceded, I think, that there is very considerable risk in the matter. I think that risk ought to be guarded against, and surely it would be a wise precaution to guard against a breakdown of your scheme by taking exceptional precautions regarding the artillery portion of it, which everybody admits is the most important and the least capable of being improvised at short notice. It is because we feel so strongly on this point that, even at this late hour, we urge the Government, in the strongest way, to consider the advisability of doing something in the way of stiffening the Territorial Artillery with Regulars in some form or another.

I am fully aware of the fact that at this period mere destructive criticism is very undesirable, and does no good. I agree entirely with Mr. Haldane when he says that there is a large amount of most admirable material in this country well suited for the manufacture of the rank and file of Territorial Artillery. Personally, I hope to see the Territorial Artillery succeed, and I do not wish to say a word to discourage any genuine efforts in that direction. But what I say is: "Give it a chance," which you are not doing at the present moment. Confine your efforts to suitable localities, places where you can get your batteries all together, where horses, officers, and men are available, where you have manœuvring and practice ground within reach. And, most important of all, I suggest that where the Government have not already got capable Volunteer officers in command — and I think the Volunteer Field Artillery officers really capable of commanding batteries in this country might be counted upon the fingers of one hand, certainly of two—they should send capable and suitable Regular officers, with ample instructional staffs, to take command for the first few years, and thereby give the batteries that chance which you are not giving them at present under the Territorial scheme.

*The Earl of Denbigh.*

You want to encourage your junior Volunteer officers. I daresay a good many of them would come on to be capable battery commanders, but, to make a capable battery commander, you have to catch your officer young and catch him early. You have to find the man who is an enthusiast, and who is able and willing to give a sufficient amount of time to acquiring the requisite knowledge, and I do not think you will find that men of that description grow on gooseberry bushes. If you will give your Territorial Artillery a chance, as I say, by limiting the numbers of batteries, by selecting those localities where such batteries can be formed, and by sending Regular officers to give them a start, then I think as time goes on you will have junior officers coming up who will be competent to take command, and you will be able to encourage them by letting them know that those who are capable will be given the chance of commanding batteries. I think that is the very least that could be done. Personally I would very much sooner have seen some scheme for having brigades in which one battery was a Regular one, coupled with two of the Territorials. The Regular battery would be of very great assistance to the Territorials; and I think you will find that the Territorial batteries, where they are situated in places with no Regular artillery in reach will find themselves very seriously handicapped. But you are, as you are starting these batteries now, doing your very best to make the Territorial Artillery an absolute farce, and more especially the horse artillery, which you are arming with a gun very much too heavy for the purpose.

It may interest you to know that some years ago—I think in the year 1891 or 1892—when breech-loading field guns were being introduced into the service, there were some cavalry manœuvres on the Berkshire Downs, under Sir Evelyn Wood. They had the 12-pounder gun, which in those days weighed about 38 or 39 cwt. behind the horses. One day early in the manœuvres they had to make a somewhat rapid advance of five or six miles, a thing that might occur any day in warfare. The result was that one of these batteries killed five horses which dropped dead in their tracks, many others being incapacitated, some of them for ever. This caused a considerable amount of thought to be given to the proper weight for a horse artillery gun. The weight was thereupon reduced, by taking off ammunition and in other ways, to 30 cwt., and it was then found that they could keep up with cavalry. I am informed that it was that circumstance which set the proper weight for a horse artillery gun at about 30 or 31 cwt. I asked the noble Lord the Under-Secretary of State for War a question the other day as to what gun it was proposed to provide for these horse artillery batteries, and he replied that the weapon proposed was the 15-pounder converted gun, which weighs about 41 cwt., though I believe it is proposed to reduce the weight to about 39 cwt,. by taking some of the ammunition out of the boxes. The result will be that your Territorial Horse Artillery batteries will be armed with a gun fully 8 or 9 cwt. too heavy for the purpose, and all in the interests of economy.

Now, I wish to say a word on a question which is just as serious. This Army scheme involves the reduction of thirty-three batteries of the Royal Field Artillery to practical nonentities, all, again, in the interests of economy, whilst money is being thrown away in other directions upon Territorial Artillery. I most sincerely hope that consideration will be given to that fact. I will not say more about it now, but I believe that the noble and gallant Field-Marshal on the Cross Benches, who can speak with so much authority, will address your Lordships on that particular point presently. I will only say now that I have not addressed myself to this subject without a due sense of the responsibility of bringing it forward at the present moment. When I first took an open part in this controversy I was roused to do so by the absolutely erroneous statements and false deductions brought forward with regard to the batteries of which I have a particular and special knowledge. I cannot claim to have had any very extensive war service like many noble Lords in this House, but I respectfully submit that ten years regimental duty in the Field and Royal Horse Artillery, and fifteen years subsequent command of the only Volunteer corps in this country which has attempted anything in the nature of Volunteer Horse Artillery, at all events gives me some right to speak on this subject in your Lordships' House; and I think I may claim that the experience I have had has given me some insight into the details necessary for the moderate success which we have been able to achieve, and has also enabled me to form some reliable opinion, not only as to the capabilities of Volunteer Artillery, but also, what is still more important, some idea as regards their limitations. I wish all success to the Territorial Artillery, but I do not believe that His Majesty's Government are going the right way about it; and I hope that even now at this late period the Government will do something in the way I have indicated to make the movement a greater success than it promises to be at the present time.

*Earl ROBERTS: My Lords, on the last occasion I had the honour of addressing your Lordships I ventured, with a full sense of the responsibility that I was incurring, to express my carefully-weighed opinion as to the uselessness of the artillery which Mr. Haldane is about to create. The remarks I then made about the artillery have been interpreted by Lord Lucas—who, I trust, will allow me to offer him my warmest congratulations on the important position he now holds—as applying "equally to the other branches of the Territorial Army," and "as a sweeping condemnation of the whole force." A similar interpretation has been given to my words by the Secretary of State for War in another place. Lord Lucas also made the statement that, whilst I—

> "Last year had given a qualified blessing to the scheme, now, when a critical stage of its development has been reached, and everyone was looking for a pat on the back from me, I passed a heavy sentence on a yet unborn child."

My Lords, I am no master of dialectics, and I must confess that I am at a loss to understand how anything I have said can be made to bear the interpretation put upon it by Lord Lucas and Mr. Haldane; and I trust I shall be able to satisfy your Lordships that there is not the slightest foundation for that interpretation, and that the opinions I have expressed about the Territorial Army have been consistent throughout. To that part of the scheme which is sound, practical, and in accordance with the exigencies of war I have given my heartiest support, while all that is unsound, unpractical, and that cannot be of any use in peace or war I have unhesitatingly condemned.

In support of this assertion, I should like to explain to your Lorships that, when the question of Territorial Artillery was first mooted, I told Mr. Haldane of the trial that had been made on Salisbury Plain, when I was Commander-in-Chief, with the batteries of the Lancashire Militia Artillery, and that after they had been given far more training than it is intended, or would be possible under the scheme to give to the Territorial batteries, and having had besides the great advantage of being assisted by a large staff of officers, non-commissioned officers,and men of the Regular artillery, it was reported that, efficient as they had become, they could not hope to cope successfully with the highly trained batteries of a Continental Power. Then when for the first time it was officially intimated in Army Orders of February, 1907, that, with the exception of eight horse and thirty-three field batteries, the Territorial Artillery would be the only artillery left in this country to meet an invasion after the despatch of the expeditionary force, I took the earliest opportunity—namely, in June of that year—to bring the matter to your lordships' notice, and to point out the danger of trusting to Territorial Artillery.

Let me repeat what I said then. My words were—

> "Are we to send amateur artillerists, equipped with obsolete guns, into action with highly trained experts, provided with the deadliest modern weapons? Whatever else, my Lords, we may think we can improvise in the hour of danger, or begin to train after the crisis has arisen, artillery cannot be improvised. Artillerymen must be trained before the crisis and not after, and given a very different training to the annual week or fortnight, which is all the proposed scheme provides."

A glance at *Hansard* will show you that these were my exact words. I can detect no uncertain sound in these words, nor do I think they convey the idea of a blessing—qualified or unqualified—as given by me to the proposed artillery. On the contrary, at the very outset I expressed a decided opinion as to the futility of trusting the defence of this country to inadequately trained Territorial batteries.

Then as to my remarks upon the Territorial Artillery being pronounced "a sweeping condemnation" of the whole force, let me recall to your lordships' memory what I said only a few weeks ago in this House. It was—

> "I am a firm believer in the vital importance of our having a Territorial Army, or, as I should prefer to call it, a National Army, and I have no hesitation in saying that this country owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Haldane for all that he has done, and is still doing, in spite of the great difficulties he has to contend with, to provide us with such an Army. The right hon. Gentleman has laid the foundations of a National Army, the framework of which is quite admirable, but it is for the country to see that that framework is filled in with thoroughly serviceable material, properly organised to take the field."

I cannot conceive how anybody can impute to these words "a sweeping condemnation" of the Territorial Army; but, as misconception has arisen, I should like very briefly to state my opinion of Mr. Haldane's scheme in connection with the reorganisation of the Yeomanry and Volunteers.

To my mind the scheme represents an earnest and carefully planned attempt to raise a Territorial Army on a voluntary basis, and, as I said before, the framework appears to me to be admirable. The chief merit of the scheme lies in the manner in which it is sought to bring the Army into touch with the nation, to stimulate public interest in the Army throughout the country, and to bring local influence in each county to bear upon the actual provision of the troops. I consider it to be a most praiseworthy effort in the right direction, and I hope, with all sincerity, that it may be crowned with success. When, however, the details of the scheme come to be examined, there appear to be very grave defects. As regards training, I do not disguise the fact that, in my opinion, an opinion which I feel assured is shared by the Army generally, and by a large number of civilians as well, the period fixed by the Act is far too short to permit of any branch reaching a reasonable standard of efficiency. But, whereas it may be possible to give the Yeomanry and infantry a very moderate amount of military knowledge in the limited time at their disposal, provided they are commanded by officers who have themselves been properly trained, I have no hesitation in saying that it is absurd to suppose that the artillery could be taught even the rudiments of their business in so brief a period, how much less could it be given the training necessary for combined action with the other arms. So far as organisation is concerned, I think it is an undoubted advantage that the Yeomanry and infantry should be formed into brigades and divisions under permanent commanders; but, holding the opinion I do, as to the uselessness of Territorial Artillery, I cannot be expected to agree, merely for the sake of symmetry, to its being included in the organisation. To include it would, in my opinion, be a wasteful expenditure of an enormous sum of money for a purely fanciful purpose.

My Lords, I am told that my criticisms are valueless from the fact that I am under a total misconception of the basis underlying the whole scheme; and Mr. Haldane has taken pains to show what he conceives to be the real foundation of our military strategy and the erroneous nature of my premises. Put as concisely as possible, Mr. Haldane's contention, as I understand it, is this, that, under no circumstances conceivable, will the whole striking force be allowed to leave these shores until the Territorial Army has been given a breathing space of six months in which to make itself efficient. In other words, that the Territorial Army can absolutely rely on six months respite for training and preparation after the declaration of war; or, failing this, that it will always have the Regular Army, or at all events a part of it, to assist in the defence of the United Kingdom. If this be, indeed, the foundation on which Mr. Haldane's scheme is based, the right hon. Gentleman spoke nothing but the truth when he said that he had "wholly parted company with" me.

This confession, my Lords, throws a lurid light on the military aspect of the scheme. Consider for a moment what it means. It means that we are deliberately to adopt a policy in peace which will entail interference with the strategic liberty of our expeditionary force in war. It means that, if our frontiers in India or Canada are threatened, or serious trouble arises nearer home, we shall be denied the possibility of putting out our whole strength to ward off the danger. A part, according to Mr. Haldane one-third, of the expeditionary force will have to remain at home, whilst our second line of defence is undergoing what is called "the hardening process." I say that this is an impossible foundation for our military policy, and one for which neither history nor common sense can give any warrant. I can conceive no more sweeping condemnation of the material of which the Territorial Army is to be formed than this profession of faith of the Secretary for War in the loving kindness of an enemy who, intending to attack us, will be considerate of our convenience to the extent of allowing us, when war is declared, six months for preparation to defeat him.

Allow me to make a remark on a purely personal matter. Mr. Haldane has sought to detract from any value my opinion may have by attributing to me two diametrically opposite views as regards the probability of invasion, quoting for that purpose a speech of Mr. Balfour's, based on calculations of the Committee of Imperial Defence, of which I was then a Member. That speech was made in May, 1905—three years ago; and the conditions on which the Committee then formed their opinion have undergone a very considerable change, and further inquiry has shown that the decisions then arived at no longer hold good. To come back to the artillery, which is the subject more immediately under reference, and with regard to which I am prepared to join issue with Mr. Haldane on his own ground. Let us, for argument's sake, grant that we should enjoy immunity from invasion for six months after war is declared. Even then I still adhere steadfastly to my opinion that it would be utterly impossible to train such a mass of artillery—182 batteries—even during the summer within anything like so brief a period. But what if the training had to be carried on during the six winter months? Will the noble Lord tell us whether Mr. Haldane is prepared to undertake the responsibility of training the Territorial Army at that season of the year? The men at that season would have to live in tents, for there would not be sufficient barrack accommodation for anything like the numbers that would have to be trained. Will my noble and gallant friend Lord Lovat say whether he would train the hardy Highlanders on the moors of Scotland in the depth of winter, and, if not, how much less could dwellers in towns and people working in factories and at mechanical trades be expected to bear up against such exposure? And at that season of the year, or indeed, at any other season, where would all the 182 batteries carry out their tactical training and their gun practice?

As Major-General Sir George Marshall, an officer of experience, who commanded the whole of the artillery during the late war in South Africa, pointed out in a letter published in *The Times* a few weeks ago—

> "There are only four land ranges available in the whole kingdom."

The greatest difficulty is often experienced in providing sufficient range accommodation for the Regular batteries usually serving at home—a little more than half the number that are proposed for the Territorial Army—and are these 182 Territorial batteries to be transported from all parts of the country to these four land ranges, one of which is in Ireland?

The noble Earl, Lord Lucas's predecessor, told us a short time ago that the County Associations had been instructed to see what could be done about local ranges. I fear there will be no satisfactory result from their researches, for Committee after Committee has been assembled for the same purpose, and their Reports showed that very few sites eight to nine miles in length and two miles in breadth were anywhere available, and that the cost of such ranges would be practically prohibitory. It is possible that sea ranges may be found in certain places, but minor tactics—perhaps the most essential, and certainly the most difficult, part of an artilleryman's training to learn—cannot be taught on a sea range.

Then the annual training is to be for fifteen days only; and even for this short time, under recent instructions, it would appear that no one who has anything else to do need attend; and I would ask you please to remember that this might be all the training the Territorial Artillery would get before an enemy lands on these shores. For, however much it may be desired, no one, not even the most sanguine of Mr. Haldane's supporters, would, I imagine, take upon himself to guarantee that we shall have sufficient warning to ensure the artillery being given the six months much-needed training. And is there anyone in this House who, after what has happened so often in the past, would feel absolutely certain, even if timely warning were given, that the Government of the day would take advantage of it to mobilise, seeing how fearful we always are of appearing to expect, or to make any preparation for, war?

From the fifteen days two must be deducted for Sundays, two for coming and going into camp, and one day for inspection, paying the men, survey boards, etc. Thus the fifteen days have dwindled down to ten days for actual training, two of which are to be devoted to artillery tactics and gun practice. Now, even if the ranges happen to be close at hand, this would allow a ridiculously short time for carrying out such essential duties. It really would seem as if this all-important matter of artillery tactics and gun practice had never been taken seriously into consideration by the War Office authorities, or the Secretary of State would surely not have ventured to propose the dangerous experiment of waiting until war breaks out before the training of the artillery could be properly taken in hand.

I am accused of inconsistency with regard to the possibility of bringing the Territorial Artillery up to a reasonable standard of efficiency—first, because I expressed approval of the work done by Volunteer Artillery in the South African War; and, secondly, in that, as commander-in-chief I agreed to the proposal of forming, as an experiment, twenty-one such batteries for three of the six Army Corps organised when Lord Midleton was Secretary of State for War. Where is the inconsistency? In the first place, one of the two batteries—the C.I.V. Battery—practically belonged to the Honourable Artillery Company. It was commanded by a Regular officer; its adjutant and the more important non-commissioned officers were Regulars, and the majority of the men had had many more advantages in the matter of training than it would be possible to give to the Territorial batteries. The other — the Elswick Battery—was chiefly manned by skilled artificers of unusual intelligence, whose business gave them a thorough knowledge of the weapon they had to use, and they were men of a type which it would be chimerical to hope to find for the *personnel* of 182 batteries throughout the country. Moreover, these batteries had each something like three months training in the field before they were seriously engaged with the enemy, and —what is a very important matter— they were never opposed by highly-trained artillery, but only by artillery with little, if any, more training than they had had themselves. As regards Lord Midleton's proposal, I acquiesced in that experiment being made because I was able to imagine then, as I can imagine now, the feasibility of raising a limited number of batteries in certain selected areas—as is proposed by the noble Lord who opened this debate— where local interests and training possibilities appeared to hold out reasonable hopes of carrying such an experiment to a fairly successful conclusion. Surely no impartially-minded person can see any similarity between the experiment that was contemplated in 1901, to form twenty-one batteries in carefully selected localities as a reserve to the Regular artillery, and Mr. Haldane's proposal to raise indiscriminately 182 batteries in all parts of the country, not as a reserve to the Regular artillery, but to take the place of the Regulars and to be the sole artillery—with the exception of eight horse artillery batteries—on which we shall have to depend for the defence of this country.

I read the letter of the Inspector-General of the forces, which Mr. Haldane produced in support of his scheme for raising Territorial Artillery, but I must confess that I find it difficult to treat it seriously. I will only say that the deductions which I draw from military history differ fundamentally from those drawn by Sir John French. There is, however, one most important point upon which Sir John French touches when he says that "with effective instructors" much can be done in the way of training artillery in six months. The late Under-Secretary of State for War, in replying to a question which I put to him privately, told me that arrangements were being made for the provision of the necessary instructors. Personally, I can see little chance of any "effective instructors" being forthcoming. We are more than 4,000 officers short of mobilisation requirements for the Regular Army alone— irrespective of any demand that India might make upon us for the same purpose —and when war breaks out every officer that can possibly be made use of will assuredly be employed with the expeditionary force. The few Regular officers that may be left behind after the despatch of that portion of the expeditionary force which it will be permissible, according to the scheme, to send abroad will have their hands full in training men to replace the wastage of the Regular artillery; and if, as I am confident would be the case in any great emergency, the whole expeditionary force had to be sent out of the country without regard to any time-limit the situation would be so much the worse. The Territorial Artillery, under these circumstances, would have to train itself—in other words, there would be no training at all.

I have no doubt whatever that when the crisis arises the men would, as Sir John French thinks, exert themselves to the utmost to remedy their want of training by personal courage and devotion to duty; but what Napier calls the "mechanical courage of discipline" cannot be improvised, nor can willingness to serve the country compensate for inefficiency, based upon ignorance of artillery tactics, and insufficient experience in the use of a complicated weapon. I prefer to agree with Prince Kraft, who, in comparing discipline with enthusiasm, says—

> "Enthusiasm is but burning straw unless the true soldier spirit is present. It flares up a short time, but goes out at once as soon as it is chilled by the reality of war."

I can imagine no more terrible fate for a commander than to be called upon to defend these islands with troops insufficiently trained, both as regards officers and men; and I sincerely trust for their own sakes that none of Mr. Haldane's military advisers who support the right hon. Gentleman's proposal to give this modicum of training to the Territorial Army will ever be required to undertake such an impossible task. No, I cannot alter by one iota the opinion I expressed in this House two months ago that the Territorial Artillery on such a scale as is proposed would entail vast expense to this country in peace without the hope of any corresponding return in war. I repeat that I consider it would be not only valueless, but a source of danger both in peace and war—in peace, because the fact of its existence would lull the public into a false sense of security; in war, because of its inability to afford the necessary support to the other arms or to cope with the trained artillery by which it would be opposed.

This is not a party question. It is essentially a national question; and, as a soldier sitting on the Cross-Benches, I should be most unwilling to take part in any Army debate which had for its object the injury of either party of the State. I have served in the field under both Liberal and Unionist Governments, and from no one have I received more kindness, more encouragement, or more consideration than from the two noble Marquesses one the Leader of the Unionist, the other the late Leader of the Liberal Party in this House. Then, Mr. Haldane is a personal friend of mine, and it is most distasteful to me to do or say anything to add to his difficulties, or to increase the heavy burden he has to bear. And I certainly would not do so did not my experience of war and my intimate knowledge of artillery satisfy me that by the course which is being pursued with regard to that branch of the Territorial Army the safety not only of the country, but of our great Empire, is endangered.

We are at present committed to nothing more than a paper Army as far as the artillery is concerned. And before any further steps are taken I implore you to make an effort to prevent the grievous error we should make if we consented to the formation of 182 batteries of Territorial Artillery. Let us confine ourselves, in the first instance, as Lord Denbigh has suggested, to the raising of a limited number of such batteries. I would say twenty-one field batteries at the outside; in addition, there might be the fourteen heavy batteries, as proposed, and perhaps fourteen sections of pom-poms to serve with the mounted portion of the Territorial Army. Neither of these would require anything like the tactical training that is essential for horse and field artillery. Such batteries could be raised where there might be some hope of securing the services of the required number of intelligent men suitable for the artillery and where, possibly—I am afraid I cannot say probably—suitable range accommodation might be locally found. We cannot, we dare not, without running frightful risks, to say nothing of the great waste of public money, commit ourselves further than this at present.

Meanwhile it is essential for the security of this country that the thirty-three Regular batteries should be maintained at the full establishment, in order that they may be available on the shortest possible notice for home defence when the whole of the expeditionary force shall have been despatched. In such a condition they would be infinitely better fitted to assist in training the Territorial Artillery than they are at present on the lamentably low establishment of two guns, sixty-five of all ranks, and forty-five horses. And such batteries, though few in number, would most certainly put more heart into the other branches of the Territorial Army should they ever find themselves opposed to the highly-trained troops of a Continental Power, than any number of Territorial batteries, and they would cost much less in the end than the 182 batteries it is proposed to raise.

It has been urged that the Territorial batteries should be given a chance, and that we should wait for three or four years to see whether they could not be made efficient. My Lords, at the end of three or four years who is to pronounce on the efficiency of the Territorial batteries? Those who are responsible for their existence, and those who have honestly done their best to give them their so-called training, are they to be the judges? My Lords, there is but one test for the efficiency of artillery, and that test is war; and are we to wait for war in order to be certain whether the Territorial batteries are fit for the duties for which they were raised?

I am asked why I did not say last year what I am saying now about the Territorial Artillery, and I am told that to give expression to such views at this time is to discourage those who have been requested, and have consented, to raise Territorial batteries. I hope I have made it clear to your Lordships that, as soon as I knew that Territorial batteries were to be raised, I lost no time in pointing out as emphatically as I could that, unless they were given far more training than was laid down in Army Orders, they could not be trusted in war. I had no conception then, nor indeed did I know until this year's Army Estimates were published in February last, that the thirty-three Regular batteries were to be placed on such a low establishment as to prevent their being able to take the field, and that, with the exception of the eight horse artillery batteries which, as I explained on a former occasion, might at any moment be required to replace wastage in the expeditionary force, we should have to depend solely upon the 182 Territorial batteries for the artillery defence of these Islands.

And with regard to any discouraging effect my words may have had, my reply is that, if I could feel there was any reality about the proposed batteries, or see any prospect of so vast a number ever being of the slightest use, so far from doing anything to discourage their formation, I would gladly welcome them as a valuable addition to the Royal Regiment of Artillery. But, knowing as I do that it is hopeless to expect them ever to become efficient enough to be trusted in the field, and, as I have shown, that by the scheme they would be the only artillery available for home defence, I consider it my duty to use every effort to prevent the wholesale adoption of a measure which I regard as fraught with possible disaster to this country; and if any words of mine can help to this end, I shall feel that I have not appealed in vain, and that I have no reason to regret having taken up so much of your Lordships' valuable time.

Lord GRENFELL: My Lords, when I came down to the House this afternoon I had not the slightest intention of addressing your Lordships, and I do not rise now to denounce in any way the Territorial scheme. I am a member of the Territorial Association of my county, and shall do my level best to bring what is given us to do to a successful issue. But I listened with the greatest interest to the speech of the noble Earl, Lord Denbigh, and I rise simply to say that I concur in every word he said with regard to the difficulty of training artillery. For the last four years I have had the duty of supervising a very large force of artillery in Ireland. I have invariably attended the practice camps and I know how difficult it is nowadays even for highly skilled officers and men to do justice to the new gun. I have watched carefully the work of officers which I have had to supervise, and it has often been my painful duty to recommend that certain officers in the Royal Artillery even should not be promoted to the higher ranks because of what by a civilian would be considered very slight deficiences—want of the power of observation and of taking proper ground, and their inability to perform other duties which those responsible for training artillery should be able to perform. I only say this to show how difficult it will be for the officers of the Territorial Artillery to become efficient with the very small training they will receive. The noble Earl who called attention to this question to-day suggested that the force should consist of two batteries of the Territorial Artillery and one battery of Regular Artillery. To make things safe I would say let the proportion be two batteries of Royal Artillery and one battery of Territorial Artillery. Lord Roberts has mentioned the great difficulty in England of providing proper ranges. Even in Ireland, with the large force of artillery I had under my command, we had not a proper range. When I was in command in Ireland I endeavoured all I could to induce the Government to purchase more land for the purpose, and I hope that under my successor the absolutely necessary ground will be obtained. It has been my duty to search for suitable ground for ranges. I visited a great many parts of Ireland for that purpose, and I realise how very difficult it is, with all the various rights that exist in England and in Ireland, to find sufficient ground for proper practice with the new gun. As I have said, I am a member of the Territorial Association of my county—Buckinghamshire—and I am sure that we shall always support any scheme propounded by the Government of the day, and do our level best to make it a success. But I hope that after what has been urged by the noble Earl and by the noble and gallant Field Marshal the greatest possible care will be taken in carrying out a scheme which to us soldiers presents the very greatest difficulties.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord LUCAS): My Lords, the speeches to which we have listened have dealt chiefly with the question of the Territorial Field Artillery. No alternative to the plan of arming the Territorial Army with its own field artillery has been forthcoming, but suggestions have been made that they should be allowed to have a certain proportion of batteries of the Regular Army. The question of the reorganisation that is taking place in the Regular Army has also been mentioned. With your permission I would like, before dealing with the question of the Territorial Artillery, to put before your Lordships the position with regard to the Regular Field Artillery. Though the two questions are entirely separate, they have a distinct bearing on one another.

As your Lordships know, the proposal is to organise an expeditionary force of six divisions, for the mobilisation of which sixty-six batteries of field artillery are required. The raising of a force of sixty-six batteries, which is a considerable increase on what has ever been proposed before, is at the present moment exceedingly difficult for two reasons. In the first place, the force of artillery required now is larger, because in common with foreign countries we have had to increase the number of guns per 1,000 bayonets and sabres; and, in the second place—and this is where our chief difficulty comes in—the new gun has entailed an increase of 50 per cent. in the *personnel* of the ammunition column. Therefore we are faced, first of all, with the problem of producing a larger number of field batteries, and, secondly, we have to increase the *personnel* of the ammunition columns.

The position is that if the sixty-six batteries and their ammunition columns were mobilised with Regular Artillerymen, under the present system of enlistment—that is to say, six years with the colours and six years with the Reserve —there would be a deficit of no less than 7,000 men. That is a deficit which it is extremely difficult to meet. Even if we had continued the system of enlistment which was in force when the present Government came into office—three years in the Colours and nine in the Reserve—and even had we been able to get sufficient men to prolong their service in order to provide drafts for India, it would not have been met. There is no practical proposal on the lines of the plan suggested by Lord Midleton of enlisting a number of three-year men that would enable the necessary men to be obtained. The Army Council, therefore, were forced to adopt the system of manning the ammunition columns with the Special Reserve; there was no alternative open. The shortage of 7,000 is after stripping the thirty-three surplus batteries and returning the guns to store. We have never yet in this country had any mobilisation scheme which provided the full complement for the ammunition columns and the rest. We have never had any scheme which did not entail returning surplus batteries to store, and it is, as a matter of fact, a delusion to consider those surplus batteries as combatant units. They are nothing of the sort, as you demobilise them automatically as you mobilise the rest of your force. Partly for that reason the number of artillery batteries kept in this country has never been in very strict proportion to the number that would be required on mobilisation. There have always been these surplus batteries, and under any scheme of mobilisation it has always been intended to absolutely strip them and do away with them as combatant units.

Under the present scheme you have an improvement upon that. You have your skilled training *cadre.* When this scheme is in working order we shall, for the first time, not contemplate returning those guns to store; they will remain as training batteries with Regular complements, and will have a certain combatant value. That is, as I say, far in advance of anything we have had up to this time. To say that by the present system combatant units are being destroyed is not at all an accurate statement. You could not have had these thirty-three batteries as combatant batteries. The advantage which we claim for this scheme, and which certainly could not be said about the artillery system in force when this Government came into power, is that, in the first place, it enables the necessary drafts for India to be provided; secondly, it enables you to mobilise the whole of the sixty-six batteries; and, in the next place, it will provide training machinery to replace the wastage of war. In so far as it has been said that the policy of the present Government is to starve the artillery, I would point out that there is an actual increase in numbers at the present moment of between 200 and 300 men.

I now turn to the question of the Territorial Army. It has been stated from the very beginning that the Territorial Army was intended to be the Second Line; it was never intended that it should take the field immediately on the outbreak of hostilities. That is not the function of a Second Line Army. If it was ever thought possible that a Second Line Army could take the field on the outbreak of hostilities, surely no Continental Power or any other would maintain a much more expensive and elaborate First Line Army. We look, as we have always looked, to the Navy and the Regular Army as the First Line, and the position remains the same with the Regular Army stronger by better organisation, enabling an expeditionary force of something like 100,000 men to be sent abroad with yet from 40,000 to 60,000 of the Regular Army left in this country with their proper complement of all arms.

We do not say that we have suddenly revolutionised the whole system of defence of this country. We have never laid claim to anything of the sort. What we lay claim to is that we have set up the machinery that will place this country in a position far stronger than it has ever been in before to meet the strain which comes upon a nation after six months of war. At about the end of that period it is intended that the Territorial Army should be fit to take the field, and this will enable the country to get, so to speak, its second wind, which it could not do before. It is like the difference between a man in training and a man who is not. At the end of six months, or about that time, it is intended that the Territorial Army should be fit to take the field absolutely independent of the Regular Army. That being so, it is absolutely essential that it should have a proper complement of the necessary combatant arms.

The Army Council have made allowance for the difficulty of using artillery in this country, and have decided on the proportion of four guns to the 1,000. In regard to the question of the artillery of the Territorial Force I confess I have not been able to follow Lord Denbigh's reasoning. Either your Field Artillery is going to be efficient at the end of six months training on mobilisation, or it is not. If it is not going to be efficient, why does the noble Lord propose to allow to each brigade of artillery two of these inefficient batteries? If, on the other hand, it is possible to have two efficient batteries of field artillery in a brigade, surely it is not beyond human capacity to raise a third battery. And if, as Lord Roberts says, the six months continuous training on mobilisation is not going to give the force the efficiency you want, then I do not see what is the point of the National Service League, an organisation which proposes to give considerably less training.

The Army Council have never underrated the objections which may be raised to their proposals in regard to the Territorial field artillery. But if your Lordships have read the speech made by Mr. Haldane on the subject in another place you will have seen that these proposals have the support of the artillery expert advisers of the Army Council. I am willing to admit that, to a certain extent, it is an experiment, but it is an experiment against which no one has been able to produce a *prima facie* case, while, on the other hand, there is a certain amount of *prima facie* evidence in its favour. There is the remarkable case of the Honourable Artillery Company, a corps commanded by the noble Earl Lord Denbigh. When the noble Earl started field artillery he was met with the same sort of opposition as he is now offering to our scheme. He was told that what he aimed at was impossible of achievement. If they succeeded in attaining so high a standard of efficiency in a fortnight's training, surely it is not too much to hope that the six months training on mobilisation will be sufficient to enable the Territorial artillery to attain to something like the same condition of efficiency. There are also the batteries commanded by Colonel Allen in Sheffield, and by Colonel Grant in Glasgow—they afford remarkable evidence of what can be done, in spite of a certain amount of opposition from the War Office.

Reference has been made to the amount of instruction which the officers of the Territorial artillery will receive. The Army Council quite recognise, as was emphasised by both the noble and gallant Field-Marshal and by the noble Earl who initiated this discussion, that it is of the utmost importance to have skilled and well-trained commanders of the batteries. In each command there will be an officer commanding and a staff officer who will be either Regular or ex-Regular officers. In each brigade there will be a Regular adjutant, a Regular sergeant-major and six sergeant-instructors, so that when a battery is going through its ordinary preliminary work it will have what is considered to be a sufficient amount of expert help and advice. Then with regard to higher training, it is the intention of the Army Council to concentrate it, at present, upon the officers and non-commissioned officers of the batteries and to leave nothing undone to provide them with first-class instruction and experience. First you have the machinery supplied by the training brigade which will be able to give a large amount of instruction and assistance. Besides that, officers will have, within financial limits, which I think will be wide, practically unlimited opportunities of being attached to Regular batteries for training and fire practice. In fact I am told by officers of the Regular artillery that it will be perfectly possible, under this scheme, for officers of the Territorial Artillery to have more general instruction, especially in firing work, than was possible for officers of the Regular artillery fifteen or twenty years ago.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE: Will they get any extra pay when going through those courses?

*LORD LUCAS: They will receive the pay of their rank.

*LORD AMPTHILL: How are they to find the time?

*LORD LUCAS: The question of time is, I agree, an important one. But if the noble Lord suggests that there are not 180 or 360 people in this country who can afford to give up sufficient time to do this work, then all I can say is that he has a higher opinion of industry in this country than I have. There are very difficult matters which officers have to learn and without which knowledge they cannot become good battery commanders. The question of observation of fire, which has been mentioned by the three previous speakers, is a very technical one, and I am told by Regular artillery officers that it is so difficult that there are many officers in the Regular artillery who cannot learn it. It is a gift, and if you have not got the gift no training can give it to you. On the other hand, if the officer has this innate gift, it is their opinion that the amount of training open to him should be sufficient to make him a good observer of fire.

With regard to ranges, land ranges are more suitable than sea ranges for artillery practice, but between land and sea ranges there is at present a sufficient number for the preliminary work of all the batteries of the Territorial artillery, and it is hoped that by the time the first two years training is over greater facilities still for firing will be provided. After all, the whole point of this debate turns, not so much upon a condemnation of the Territorial field artillery, as on a doubt whether it is possible to raise so many as 182 batteries. I gathered from what was said that it is not denied that it is a possibility.

EARL ROBERTS: I beg your pardon. I say it is an absolute impossibility.

*LORD LUCAS: After considering all the questions we hold a different view from the noble and gallant Field-Marshal, and regret that we cannot include him among our supporters. I may say that I am very sorry if I misinterpreted in any way the noble and gallant Field-Marshal's previous utterances on the general question. The noble Earl, Lord Denbigh, seemed to think it would be possible to raise batteries only in certain suitable districts, and he suggested that you should only raise them where you found capable Volunteer officers.

*THE EARL OF DENBIGH: I suggested that the first efforts should be confined to certain suitable localities, and that where you could not find capable Volunteer officers to command them you should send down Regular officers to start them for the first few years.

*LORD LUCAS: After all, what is a suitable locality for raising field artillery? Is there only one class of man capable of doing field artillery work? How can you tell what is going to prove a suitable locality until you try? These things spring up in the most unlikely places. Who would have thought that in the heart of the City of London would be found the very best Volunteer field artillery that exists in this country? The men from the centre of London are not born horsemen. A great many of them, I take it, are not the kind of skilled mechanics and artificers whom Lord Roberts admits make fine artillerymen, such as in the case of the Elswick Battery. Yet you have been able to raise in the City of London an extremely efficient battery, and if we can get many more batteries like that we shall consider the experiment a success.

*THE EARL OF DENBIGH: One of the great factors in the success of the Honourable Artillery Company has been the assistance they received from the Royal Horse Artillery at St. John's Wood. But one horse artillery battery has only a limited number of horses. It could give assistance to us, but it could not do so in the case of all the batteries you wish to raise in London.

*LORD LUCAS: The Honourable Artillery Company have, no doubt, received greater assistance than we can give to a larger number of batteries, but there is no ground for thinking that it is not proposed to give other batteries assistance from Regulars. We are going out of our way to find assistance for the Territorial Army. The Honourable Artillery Company has had these advantages, owing to the public spirit and loyalty of the members, and, possibly, because it is a rich company. We are going to offer to other corps very nearly the same facilities as have been enjoyed by the Honourable Artillery Company, but at no cost to themselves at all. We are going to ask that these batteries may be raised everywhere, and I do not see how anyone can say that, with the teeming population in this country, it will be impossible to raise sufficient men to give us 182 batteries. Even if the attempt fails in certain places it will not be proved that 182 batteries cannot be raised. It is quite true that capable artillery officers do not grow on gooseberry bushes, but it is only by having work with a battery that a man can ever become an efficient artillery officer.

Finally, I disagree entirely from the point of view that, because you cannot raise certain batteries, you will not be able to raise batteries in other places. On the occasion of a great national emergency, if it were a question of training the Territorial artillery against time, to say that we should not get ranges and facilities, is putting a very low estimate upon the public spirit of the citizens of this country. There will be heaps of ranges and heaps of opportunity for training offered. When the war fever is upon people and it is a race against time, with the skilled instruction and guidance that they would always have with them to direct their efforts, I venture to think that energy of that kind—not the kind described by Prince Kraft and referred to by the noble and gallant Field-Marshal—is a very valuable thing, and by it the Territorial artillery will be able to do in six months twice as much as they could do in time of peace.

*Viscount MIDLETON: My Lords, I am sure that your Lordships welcome with great satisfaction the noble Lord the Under-Secretary in his present position. At the same time I believe there is not one of your Lordships who will not have sympathised with the noble Lord in having the uncongenial task of trying to make what appears to us an impossible case against the very powerful arguments addressed to the House by the three noble and gallant Lords of great experience and authority who preceded him. I do not think you could have a stronger consensus of opinion than that supplied by the noble Earl on my left, who has himself great experience of Territorial batteries, and of the sort of material out of which our Territorial batteries will be composed; by the noble and gallant Field Marshal, Lord Roberts, whose authority is second to no man in the world on the subject of artillery; and by the noble and gallant Field Marshal, Lord Grenfell, who has had the most recent experience of handling auxiliary troops in his Irish command.

I rise not to enter into the details of the controversy before your Lordships, for so far it must be admitted that many of the arguments put forward by the three noble and gallant Lords to whom I have referred have gone by default of answer in their favour. But I ask your Lordships to consider what is the position in which we are left by this discussion. You have heard the official voice of the Under-Secretary telling us that there is no possibility of having better trained artillery than the Territorial Army when we have sent the expeditionary force out of this country; and you have heard the trained experts telling the country in no uncertain voice that that Territorial artillery would be perfectly unfit to face an invading artillery. Then are we to close this debate with nothing better than the assurance from the Government that they must send all the Regular artillery abroad, and that they are prepared to remain in a condition which leaves us practically defenceless at home in case of invasion?

I put this point. Either there must be more Regular artillery at home, or there must be less Regular artillery sent abroad. As regards the numbers at home, I think the noble Lord, the Under-Secretary ought to pursue a little more logic in his arguments. What he said, practically, was this, that we had 7,000 men too few, and then he said that we should be in a better position when we had reduced the batteries by 2,400 men. Since Mr. Haldane became Secretary of State for War, the terms of service have been altered. When Mr. Arnold-Forster left the War Office the terms were three years with the Colours and nine with the Reserve—that gave you a Reserve of three for one, and the present system gives you only a Reserve of one for one. If you had continued the three years system only for those 2,400 men you would have more than made up 7,000.

Lord LUCAS: The three years system is only possible if you get a sufficient number of men to continue in the Reserve in order to find the Indian drafts, and if you do get sufficient men to continue their service it does not give you anything like three times the amount of Reserves.

*Viscount MIDLETON: 2,400 men are to be reduced. We are still in possession of those troops, but it is said that they must be disbanded. I say that every word which has passed to-day makes it an act of criminal folly on the part of the Government to disband them. We are spending £27,200,000 for a position of absolute insecurity, and we refuse to spend £27,500,000 so as to give us such a nucleus of field artillery that would enable us to defend ourselves against invasion. What is the authority for this change? The noble Lord the Under-Secretary said that Mr. Haldane had stated in another place that the Army Council were perfectly satisfied and took the responsibility for the change. Can the noble Lord name any officer on the Army Council who will get up and say that these Territorial batteries can be trusted one by one against Continental batteries. The outside that the Army Council have said is this—"We have got a certain sum of money; a certain amount has to be done, and we take the responsibility for this change." I will take, one by one, the distinguished officers who have spoken on this subject. General French was cited in the House of Commons. All that he said, apparently, was that with six months training he could "make something" of these Territorial batteries. But will they get six months training? Sir Ian Hamilton said that three or four of these batteries might be pitted against one Regular battery; and Sir George Marshall wrote to *The Times* the other day expressing the gravest doubt, in almost the same terms as were used by the noble and gallant Lords who have spoken from the cross-benches to-day. Absolutely the only testimony we have had first hand has been that of the noble Lord the Under-Secretary himself, who, speaking in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility, told the country that if he could get hold of the King's outriders and a few men from Maxim's, he would undertake to have an efficient battery in a week. I am glad that in the official position he now occupies he has not repeated that fallacy.

What is the chance of their having the necessary training even for the six months proposed? I take some exception to the language used by the Secretary of State for War in this matter. He says that, when sending troops abroad, we must be careful not to send more than we can spare, consistently with our home defence, until the Territorial artillery hardens into efficiency. That is an admirable doctrine, but how often has it been possible to carry it out? When we sent out troops in 1814 to America did we suppose that Napoleon was going to escape from Elba and that we should need every man and horse we had sent there in Flanders? Or did the Tsar of Russia before the Penjdeh incident in 1885 consult the convenience of this country as to whether our troops were or were not locked up in the Soudan? Did anyone in September, 1899, suppose that by January, 1900, we should require every battery of Regular field artillery which could be sent to South Africa? I submit that this is an altogether false thesis to rely upon; it is a position which cannot be defended in practice, and it is one to which we ought not to make ourselves parties.

I have already troubled your Lordships on this subject in the course of the present session. I will say no more. Nothing that I or any other civilian could say could add to the strength of the warnings to which we have listened in the course of the last two hours. The doubts that were caused by the previous debate have been doubled by what has taken place to-night. The promise that these thirty-three batteries shall not be done away with until the Territorial Force has been got thoroughly into condition, or, to use the words of the Secretary of State, "until four or five men exist for every one who is to be done away with," may be being kept in the letter, but it is not being kept in the spirit. Those thirty-three batteries have been so reduced that they could not mobilise for many weeks. Whether the men are still in the service I know not, but they are not with the batteries, and they have been reduced to forty horses apiece. The process of dismembering those batteries is still going on, and your Lordships have a right to protest against that pledge not being strictly adhered to.

I would urge on the Government again that they have a great scheme. They can have no difficulty about money because their scheme contemplates more than 300,000 men, and there is every reason to suppose that the numbers, even if the scheme can be a success, cannot be raised to a higher level than that of the old Auxiliary Forces. That being so, there will be an economy on the Territorial Force and so no question of money arises, and when there is so universal a profession of opinion against these batteries being done away with I trust the Government will reconsider the position.

We sincerely wish well to the Territorial Force, but there is nothing which has caused us so much discouragement or distrust in connection with the scheme of the Government as their determination to rest on the Territorial Force in the matter of artillery responsibilities with which they cannot cope, and to leave them without that backing of Regular artillery which we are told by experts in the matter to be absolutely essential.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I am not a military expert, but all my life I have taken a great interest in ordnance. In the first place, let me say I am delighted with the universal compliments which the Territorial Army has received from all sides of the House. It is practically admitted that the whole of the infantry and Yeomanry sections are likely to be a great success, but the case put is that artillery under a territorial arrangement is not possible or is not sufficient, and that it should be largely supported by Regular Artillery.

*THE EARL OF DENBIGH: By Regulars in some form or another.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: That it should be supported by Regulars in some form or another. While welcoming the remarks of Earl Roberts in approval of the principle of the Territorial Army, I doubt whether the speech he has delivered to-night and the speeches of other Army officers in the country will assist in getting officers and men to join the Territorial Army. I think they ought to have the good side of the Territorial Army pointed out rather than the doubtful. I do not deny that the whole business is experimental, and therefore, to some extent, a gamble, but it is one in which I am very willing to lay odds on its success. Any words that the noble Field Marshal says on this subject must have attention paid to them. What I propose to do now is to lift a corner of the veil of official secrecy. I am going to tell you what has taken place in the Defence Committee. There has been a little syndicate which has given us a great deal of information with regard to a possible raid from Germany. That syndicate consisted of the noble Field Marshal, Colonel Repington, who is a great friend of the noble Earl's—I am afraid that, by my experience, he is an enemy of mine—Lord Lovat, and Sir Samuel Scott. I can, however, from an article written in *The Times* by Colonel Repington, answer the Field Marshal upon every detail. Colonel Repington said it was not true that the present Government found the Army ready for war—

> "It found an Army possessing many valuable and excellent qualities, both of a moral and of a material order, but readiness for war was not one of them."

The letter went on to say that men were lacking for service of ammunition columns necessitated by the adoption of new artillery, and the artillery of the expeditionary force was lacking in the numbers required for the initial mobilisation. But the condition of the artillery of the Auxiliary Forces was infinitely worse, the guns in charge of Militia and Volunteers being hopelessly antiquated, and there was no organisation for war. Colonel Repington went on to say that Lord Lansdowne's rearmament of part of the Volunteer artillery with modern 4·7 and 15-pounder guns showed that he hoped to make use of them; while Lord Midleton included twenty-one batteries of Volunteer artillery in his plan for the 4th, 5th, and 6th Army Corps, and Lord Roberts declared that this could be done without danger.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: Is this a public document?

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: A public document, which appeared in *The Times* newspaper.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: Was it submitted to the Committee of Defence?

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: No, no.

*EARL ROBERTS: The noble Lord has pointed to me as if I had something to do with the letter. Colonel Repington can write what he likes. I am in no way responsible.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I was only trying to show the difference between Colonel Repington and the noble and gallant Field Marshal.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Our ears must have played us a strange trick. I thought I understood the noble Lord to refer to a communication made by what he described as a small syndicate of which the noble and gallant Field Marshal is a member—a representation made by this syndicate to the Committee of Imperial Defence; and did he not refer to the substance of that communication?

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: No, not a word.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Then how did the syndicate come into the noble Lord's argument?

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Colonel Repington is a great friend of the Field Marshal.

*EARL ROBERTS: How do you know that?

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I have seen you sitting together.

*EARL ROBERTS: I may sit with people and they may not be my friends.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Does the noble and gallant Field Marshal deny that Colonel Repington is a friend of his?

*EARL ROBERTS: I do not say that he is or that he is not.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: All I am saying is that Colonel Repington wrote a letter to *The Times* on the subject of Territorial artillery, and I am reading a short abstract of that letter.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: The noble Lord said he would tell us the opinion of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I will come to that.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: I would ask the noble Lord to give us that opinion, instead of sheltering himself behind the opinion of the military correspondent of *The Times*.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I am going to make the best case I can. Colonel Repington, as I have said, referred to Lord Midleton's inclusion of twenty-one batteries of Volunteer artillery in three of his Army Corps, and said—I am only reading a summary of his argument to the House,—

"Lord Roberts declared this could be done without danger. Rearmament was only partial and incomplete. Training was even lest attended to. Mr. Haldane has not sweps away a single battery of horse or Field Artillery. The only living subject of the King who has suppressed or swept away a battery of Field Artillery is Mr. Arnold-Forster, who committed this indefensible act in the year 1905. Mr. Haldane has also not appreciably diminished establishments. Total available number of horse and Field Artillery in 1905, 36,702; in October, 1907, 39,380.

"Second Line Artillery.—Three courses were possible: (1) It might have been exclusively Regular; (2) it might have been strengthened like the Lancashire Field Artillery Militia by some 40 per cent. of officers and men, who were serving or had served in the Regulars; (3) it might have been formed on the same lines as the rest of the Territorial Army."

This is being done—

"(1) Would have taken many years, and the cost would have been prohibitive; (2) had the disadvantage of all half-measures, and would have cost £1,250,000 annually; and the result could only have been qualified efficiency; (3) became practicable by the conversion of the 15-pounder gun. The converted 15-pounder stands comparison with the German gun in range and muzzle-velocity, and neither gun has fixed ammunition.

"Territorial Artillery.—Mr. Arnold-Forster, in his book 'The Army in 1906,' bears testimony to the efficiency of the Honourable Artillery Company. He advocated four years enlistment, compulsory attendance in camp for at least fourteen days, and additional drills, together with obligation to join the Army Reserve. What he recommended himself he condemns when carried out by Mr. Haldane. There is no reason to suppose that the Honourable Artillery Company conditions are peculiar to London.

"Conclusion.—The decision to improve and increase the existing Volunteer Artillery is sound, because (1) the Territorial Army must have Artillery; (2) this Artillery is provided at the smallest cost and in the shortest time; (3) the possibility of future developments; (4) fair and reasonable prospect of a certain degree of efficiency; (5) no alternative plan."

*THE EARL OF DENBIGH: Will the noble Lord read to the House my letter to *The Times* in reply to that letter?

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: It was a very good letter. I think Colonel Repington's letter is a complete answer to the noble Field Marshal, and it suggests a very important question for your Lordships' consideration. I wish to say a word about the 15-pounder gun. Last month I saw a trial at Eastney with a battery of six of these old-fashioned 15-pounder guns without shields. I do not think your Lordships would disagree with the opinion of the Blue Marines in regard to this gun. It shows that it is a very useful gun and likely to suit the Territorial Army. The target was, I think, about 2,000 to 2,600 yards out to sea, and it was only one foot square. The battery was brought up with great cleverness, and the practice made was extraordinary. If anybody had been sitting on the target, he would have been shattered by the shrapnel. A Report which was furnished to me by the Marine authorities on this trial stated—

> "The battery consists of 15-pounder breech-loading guns identical with those till recently used by the Royal Field Artillery. These guns are very good and accurate up to a limited range, but they are not powerful enough for the requirements of modern war, and they have, therefore, been superseded by the 18-pounder for the Royal Field Artillery. The old guns are to be used by the Territorial Force, and would be useful for fighting in a close country where very long ranges could not be obtained."

That is exactly the kind of country in which the Territorial Force will act.

> "The system of instruction at Eastney is thoroughly up-to-date. The ranging of the battery (that is, the rapid finding of the range by a system of trial shots) and indirect laying (that is, the system of concentrating the fire of the guns on the enemy without being exposed to the enemy's view) are carefully taught. It is hoped that very soon the new 18-pounder gun will be available for instruction at Eastney, as the Marine Artilleryman is expected to be able to use any gun, whether belonging to the sea service or land service."

That is, I think, a very good statement; and the Navy are always ready to co-operate with the Army whenever they can possibly do so.

> "The 15-pounder gun was the gun used by our Field Artillery during the South African War, and on many occasions its range was found insufficient."

The noble Field-Marshal will admit that firing in South Africa was very different from firing in the confined land of Great Britain. I think that is rather a good case.

* THE EARL OF DENBIGH: For the gun or for the Territorial artillery?

*Lord Tweedmouth.*

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: For both. The total establishment of the Royal Artillery is as follows:—Headquarters divisional artillery, 56 officers, 266 other ranks; field artillery brigades, 943 officers, 24,477 other ranks; field artillery (howitzer) brigades, 224 officers, 5,222 other ranks; horse artillery, 100 officers, 3,000 other ranks; heavy artillery batteries, 114 officers, 3,662 other ranks; mountain artillery brigade, 22 officers, 752 other ranks; and garrison artillery companies, 286 officers, 7,360 other ranks. That total of 1,745 officers and 44,739 other ranks is a fair proportion of the 185,000 men of the Regular Army in this country. Lord Midleton and Mr. Arnold Forster have each attempted to reorganise the Army, and my right hon. friend found the Army absolutely disorganised and the War Office in a state of chaos.

LORD HENEAGE: It is still.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My view is that it is entirely altered, and I believe Lord Lucas would be inclined to say so also. We have two lines of defence. The Regular Army of 185,000 men are instantly ready to strike and to be moved where they are wanted. The Territorial Army will be trained as well as they can be, but they are not expected to be called out at a moment's notice; they would have three or six months notice. I do not suppose that more than two-fifths of the Regular Army would be moved out of the country until the Territorial Army had become trained. We must not forget that we have a strong Navy, manned by officers and men who would give a good account of themselves in time of war. The concentration of the Navy in home waters would make it very difficult for an enemy to land on these shores. The Army would have the co-operation of the Navy, and I do not believe the Navy would be likely to let an enemy get through.

Yesterday I had a conversation with an artillery officer who said he believed the 15-pounder gun would be more useful to the Territorial Force than the 18-pounder, because the 18-pounder required a great deal more ammunition.

Moreover the noise caused by quick-firing was very distracting, and it required a very steady officer to govern the firing in a satisfactory manner. The view of this officer was that it was better to break up the batteries of four guns into batteries of two guns, because a company would be likely to get better results if attached to two guns than they would get if they worked the battery as a whole. I am told that the 15-pounder gun which is so sneered at is really a most efficient weapon at its own range. It would have an extremely effective shield of hard steel, a quarter of an inch thick, and weighing 1 cwt. The shield would resist a rifle bullet at 500 yards, and as shrapnel has less power of penetration than a rifle bullet, it would give great protection to the men who were working the gun. The view of this officer was that in England the Territorial Force would get as near to the enemy as they could, and they would be able to use the 15-pounder gun at comparatively close range with great effect. I have endeavoured to state something in favour of my right hon. friend, and I hope I have had some success.

*LORD AMPTHILL: My Lords, what I have to say will not take more than a minute. I rise merely to correct an erroneous statement made by the Under-Secretary. The noble Lord went out of his way to refer to the National Service League, and said that under Mr. Haldane's Army scheme more training would be given to the Territorial soldier than under the scheme proposed by the National Service League. That is not the case. The National Service League propose six months training, with this essential and important difference—that the training should precede the outbreak of war instead of coming afterwards. There are other differences between the principles advocated by the National Service League and those of the Territorial scheme, and if the former principles were adopted there would be no fault to find with the Territorial scheme. I venture to suggest that it is part of the duty, not only of the Under-Secretary, but also of the Secretary of State, to make themselves acquainted with the actual nature of those proposals before referring to them in public, and it is also part of their duty to recognise that the movement of the National Service League is an important public movement which is daily growing in force, and which will, I firmly believe, become before long the most important movement in this country.

*LORD LUCAS: As a point of personal explanation, I might say that I took what is the most widely read and most interesting publication of the National Service League—the compiled speeches of the noble and gallant Field-Marshal; and at the end I read a short statement, signed by him, saying that the terms proposed were three or four months.

*LORD AMPTHILL: If I may, I shall be very glad to send the noble Lord some "literature."

LORD WYNFORD: My Lords, Lord Tweedmouth implied that this debate would have the effect of deterring enlistment in the Territorial horse and field batteries. Whether this will be the case or not, I feel sure that the intention of those who have initiated these discussions, and have written to the newspapers or spoken on the subject, has never been to dishearten intending recruits so much as to point out the difficulties which lie in the path of success, with a view to overcoming them. I wish to associate myself with the noble Earl who initiated this debate in all he said, and I think, with him, that there are grounds for believing, in some instances, in particular localities and under special conditions, that these difficulties may possibly be overcome; but, like him, I fear that in many instances they will be very great. The noble Earl pointed out the extreme disadvantage under which a great many batteries which could not be raised in one particular locality or district would labour. He showed that the different sections of the batteries would never be able to be brought together for drill except at the annual training. The noble Earl also spoke of the immense demands that would be entailed on the time of the battery commander, who in the artillery must be a great deal more in touch with his non-commissioned officers and men than is necessary in other arms of the service.

In the big towns and cities the facilities are greater. They are no doubt greater where there are large central drill halls within easy reach of the officers and men, and where the batteries can be easily horsed. We have heard a great deal of the battery of the Lancashire Artillery, which was reported, on the Scottish manœuvres, to have negotiated a bank on foot which the Regular artillery were either unwilling or unable to overcome. But, my Lords, I never attached much credence to that story, and I have good grounds for believing that the facts were not quite as quoted by Mr. Haldane in another place. However, I do not question that this battery, and many others in similar circumstances, and under similar conditions, could be well horsed for their week's training, and might possibly reach a fair standard of drill and fire discipline. The noble Lord, Lord Lucas, a short time ago, in a speech, rather made light of the training which has to be undergone by a battery of field artillery. He seemed to think that all that was required for an efficient battery was a few drivers, a few men, their gun works, and a week's training. Will the noble Lord permit me to suggest that if he attended one of these practice camps, either at Okehampton, Salisbury plain, or in Wales, for a fortnight or even for a week, he would alter his opinion considerably, even if he did not altogether change it. In his speech he seemed to ignore the question of trained officers, and as regards the men I myself can say that a man who is a skilled mechanic and has been employed in gun works, has a very great advantage over others. The actual handling of a gun is easy to grasp, and will be learned more quickly by the more intelligent and educated class whom we hope to get in the Territorial field batteries, than, of course, by a recruit who joins the Regular artillery. But the noble Lord does not appear to grasp the fact that when a commander of artillery knows his men perfectly you have not then obtained an efficient battery. You have yet to train these men together, to carry out certain laid down principles of drill, and to conform to the strictest discipline, and they have yet to pass through the experience of a practice camp, where they can manœuvre and fire under as nearly as possible service conditions. Now, my Lords, for that we must have artillery ranges. A great many people until recently were under the impression that an artillery range required a ground very similar to a rifle range. But I think that impression has been removed, and it is now understood that a flat plain or a level sandy stretch makes the most impracticable range that could possibly be imagined, and that such ranges as Shoeburyness, Barry, Colwyn Bay and others are useless for the training of artillery under service condition. It is a satisfaction to hear that His Majesty's Government realise this to a certain extent, and intend taking steps to provide proper artillery ranges; but it must be clearly understood that none of these Territorial field batteries can be considered efficient until their efficiency has been satisfactorily proved under conditions as similar as possible to what they would meet on active service. By that I mean a selection of and manœuvring into the most advantageous firing positions, and the direction of fire on targets in positions that the enemy would necessarily occupy. Two or three years, at the very least, will pass before this can be accomplished. I wonder where these 148 batteries of the Territorial artillery are going to practice even in the next two years. They will all require to practice either at Whitsuntide or during August Bank Holiday week, and it will mean that in the space of about twenty days arrangements will have to be made for the odd batteries to fire 200 rounds each.

My Lords, let me say one word about the horse artillery. These require to be more perfectly trained, both when mounted and when in action. They require to be more perfectly trained as a unit, to be better horsed, and the Government are giving them a gun that is too heavy for them. Would not better results be obtained with the same *personnel* and the same horses if these batteries were formed into batteries of 3-pounder Hotchkiss guns, or even maxims?

Let me turn for one moment to some remarks that the noble Lord, Lord Lucas, made. He said that the officers of the Territorial field batteries are to have unlimited opportunities of being attached to Regular batteries. I cannot imagine where the noble Lord is going to find the officers who are to have the unlimited opportunities. They may be given the unlimited opportunities, but if they have the opportunities, can they spare the time? Lord Lucas also stated that they would have greater opportunities of observation of fire than battalions of Regular artillery had ten or fifteen years ago. Well, my Lords, in ten or fifteen years the Regular artillery have not stood still. The Regular artillery have advanced considerably. The observation of fire requires practice, a great deal of practice, and it is not the slightest use to say that because an officer can come down and watch practice and drill and observe fire, he will be able therefore to command a battery of artillery.

Let me turn for one moment to the thirty-three training batteries of Regular artillery. His Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that the Royal Field Artillery should not be reduced. But the noble Lord, Lord Midleton, said that one of these batteries is already reduced in numbers. It has come to my knowledge that some of them have been reduced in strength by as much as 30 per cent. or more. I can only infer that these men have been transferred to batteries on the higher or lower establishment, and I trust my inference is correct. But what I particularly wish to point out is the effect of reducing the establishment of these thirty-three training batteries. For all practical purposes they will cease to exist. The establishment of gunners and drivers alone in these batteries is forty, excluding non-commissioned officers. Well, my Lords, there there are always a certain number of men employed in the battery not available for military duty, such as officers' servants, grooms, clerks, storemen, and others, and when these have all been reckoned, and you deduct 1 per cent.—not a large percentage—for sick men, there remains not one single man available for parade. The staff of non-commissioned officers is far too small for the work to be performed, considering they will have to instruct, not merely the Special Reserves, but also the Territorial artillery. It will not permit of any non-commissioned officers or men being sent on courses of instruction, nor will it allow of any non-commissioned officers or men being granted a fortnight.

*LORD LUCAS: Perhaps the noble Lord will allow me to say that the establishment of these training batteries is provisional at present. The whole thing is in the nature of an experiment, and if it is found that the establishment is not big enough to carry out training properly, there is no reason why it should not be increased.

LORD WYNFORD: But I am trying to point out to the noble Lord the difficulties that will be entailed on battery commanders who will have their batteries reduced on this establishment. How can you expect to give good instruction to your special reservists under such circumstances as these?

*LORD LUCAS: The reports from these training batteries are quite excellent. General Sir John French, the Inspector-General, has been round inspecting a number of men who have been under training for three months, and he reports very favourably indeed on them, saying they are not only learning their work very well, but are an exceedingly good class of men.

LORD WYNFORD: I do not doubt what the noble Lord says, but I am not talking about Special Reservists in the *cadre* of the battery. It does not matter what the report is this year or even next year, the batteries will gradually go down hill and cannot possibly exist on the present establishment, and I can only hope that the Government will take early steps to raise the establishment and to enable the men to carry out the duties imposed on them.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: The noble Lord who last spoke on behalf of the Government occasioned a somewhat bitter disappointment to the House, because when he rose from his place he said it was his intention to lift the veil of secrecy as to the Imperial Defence Committee. We expected, particularly when we called to mind his recent record, that we should have something of an extremely piquant and interesting description, and, therefore, our hearts sank within us when it turned out that his great revelation was nothing more nor less than the reading of extracts from a letter written by the special military correspondent of *The Times*, a letter which most of us—I for one—have had many opportunities of perusing, and which is certainly very well worth reading. The noble Lord made use of that letter for the purpose of a class of argument of which we have heard a great deal during the course of these discussions as to the Territorial artillery. I mean the argument which we usually describe as an *ad hominem* argument, which seeks to confute one's opponent by attributing to him opinions dissimilar from those which he expresses at the moment. I confess I am not greatly moved by arguments of that class, and I say, frankly, I would very much prefer that the whole of us should be convicted of the utmost inconsistency rather than that this country should remain vulnerable to a foreign foe. Let us be inconsistent, let us also be invulnerable. The noble Lord made the best use of the military correspondent's letters, and they are, I think, a very admirable defence of the Government plan; I think, on the whole, the best defence to which I have listened. But after all, what is the gist of Colonel Repington's defence? I speak from recollection, but I think it does not come to very much more than this, that the Government plan gives you the best you can get, considering all the circumstances, considering the limitations in point of numbers of men, and above all, the limitation in point of money available; and, therefore, he argues, "Accept that and make the best you can of it." But I am not quite sure that it is fair to quote that distinguished authority in support of the view that these Territorial batteries will really be so very praiseworthy as noble Lords opposite suppose. I will not quote the military correspondent of *The Times* as fully as my noble friend quoted him, but I will quote one brief extract from another letter. This is what he wrote, I believe, last year—

> "If any politician believes he is going to obtain officers fit to command modern quick-firing batteries from among people who do not give up their whole time to the study and practice of the science of artillery, the first battle in which these persons are engaged will disabuse him of his belief. Half-trained officers and half-trained men have no business to touch these guns. They will not get half the results obtained by the trained hands, they will get no useful result at all. Better far to arm them with ancient smoothbores and the simple contrivances of museum artillery, for then, at least, their efforts would not be wholly wasted."

Well, my Lords, I have been told that I am one of the inconsistent authorities upon these subjects, and I have been told that when I had the honour of being connected with the military administration I too had contemplated the idea of placing modern weapons in the hands of these auxiliary troops. Let me remind the House what the then Government did do. We found that a number of Volunteer batteries—batteries to which had been assigned certain positions under the scheme of defence which then found favour with the military authorities—were armed with obsolete guns of position, and we put in their hands a certain number of modern 4·7 guns. But these were not field artillery and still less horse artillery, but guns of position, to be used as such. In regard to the remainder of the Volunteer artillery, to whom we gave a certain number of the 15-pounder guns, I may say that these guns were given, not for use with mobile troops in the field, but for use as guns of position, for which, I am told, they were equally serviceable. Well, so much for my consistency in the matter. The noble and gallant Field Marshal, on the cross-benches, has given a very good account of his consistency, and I am not going to hold a brief for him, for he has made his own defence, and a very triumphant one it was. Again, my noble friend behind me has shown that when he included a certain number of Volunteer batteries in his Army Corps organisation, he did so by allowing two batteries of Regular artillery alongside of each battery of Volunteer artillery, thereby giving them not only a stiffening, but a great deal more. It was a very moderate dilution of Regular artillery by the addition of some of the best of these Volunteer batteries, and that, he reminds me, was the very proportion recommended by the gallant Field Marshal who spoke on the second bench, Lord Grenfell, whom we were so glad to hear for the first time.

Then we have heard a great deal also in regard to the inconsistency of the military advisers of the Government, as to this I still maintain, as I have maintained before in this House, that, particularly if we were allowed freely to quote from documents which are not public property, we should be able to show that the high military authorities who have at various times served the War Office, have recorded opinions extremely adverse to Volunteer artillery as an adjunct to Regular troops in the field. But I think we sometimes do too scant justice to the gallant soldiers who advise the military authorities at the War Office; after all, their advice is given subject to limitations which are notorious and which we all of us understand. The military advisers of the War Office are perfectly aware that, whatever they may think as to the military measures which might really be advisable if you are to place this country in a position of absolute safety, they have to reckon with the Secretary of State; he has to reckon with the Cabinet, and the Cabinet with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is a very formidable obstacle; and so it comes to this, that you give the military advisers of the day something notoriously a great deal less than they would like to have, and they have to make the best of it. And when I am told that in this case the military advisers of His Majesty's present Government are satisfied with what is now being done, I bear these circumstances in mind; indeed, I find in the letter quoted by Mr. Haldane in the House of Commons, from Sir John French, a perfectly clear and explicit statement, comprised in four lines, to that effect. Here is what Sir John French said—

> "Of course, all soldiers would prefer the highest trained artillery they could get, but the country insists on economy, and I assume no regular artillery is available."

That is the position of the military advisers of the Government. It is under these conditions that the great experiment which Mr. Haldane is engaged in trying is to be conducted, and what we have to say in regard to it is that in our opinion that experiment ought to be tried with the utmost caution. We think there is a great risk in trying it on too large a scale for the sake of symmetry, and until you have some knowledge of the extent to which it is likely to succeed, you commit a great mistake when you weaken the forces of the Regular artillery which remains to you.

Now, I do not think there is anything unreasonable or anything unpatriotic in putting forward these considerations; and I venture to maintain that the discussion which has taken place shows that we have been entirely justified in taking up this view. For, after all, it has been admitted—frankly admitted—that you cannot expect these Territorial Associations to produce Volunteer artillery fit to take its place alongside of Regular artillery. There may be exceptional cases, such as the case, for example, with which my noble friend, Lord Denbigh, is connected.

*LORD LUCAS: We only attempt that on the outbreak of war.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Quite right, I will come to that in a moment. I was saying that there are, no doubt, exceptional cases, such as the C.I.V. battery, and the batteries of the Lancashire and the Honourable Artillery Companies; but nobody can contend that these are typical of the class of field artillery which you could raise indiscriminately all over the country; the conditions are entirely different. What the Under-Secretary of State said a moment ago is perfectly true. You admit that it must be a work of time to convert the raw material into the manufactured article, and you say, roughly speaking, you think you can do it in six months. Well, my Lords, I own that I am filled with apprehension when I hear it confidently stated that this period of six months will be sufficient for the purpose. In the first place, are you quite sure you are always going to get six months? I think that point has been dealt with by my noble friend, (Lord Midleton) and I will not labour it any more. But look at what was said by the noble Lord who represents the War Office. He said—I hope I do not do him an injustice—that while we were in this intermediate period, the period during which the hardening process was to take place, he anticipated that only three-fifths of the expeditionary force would be absent from these shores. If that is true, or if it is anywhere near true, what becomes of the scheme of the Government to be able to send away from this country, at a moment's notice, a larger and better equipped force than any Government has ever been able to command? If that is really to be expected, that the departure of the full expeditionary force is to be contingent upon the successful conversion of the raw material in these county batteries into the fully developed field and horse artillery, then I must say it does seem to me that a very serious weakness has been disclosed in the scheme of the Government. The noble Lord spoke of the achievements which would be possible while the war fever prevailed. He spoke of the race against time which would take place while that fever was burning. My Lords, those are ominous words. We have had some experience of a war fever, and of a race against time, and those who recollect the events of that day will not be found very ready to expose themselves to a repetition of the occurrences which then took place.

*LORD LUCAS: You had no training machinery to speak of.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: The Lord President of the Council said it was a gamble. Is he prepared to get up and announce, on any platform in this country, that the Government are prepared to gamble with the safety of the country? I hope not.

Therefore, I submit to your Lordships that what I venture to call the prudent policy recommended by my noble friend, Lord Denbigh, is an eminently reasonable one. He does not suggest that you should give up your scheme. He is quite ready, and so, for the matter of that, am I, to believe that you may, in time, be able to form a number of very valuable batteries in the country, but we suggest that in common prudence you should carry out this great experiment where the circumstances are most favourable, that you should not lay so much stress, as you do at present, upon mere circumstances of symmetry, and above all, that while you are doing this, you should do nothing to weaken the strength of the Regular artillery.

My Lords, the Secretary of State for War has admitted more than once that he is engaged upon a great experiment. Let him try it as an experiment, and let him regulate his position by the success of the experiment as it proceeds. I hope that he, and noble Lords opposite, will remember that it is an experiment which may involve the safety of the very heart of the Empire.

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## MILITIA OFFICERS.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: I beg to ask the noble Lord, the Under-Secretary of State for War, the following questions: (1) If Militia officers belonging to Militia battalions who are not to train this year are allowed to transfer or to be attached as Militia officers to Militia battalions which are to train this year; (2) to state the number of Special Reserve recruits, engineers, artillery, and infantry of the United Kingdom enlisted up to 2nd May, 1908, who on the date of first enlistment were up to and above army standard both as regards age and physical development?

*LORD LUCAS: Has the noble Lord anything to say first as to the questions?

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: They do not want any explanation, if the noble Lord will give the figures asked for.

*LORD LUCAS: The answer to the first question is that, so far as we know, all militia battalions, except the twenty-three disbanded battalions, are to train this year. In the case of the battalions other than those disbanded therefore, presumably, all the officers will train with them. In the case of the others, they will be dealt with under Section 72, of the Army

Order, of 23rd December, in which all the officers other than lieutenant-colonels may be brought out for training.

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: But have not Militia officers of disbanded battalions to train as Special Reserve officers? That is the point.

LORD LUCAS: Of course, they have to enter the Special Reserve of officers and have to carry out this year the regular Militia training.

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: Will the noble Lord say if they may train with the Militia, but only as Special Reserve officers?

LORD LUCAS: Yes. As regards the second question, the Return which the noble Duke asks for will involve I am sorry to say, an enormous amount of clerical labour on the Record Office, which, at the present moment is striving to deal with all these questions of permanent staff, the Territorial Army, etc., and will mean extremely hard work. I am going to appeal to the noble Duke, unless he is very anxious to have the information, which, of course, we will get if he insists——

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: Oh, no, I do not wish to give any extra work.

LORD LUCAS: If the noble Duke will not mind, at the present time, we shall be very much obliged, and it will relieve the pressure a great deal.

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## VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for War the number of Volunteer officers who have resigned their commissions between the 1st January and 16th May, 1908, and the number of officers who have joined the Volunteer force between the 1st January, and 16th May, 1908.

LORD LUCAS: The number of combatant Volunteer officers who resigned their commissions, between 1st January and 16th May, is 323, and the number of those who joined during the same period is 204. All these resignations and appointments bear date prior to the 1st April, 1908, and we have not got, since that date, the correct figures for the rest of that time. I can only give it up to the 1st April.

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## COST OF ARTILLERY TRAINING.

LORD WYNFORD: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for War if he will explain the apparent discrepancy between the statement of his predecessor on 1st April last as to the annual cost of the Territorial Field Artillery and the cost of the same as shown on page 5 of the "Approximate Estimate of the Proposed Territorial Force" [Cd. 3296.] I should explain that the annual cost, as stated in the Answer to your Lordships' House, was £350,000, whereas the Approxmate Estimate shows it to be something over £600,000.

LORD LUCAS: The reason of that is, in the first place, that since the first Estimate, contained in Command Paper 3,296, was made, the establishment of the battalions of the Territorial Army have been reduced from 6-gun to 4-gun, and that alone accounts for a considerable reduction. In the second place, there was issued subsequently, another paper dealing with the same question, and headed "Additional Estimate of the cost of the Territorial Force," Command Paper, 3369. In that there was a Memorandum by Mr. Haldane, in which he states that the Estimate was made on the war establishments. His intention in framing that Estimate was to let Members of Parliament know quite clearly exactly what was the maximum amount of expenditure which the country might be called on to incur in regard to the Territorial Force; and he, himself, in this Memorandum says that the number of horses provided for in the original Estimate is largely in excess of any possible requirements in peace time, even on manœuvre scale. That was estimated on the war establishment of 6-gun batteries, whereas now the actual establishment for training batteries is on a lower scale altogether, and is included in the Army Order of 18th March.

House adjourned at five minutes before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Monday*, 18*th May*, 1908.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

## *PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.*

### PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—King's College, London (Transfer) Bill [Lords]; London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

### PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for additional Provision in the following Bill, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Holderness Water Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

### PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow.

### PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Camborne Water Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment.

Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill [Lords]. North-East London Railway Bill.—Not amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Bognor Gas Light and Coke Company Bill [Lords]; Great Western Railway Bill [Lords]; London County Council (Money) Bill; Swansea Valley Gas Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed.

Loch Leven Water Power Order Confirmation Bill; Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed.

## *PETITIONS.*

### CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Kirkcaldy, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) (No. 2) BILL.

Petitions in favour: From Bedford; Dysart; and Messrs. J. Oakes and Company; to lie upon the Table.

### DAIRIES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### ECCLESIASTICAL ASSESSMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, against; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, against; to lie upon the Table.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Perth, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

### LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: From Abingdon; Devizes; Dorchester (two); Forest of Dean; Henfield; Portland (two); and Weymouth; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions for alteration: From Belper; and Nottingham; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour; From Armadale; Burntisland; Crawley; Evesham; Glasgow; Kinghorn; Kirkcaldy (five); Leeds; Linodale; Nevin; Nottingham; Pendref; Rawdon (two); Torquay; and Windhill; to lie upon the Table.

### LIGHTS ON VEHICLES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions against: From Haddington; and Perth; to lie upon the Table.

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions against: From Kirkcaldy (two); and Stranraer; to lie upon the Table.

Petitions in favour: From Burntisland; Dysart; Glasgow; Kirkcaldy (three); Larkhall; and Muirkirk; to lie upon the Table.

### METROPOLITAN SEWERS AND DRAINS BILL.

Petition from Hammersmith, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### OPEN SPACES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### POLICE SUPERANNUATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### PORT OF LONDON BILL.

Petition of Henry Chaloner Smith, against, praying to be heard; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the Borough of Hammersmith, against, praying to be heard by counsel; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

### SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACTS (AMENDMENT) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, against; to lie upon the Table.

### TOBACCO GROWING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Haddington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### TRAWLERS' CERTIFICATES SUSPENSION BILL.

Petition from Haddington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

### WHALE FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) ACT (1907).

Petition from Haddington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

## *RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.*

### CONGESTION IN IRELAND (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Final Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the operation of the Acts dealing with Congestion in Ireland, with Appendices (Index to and Digest of Evidence) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Darlington, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops within the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION WORKS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 14th May; *Mr. Robert Price*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 144.]

### EAST INDIA (PROGRESS AND CONDITION).

Copy presented, of Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1906–7, Forty-third Number [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 145.]

### DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Copy presented, of Statistical Tables for the year 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### POST OFFICE (INLAND POST).

Copy presented, of the Inland Post Amendment (No. 10) Warrant, 1908, dated 28th April, 1908 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

### RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

Copy presented, of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United Kingdom during the three months ended 31st December, 1907, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into; Part II., Reports on Accidents [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### FEE FUND (HOUSE OF LORDS).

Account presented, of the Fee Fund of the House of Lords from 1st April, 1907 to 31st March, 1908 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

### PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Union of Benefices Act (Saint Luke, Charlton, with Saint Paul, Charlton), Copy of scheme, under The Union of Benefices Act, 1860, for effecting an Union of the Benefices of Saint Luke, Charlton, with Saint Paul, Charlton [by Act].

### NATIONAL DEBT.

Copy ordered, "of Return showing for each Financial Year commencing the 1st day of April from 1875 to 1908, inclusive:—I.—The total amount of Dead Weight Debt outstanding on the 1st day of April; the amounts which were made available in the year for reduction of Debt, distinguishing the sums expressly provided for service of the Debt, the Old Sinking Fund, and Miscellaneous Receipts; the Gross Amount of Debt redeemed; the amount of Debt created; and the Net Increase or Decrease of Debt in the Year. II.—A similar Statement in respect of other Capital Liabilities; III.—A similar Statement in respect of the Aggregate Gross Liabilities of the State."—(*Mr. Hobhouse.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 146.]

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## *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.*

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### **Age Retirement in the Post Office.**

MR. KELLEY (Manchester, S.W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that, on 20th November, 1896, a circular was issued to postal surveyors by the direction of the Postmaster-General stating that he had come to the conclusion that, in the interests of the service, and especially in order to afford a proper flow of promotion to the officers engaged in it, it was desired to resort more generally in the future to the power of requiring any officer of the Department, irrespective of the amount of his salary, to retire on reaching the age of sixty; will he say whether he is still carrying out the policy indicated by his predecessor; and whether, in view of a number of telegraph officials at Manchester and other towns, including Glasgow and Cardiff, who are at or near the age of sixty years, he will state if retirement is to be made compulsory at these offices.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The policy indicated in the circular to which the hon. Member refers is still followed. The rule is that all pensionable officers, of whatever grade, whose conduct, capacity, or efficiency falls below a fair standard, are called upon to retire at sixty years of age; but retirement at sixty is not enforced in the case of officers whose conduct is good and who are certified by their superior officers to be thoroughly efficient.

### Licensing Bill—Closure by Compartments.

Mr. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): To ask the Prime Minister whether, in the event of closure by compartment being found to be necessary in the Committee stage of the Licensing Bill, he will consent to the closure being prescribed, according to the Amendments, not according to the sections of the Bill, so that all important Amendments should be adequately discussed; and also whether he will consent to leave the detailed arrangements to be made by a Committee selected from all parties in the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) In the event supposed every care will be taken to apportion the time according to the importance of the topics.

### Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—Date of Second Reading.

Mr. GLOVER (St. Helens): To ask the Prime Minister whether he can state the day on which the Second Reading of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) (No. 2) Bill will be taken.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I am not at present able to fix a day.

### Railway Rates Inquiry.

Sir F. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the conference of representatives of the Board, the railways companies, the traders, and the travelling public, as initiated by his predecessor, will continue the inquiry into and deliberations upon the question of railway rates and facilities referred to them; whether the President intends to preside over this conference; when the proceedings are expected to be completed; whether it is intended that the conference shall put their conlcusions into the form of a Report with recommendations; and whether this Report, together with minutes of evidence taken or inquiries conducted, will be laid before Parliament.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The reply to the first two paragraphs of my hon. friend's Question is in the affirmative, but I cannot yet tell when the proceedings may be completed nor forecast the form and scope of any Report which may be made for presentation to Parliament.

### Post Office—Payment by Time Allowance for Night Duty.

Mr. BOWERMAN (Deptford): To ask the Postmaster-General why auxiliaries and assistant postmen in London are not being paid time allowance for night duty.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The Select Committee on Post Office Servants did not recommend any particular rate of pay for auxiliaries working less than three hours a day, and consequently their case has had to be considered with those of the other smaller cases. As soon as a decision is arrived at the revision will be carried out as regards assistant and auxiliary postmen, and any increase in pay will date from 1st January, 1908. Allowance will be made for night duty.

Mr. BOWERMAN: To ask the Postmaster-General why schedule time of the last delivery has not been allowed in making claims for night duty in certain London offices.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Payment of the claims for the time allowance for night duty, performed between 8 and 10 p.m. since 1st January, has not yet been made in all cases. As a general rule the scheduled time of finishing the last delivery in London has been, or will be, taken as the basis of the culcalation in arriving at the amounts payable.

Mr. BOWERMAN: To ask the Postmaster-General why those postmen whose breaks in their night duty are less than two hours have been refused payment for the same, although the Postal Committee's Report recommended that periods of less than two hours night duty should not be booked off.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I am not aware that payment has been refused for periods which have not been booked off. Possibly the hon. Member is alluding to cases in which officers were booked off duty for less than two hours at night under arrangements in force previous to the carrying out of the Select Committee's recommendations. In such cases the Post Office had no control over the time booked off, and extra payment would not therefore have been justified.

### Conditions of Insurance of Registered Letters.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that on the 12th February last the Standard Bank of South Africa posted to a lady at a hotel in Southampton the sum of £20 in Bank of England notes and £1 12s. 6d. in cash, registering and insuring the letter for £30; that the letter was never delivered, and subsequent inquiries showed that, although a postman asserted that he delivered it to the hall porter at the hotel, the Post Office had no receipt for it; whether, in view of the inconvenience caused to the lady in consequence of the non-delivery of this letter, and the fact that eight weeks expired before the Post Office admitted liability, and then only agreed to pay the money on an undertaking that if the notes were ever returned to the bank the lady would refund the money to the Post Office, he will say if this is one of the conditions of insurance according to Post Office regulations; and if he will explain why they accept money for insurance at all.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The facts as regards the loss of the registered letter are as stated by the hon. Member. There is, however, uncertainty as to whether the letter in question was lost while in the post, and the delay referred to was due to the inquiries necessitated by this uncertainty. In cases of this kind it is of course the practice to require the person to whom compensation is paid to give an undertaking to refund the amount if it eventually reaches his hands. The full value of the Bank of England notes and the cash enclosed in the letter (£21 12s. 6d.) was paid to the representative of the adressee on such an undertaking being given. The fee paid for registration entitles the sender to compensation in respect of the loss of a registered letter under certain conditions, one of which is that the Postmaster-General is satisfied that the loss occurred while the letter was in the custody of the Post Office.

### Transmission of Press Telegrams—Complaints of the Belfast Evening Telegraph.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can say how many and of what nature were the complaints he received from the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* in reference to the transmission of Press telegrams within the last three months; whether he is aware that copy having reference to the Budget of last week, and handed in at London, took two hours and a half to reach Belfast, with the result that an incomplete report had to be published in the Belfast evening paper; and if he will make inquiries whether the cause is due not to any lack of zeal on the part of the officials at Belfast, but to the fact that the staff is undermanned, especially in the afternoon when pressure is the highest.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Complaints have been received from the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* respecting the transmission of Press telegrams. There was, unfortunately, some delay on the Budget night to Press telegrams to Ireland, owing not only to the great pressure of work but also to partial failure of several important wires. As regards the Belfast office itself the whole of the report appears to have been dealt with expeditiously, and I have no reason to think that the staff at that office is insufficient.

### Postal Arrangements at Castletown Berehaven.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the inconvenient postal arrangements in Castletown Berehaven; and, in view of the importance of that town as a naval base and fishery station, will he take immediate steps to have a better postal service.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have recently made full inquiry into the question of improving the postal service to Castletown Berehaven, but I regret to find that the cost of an improved service, which would have to be either by steamer or motor van from Bantry, would be larger than could be justified the existing service being carried on at a considerable loss.

### Mail Car between Durrus and Kilcrohane.

MR. GILHOOLY: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware of the want of a mail car between Durrus and Kilcrohane, County Cork; and whether he will take steps to supply that want.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) A mail car between these places does not appear to be required for postal purposes.

### Postmen's Scale of Wages.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state at how many post offices throughout the United Kingdom (counting both sub-offices and head offices) postmen are employed; at how many offices in the United Kingdom has the postmen's scale of wages been raised through the operation of the revision which came into force on 1st January, 1908; at how many offices in the United Kingdom has the postmen's scale of pay been reduced for future entrants through the Hobhouse Report recommendations; and at how many offices in the United Kingdom is the settlement of postmen's wages still in suspense.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The classification is, as yet, so incomplete that to give the figures asked for would at present serve no useful purpose. But I may add that a much larger number of offices have been raised in scale for existing officers than reduced for future entrants.

### Pay of Postmen at Newtown Mearns.

MR. LAIDLAW (Renfrewshire, E.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware of the fact that the application of the Hobhouse Committee's recommendations to Newtown Mearns places the rural postmen on a lower scale of pay than formerly, notwithstanding the fact that, owing to the proximity of the Glasgow tramways and the high price of land, rents and the cost of living in that village are equally as high as in Glasgow, where the pay on the new scale is a maximum of 30s. as against a maximum of 21s. at Newtown Mearns; and if he will take steps to redress the alleged grievance.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Newtown Mearns, which is a sub-office, has been placed provisionally in Class V. The circumstances referred to by the hon. Member will be taken into account in determining the final position of Newtown Mearns in the new classification.

### Street Repairs in Busy Thoroughfares.

MR. HORNIMAN (Chelsea): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that much loss of trade and general inconvenience is being occasioned by the traffic being blocked at St. George's Place and Knightsbridge owing to the height of the season being chosen for the laying of telephone wires or other work of the Department along one of the two main arteries leading west; for what reason was the month of May chosen, how many hours per diem are the men working, and can he arrange to expedite the completion of the same by night shifts; and whether he will arrange that in future such work be done at a time of year less likely to cause inconvenience and loss of business to tradesmen in crowded thoroughfares.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) All possible steps were taken to minimise the inconvenience to which the hon. Member calls attention. Work was carried on night and day and considerable portions of the roadway were left undisturbed, the ground being tunnelled. Every effort is made to avoid doing work of this kind in the London season, but in the present instance postponement of the work was not possible.

### Bethnal Green Casual Wards.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): To ask the President of the

Local Government Board whether the Board are pressing the guardians of Bethnal Green to erect a casual ward; and, if so, whether, in view of the imminent Report of the Commission on the Poor Laws and of the fact that the Government have not yet decided on the action to be taken consequent upon the Departmental Report on Vagrancy, the Board will allow the matter to stand over for the present, and in the meantime resume payments to the guardians out of the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund in respect of the loan raised for the purchase of the land for the site of the casual ward.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Board some time since authorised the guardians to provide casual wards, but they are not at the present time pressing them to do so. On the other hand, unless the erection of the wards is proceeded with, it cannot be said that the land is being used for the provision of wards for the purposes of the Metropolitan Houseless Poor Acts, and consequently the payments in respect of the loan for the purchase of land cannot properly be charged upon the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund.

### Widows in the United Kingdom over Seventy Years of Age.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state approximately the number of widows in the United Kingdom of seventy years of age and upwards.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I cannot state the precise number of widows of seventy years of age and upwards in the United Kingdom at the present time; but, on the information afforded by the Census Reports of 1901, it may be estimated that the number was in that year approximately 436,000.

### Excessive Speed of Motors on Highways.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to a case in which, on a speed trial, a Napier motor car was driven at speeds from 5 to 80 miles an hour on the public highways; and whether, in the interests of public safety, he will take steps to prevent these abuses.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) My hon. friend has sent me a newspaper extract relating to this matter. I would point out that if proceedings had been taken against the driver of the car he would have been liable on conviction to considerable penalties, but it is not possible to secure that proceedings shall always be taken where offences under the Act are committed.

MR. CATHCART WASON: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware of the rate of increase in the number of fatalities caused by cars and omnibuses in the Metropolis; and whether, since most of the accidents are caused by excessive speed, he will favourably consider the reduction of the maximum speed of all vehicles to 12 miles an hour.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I am aware that there has been some increase in the number of fatal accidents caused by motor cars and motor omnibuses, but the increase does not seem considerable, regard being had to the growth of the number of these vehicles. I doubt whether it would be practicable to adopt the suggestion in the last part of the Question.

### Population of England and Wales.

MR. GOULDING (Worcester): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can state what proportions of the total population of England and Wales at all ages and at ages seventy and upwards, respectively, are estimated to be living in towns with populations at the last Census of 50,000 and upwards.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) At the Census of 1901 the total population of England and Wales at all ages was 32,527,843, of whom 14,506,863, or 44·6 per cent., were living in towns with a population of 50,000 or upwards. Of the total population, 888,080 persons were aged seventy years and upwards, and of these 304,126, or 34·2 per cent. were living in the towns above referred to.

### Alien Paupers in London.

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he is aware that 620 alien pauper lunatics are now in the asylums of the London County Council, and that interpreters have to be provided for them, as they are mostly Russian Jews; and will he say how these aliens came to be admitted under the Aliens Act, and whether there is power to send them back to their country of origin.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I have made inquiry of the Asylums Committee, and I am informed that there were on the 15th instant in London County asylums 614 alien pauper lunatics, of whom 167, or slightly over a quarter, were Russian Jews. The hon. Member's suggestion that these aliens were admitted under the Aliens Act seems to be unfounded. As regards 431 of them, the date of their admission to an asylum, not to mention that of their arrival in this country, is prior to 1st January, 1906, the date on which the Aliens Act came into operation. Of the 183 whose admission to an asylum took place since 1st January, 1906, 112 are known to have been in this country before that date, and only sixteen are known to have arrived since. As regards these latter, I have no information to show that they were insane on arrival. As regards the removal of these aliens from this country, if a certificate is obtained from the Court under Section 3 (1) (*b*) of the Act on proceedings taken within twelve months of arrival, and is submitted to me, I have power to make an expulsion order under which the alien may be sent back to his own country. Advantage is taken of this power in all proper cases.

### Motor Traffic in London Streets.

Mr. CARR-GOMM (Southwark, Rotherhithe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the number of accidents in narrow streets caused by motor omnibuses; and whether he will direct the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police to allow these motor omnibus companies to continue their services only along wide thoroughfares especially in the case of the omnibuses which are now being sent down Great Smith Street, Westminster, in which street during the last ten days two serious accidents have happened, in one of which a horse was badly injured.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I am aware that there have been a number of accidents caused in London by motor omnibuses, and no doubt the chance of accident is increased in narrow streets unless the speed of the omnibuses is much reduced. The Commissioner of Police has no power to prescribe the routes which omnibuses are to follow and to prevent their passing through any street.

Mr. VILLIERS (Brighton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many accidents, due directly or indirectly to automobiles, occurred in the Metropolitan area during the month of April last; and how many occurred during the same month last year.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The number of accidents caused by motor vehicles in London last month which involved personal injury was 283. The number for April, 1907 was 250.

### Cattle Trade.

Mr. BOWERMAN: To ask the hon Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he can give the number of cattle returned as entering during the year 1907, the markets at the places scheduled under The Markets and Fairs Act, 1891, and how they compare with the numbers in each of the years 1902 to 1906.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) The number of cattle returned as entering the markets scheduled under the Markets and Fairs Act, 1891, are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1902 - - - | 1,290,854 |
| 1903 - - - | 1,250,918 |
| 1904 - - - | 1,166,575 |
| 1905 - - - | 1,234,472 |
| 1906 - - - | 1,203,480 |
| 1907 - - - | 1,231,501 |

Certain additional markets were scheduled in 1905 by an order under the Act, but the Returns from them have not been included in the above figures.

### Small Holdings Schemes.

Mr. BENNETT (Oxfordshire, Woodstock): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether any schemes for carrying out the provisions of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1907 have as yet been received from any county council by the Board of Agriculture; and whether the Board will take steps to secure that all such schemes shall be submitted to it by the end of June.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) Schemes have been received from the county councils of Gloucester, the Isle of Wight, Radnor, and Somerset. Several other councils will probably send in schemes very shortly; but, inasmuch as it requires considerable time to investigate the very large number of applications received and to obtain the land necessary to satisfy the demand, the Board do not think it desirable to fix any particular date by which schemes must be sent in. The Commissioners, I may add, are in constant communication with the county councils, and they will see that there is no unavoidable delay in carrying out the provisions of the Acts.

### Scottish Industrial and Provident Societies Trading as General Dealers.

Mr. DUNDAS WHITE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that objection has been taken in Scotland under Section 4 of The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, to industrial and provident societies describing themselves in their rules as general dealers; that this threatens to cause inconvenience to many of these societies in Scotland, and that the use of this description is permitted under the same Act in England; if he can say whether the opinion of the Law Officers has been taken on this; and whether he will take steps to promote remedial legislation.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) I am aware that objection was not long ago taken in Scotland to industrial and provident societies describing their objects as being merely to carry on the trade or business of general dealers, and that such a description has been considered in England as a sufficient compliance with the Act. The opinion of the Law Officers has been taken on the point, and they have advised that such description is sufficient. This opinion will be acted upon throughout the United Kingdom, and there is no cause for any remedial legislation.

### Completion of Work at the Marble Arch.

Mr. HORNIMAN: To ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he can state when the work at the Marble Arch will be completed and the entrance to the park used by carriages; and whether the same can be so expedited as to enable this route to be used if necessary by His Majesty the King and the President of the French Republic on their official visit to the Franco-British Exhibition on the 26th instant.

(*Answered by Mr. Harcourt.*) The entrance to the Park can be opened for carriage traffic before the end of this month, but the lodge and other buildings will take longer to complete. The arrangements made for the King's visit to the Franco-British Exhibition do not provide for a route passing the Marble Arch.

### Visit of the Prime Minister of Nepaul.

Sir WILLIAM BULL (Hammersmith): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the visit of the Prime Minister of Nepaul to England and other parts of Europe is by official invitation; whether he is to be treated as a State guest; and, if so, will the expenses of his hospitality be defrayed from the British Exchequer or by Indian funds.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) The Answer to the first two Questions is in the affirmative. The cost of the entertainment of the Prime Minister of Nepaul as a State guest will be borne by the British Exchequer.

### Cause of Death of Mr. Mehta of the Indian Civil Service.

Sir WILLIAM BULL: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India if he has any official information about the death of Mr. Mehta, of the Indian Civil Service, who is reported to have met with his death about four weeks ago from a gunshot wound; whether it was the result of an accident or of a premeditated act on the part of some natives; and, if the latter be the case, what action has been taken by the local Government to trace the crime.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) It was reported to the Secretary of State that Mr. B. R. Mehta, of the Indian Civil Service, to whom I presume the Question is intended to refer, died of a gunshot wound on 17th March. The inquiry which was held indicated that it was a case of suicide.

### Claims of Shamarendra Chandra Deb Barman.

Mr. LAIDLAW: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India on what grounds the claims of Shamarendra Chandra Deb Barman, who was Bara Thakur of Hill Tipperah when the present Rajah ascended the Guddi, to become Jubraj according to Hindu law and custom were set aside by the Government of India.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) The present Rajah of Hill Tipperah was installed in 1897, and in February, 1899, appointed his eldest son, Birendra Kishore Thakur, to be Jubraj. The Rajah's brother, named in the Question, who had been appointed Bara Thakur in 1878, appealed to the Government of Bengal, and subsequently to the Government of India, against this selection. After carefully considering the matter, the Government of Bengal came to the conclusion that the alleged existence of a custom by which the Bara Thakur (if there be one) succeeds as of right to a vacant Jubrajship, was not established by the previous history of the Hill Tipperah family. The Government of India concurred in this view, and declined to interfere with the Rajah's action in appointing his eldest son to be Jubraj, a measure which they considered to be in the public interests of the Hill Tipperah State.

### Increase of Pay for European Officers of the Bombay City Police.

Mr. LAIDLAW: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India if the European officers of the Bombay City Police have yet received any increase of pay as recommended by the recent Commission of Inquiry; and, if not, will he state the reasons why no advance was given to the European officers when it was given to the native officers in May last.

(*Answered by Mr. Buchanan.*) I am not aware whether European officers have yet received an increase of pay. In view of the expense involved, it is impossible for the Government of Bombay to carry out at once all the recommendations of the Police Commission, and they are understood to be carrying out first those measures which they consider most urgent. They will no doubt deal as quickly as possible with the rest.

### Commercial Subjects of the Intermediate Education Board.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Intermediate Board can, in the interests of commercial students, include handwriting, orthography, and elementary arithmetic under the general head of English, giving special marks for each sub-division; and whether they will do so in their Syllabus for 1909.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Intermediate Education Board inform me that they have directed their examiners to pay special attention to the spelling and handwriting of students, and have made provision for a deduction of marks for deficiencies in these matters. The programme for 1909 is still under the Board's consideration.

### Salaries of Medical Inspectors under the Irish Local Government Board.

Mr. HAZLETON (Galway, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is proposed to increase this year the salaries of any of the medical inspectors under the Local Government Board for Ireland; if so, by what amount, for what reason, and under what regulation; and the names, present salaries, and length of service of the inspectors in their present appointments.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The reply to the first part of the Question is in the negative. The salary of each of the present medical inspectors is £700 a year. Their names and length of service are: T. J. Growne, nineteen years; C. J. Clibborn, seventeen years; D. Edgar Flinn, ten years; Sir J. A. MacCullagh, ten years; E. Coey Bigger, eight years; Brendan MacCarthy, six years; and Joseph Smyth, six years.

### Salary of Assistant Engineering Inspector under the Irish Local Government Board.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state who is the assistant engineering inspector under the Local Government Board for Ireland whose salary it is proposed to raise this year by £45; how long he has held his present appointment; and whether, under the regulations, he is only entitled to an increase of salary of £20.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Question refers to Mr. A. D. Price, whose salary is the same now as it was on his appointment eight years ago. He will not receive an increase of salary until the year 1910. His appointment was made permanent last year, the new scale for the permanent post being £400, rising annually by increments of £20 to £600. Mr. Price, however, received credit for his eight years unbroken temporary service, and this accounts for the apparent addition to the Estimates.

### Erection of a Fishing Pier at Garnish.

MR. GILHOOLY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a memorial relative to the proposed erection of a fishing pier at Garnish, Castletown Berehaven, has been forwarded to the Congested Districts Board; and, if so, with what result.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The memorial in question came before the Congested Districts Board at their meeting in March last. The cost of the suggested works would be considerable, and, having regard to the state of the Board's funds, they felt obliged to postpone indefinitely the consideration of the proposal.

### Reinstatement of Evicted Tenants.

MR. MCHUGH (Sligo, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the reinstatement of evicted tenants, in cases in which planters are willing to surrender, is hampered by reason of the fact that where planters have become judicial tenants of evicted farms the Estates Commissioners cannot compensate planters or make grants to evicted tenants; and what does he propose to do in order to render the Evicted Tenants Act operative in such cases.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that according to their view of the powers given by Section 12 of the Act of 1903 they can compensate occupiers of evicted holdings for their interest on surrendering the holdings, and can make grants to evicted tenants on reinstatement if the estate is being sold through them under the Act of 1903. In the Commissioners' opinion these powers apply whether the occupiers are judicial or non-judicial tenants. The compensation asked for by occupiers of evicted holdings is, however, usually so high as to render this procedure impracticable, having regard to the limited amount of the reserve fund. The hon. Member is, of course, aware that in suitable cases in which reinstatement in the evicted holdings cannot be effected the Commissioners provide other holdings for the evicted tenants whenever that course is possible.

### Amendment of Irish Land Acts.

MR. MCHUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when he proposes to introduce the promised Land Acts (Ireland) Amendment Bill; is he aware that anxiety prevails in Ireland in consequence of the delay in introducing this Bill; and can he give an assurance that the Bill will be passed through its various stages in this House before the end of the session.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion will require careful consideration before the proposed legislation for amending the Irish Land Acts can be formulated. The entire subject is engaging the earnest attention of the Government with the object of introducing the proposed measure at the earliest possible moment. I should hope that the necessary Bill will become law before the close of the session, but I cannot, of course, give any assurance that such will be the case.

### Evicted Tenants—Case of Edmond Feehan.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether an application for reinstatement in his former holding on the Butler-Brien Estate, Williamstown, County Tipperary, has been made to the Estates Commissioners by an evicted tenant named Edmond Feehan; and, if so, what steps, if any, have been taken to restore him to his holding.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received from Edmond Feehan an application for a holding which was formerly occupied by a tenant named Michael Feehan, and is now in possession of another tenant. The Commissioners, upon full consideration of the case, have decided to take no action upon the application.

### Completion of Fishing Pier at Ballyconnell.

MR. McHUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, as Chairman of the Congested Districts Board, whether the Board propose to complete the fishing pier at Ballyconnell, county Sligo, which was commenced last year but left unfinished; and can he say when the interrupted work will be resumed.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Congested Districts Board did not commence to make a pier at Ballyconnell, and had no intention of constructing one there. The Board, however, undertook to clear stones from the landing-place, and this work was completed at a cost of £141.

### Funds for Development of Irish Sea Fishing Industry.

MR. McHUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has observed that the funds placed at the disposal of the Congested Districts Board and of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for the development of the sea-fishing industry are insufficient; and whether he proposes to have these funds augmented.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Though considerable sums have been, and are still being, expended upon the development of sea fisheries in Ireland, I have no doubt that additional funds could be usefully devoted to that purpose if they were available. I am not, however, in a position to hold out any hopes of an immediate increase of funds.

### New Irish University Senates.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the teaching of Irish will be placed on an equal footing with that of English in the new University; and whether Irish history and language will be made compulsory subjects at the matriculation examination.

MR. O'DOWD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of those composing the senate of the proposed University for Belfast who possess a knowledge of the Irish language; and will he say what steps, if any, are being taken to insure that the Irish language shall be taught in the University about to be established there.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) All questions concerning the studies to be pursued in the new Universities will, in the first instance, be for the consideration of the Commissioners when framing the statutes, and subsequently for the senates of the Universities. It is not intended to impose any obligation upon these bodies as to the inclusion of Irish language and history or any other particular subject. I have no information as to the number of the members of either the proposed Belfast or Dublin senate who may be acquainted with the Irish language.

### Destruction of Irish Woodlands.

Mr. LANE-FOX (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the destruction of woods sold under the Irish Land Act of 1903, he is prepared to consider whether any legislative action can be taken to prevent the further destruction of existing woodlands and plantations in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer the hon. Member to the Report of the Departmental Committee on Irish Forestry which has been laid before Parliament. The recommendations of the Committee are at present under the consideration of my hon. friend the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture, and the question of legislation will in due course receive the consideration of the Government.

### Advances for Purchase of the Goodall Estate.

Mr. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is proposed by the Estates Commissioners to make advances for the purchase on the Goodall estate, in the county Roscommon, of certain holdings to which the Land Law Acts do not apply; how many holdings of this description are on the estate and the area of the same; what is the amount of the proposed advances; whether the Commissioners are aware that a portion of these lands belonged to the adjoining tenants until a few years before the Act of 1870, when they were evicted, not for non-payment of rent, but in pursuance of the scheme for the creation of large grass ranches; and whether advantage will be taken by the Commissioners of the opportunity given to them by the sale of the estate to limit the advances, and to use a portion of these lands for the purpose of enlarging the small holdings on the estate.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I refer my Answer to the hon. Member's previous Question of 10th March. The Estates Commissioners intend to declare the excluded holdings to be a separate estate, but before this is done the vendor proposes to place a portion of the land comprised in the holdings to which the Land Law Acts do not apply at the disposal of the Commissioners, for the enlargement of uneconomic holdings and the reinstatement of evicted tenants. In the present stage of the proceedings the Commissioners are not in a position to give the details asked for in the Question.

### Position of Existing Professors of the Cork Galway Colleges.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the uneasiness which exists among professors of the Cork and Galway Colleges as to their *status* under the Irish Universities Bill and the new charters, he can make any reassuring statement on the subject.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Existing professors of the Cork and Galway Colleges who may be offered, and may accept, equivalent positions in the reconstituted colleges will have the same tenure of office secured to them as that under which they hold at present.

### Introduction of the Irish Land Bill.

Mr. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he intends to introduce the Irish Land Bill before Whitsuntide.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The proposed Government measure will be introduced as soon as possible. but I cannot say when.

### Untenanted Land on the Colthurst Estate.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether there is any untenanted land in the neighbourhood of the home farm on the Colthurst estate, Ballyvourney, county Cork; and, if so, can he state the extent of it and whether it has been acquired for the purposes of distribution by the Estates Commissioners, or what action do they propose to take in reference to the matter in connection with the sale of this estate.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that the lands comprised in the Ballyvourney portion of the estate in question consist of tenanted lands, and of about 448 acres of land valued at £118, which latter is proposed to be sold and purchased by the vendor. The last-named land is stated to consist of plantations and some plots in the village of Ballyvourney. The vendor does not appear to own any other land in the vicinity. The Commissioners have referred the case to an inspector for report.

### Government of the Island of British New Guinea.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in British New Guinea; whether the British Government contributes towards the expenses of governing that island; whether the Secretary of State exercises control there; who is the present administrator of British New Guinea; and if there is a vacancy will an officer of proved ability be appointed without delay.

(*Answered by Colonel Seely.*) I have no official information as to the condition of affairs in Papua, the administration of which rests entirely with the Commonwealth Government. No contribution is made from Imperial funds towards the expenses of its Government. I understand that the post of Administrator is vacant, and that the question of filling it is under the consideration of the Commonwealth Government, with whom the appointment lies.

### Pay of Postal Officials at Warrenpoint, County Down.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the increased cost of living at Warrenpoint, County Down, consequent on comprehensive local improvements and increased taxation, he will consider the advisability of placing the Warrenpoint sub-post office in Class IV., seeing that the Hobhouse Report contemplated special consideration for the postal servants in seaside resorts.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I will take into account all the circumstances before deciding upon the final position of Warrenpoint in the new classification. The Report of the Parliamentary Committee did not, however, contemplate special consideration for the postal servants in seaside resorts.

### Grievances of Men on the Tugs at Portsmouth.

Mr. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the petition of the men on the tugs at Portsmouth has reached their Lordships, setting forth their grievances; if so, when did it reach them; and, if not, will he inquire the reason of it being withheld.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The petitions were received last month, and the petitioners were heard in support of their statements during the recent visit of the late Board to Portsmouth. The matter is now under consideration.

### Dimensions of the two Lighters for Sheerness

Mr. HOLT (Northumberland, Hexham): To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what are the dimensions of the two lighters for Sheerness (pages 228–9, Navy Estimates.)

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The dimensions of these lighters have not yet been decided.

### Sea Police Duty in the Moray Firth.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state why the Admiralty were not asked by the Fishery Board for Scotland to detail a gunboat for sea-police duty in the Moray Firth during the time the "Ringdove" was absent for refitting; and will he state the speed of the "Ringdove," and for what period during the last twelve months she has been on duty in the Moray Firth.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The Admiralty were asked for a substitute, but they informed the Fishery Board for Scotland that they were not in a position to comply with the request. I am informed it is not usual to advertise the speed of police vessels. From 1st May, 1907 to 30th April, 1908 the "Ringdove" was on duty for about 194 days.

### Fishery Duty of "Ringdove."

MR. ARTHUR BIGNOLD (Wick Burghs): To ask the Secretary for Scotland when the "Ringdove" is to take up fishery duty, and where is to be her headquarters.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The "Ringdove" resumed fishery duty on 11th instant, and her present headquarters are at Fortrose.

### Imports of Plated Goods.

MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he can obtain from the Customs authorities particulars of the imports of plated goods into the United Kingdom during the fifteen months ending 31st March, 1908.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) I am afraid that I can only repeat the Answer which I gave to the hon. Member on 8th May that no separate record of the imports of plated goods is kept by the Customs, such articles being included on importation under the general heading "Metal unenumerated, wrought."

### Value of Exports and Imports.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state the value of our exports to, and consignments from, France, the United States, Belgium, and Germany, respectively, classified as to food, drink, tobacco, raw materials, and manufactures in 1906 and 1907.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The information asked for by the hon. Member is not yet available, but if he will move for a Return giving the particulars desired, I will have the information prepared.

### Hours of Warders in Convict Prisons.

MR. WARDLE (Stockport): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will grant a Return showing the hours worked per day for a period of one month by the warders in His Majesty's convict prison service.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The hours worked vary somewhat with the time of year. Perhaps it will be simplest to give the information for the whole year in the form of the following table—

Number of Daily Hours of Duty of the Warders in His Majesty's Convict Prison Service.

| | Alternate Days (except Saturdays and Sundays). | | | | Alternate Saturdays. | | | | Alternate Sundays. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Early Duty. | | Late Duty. | | 1st. | | 2nd. | | 1st. | | 2nd. | |
| | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. |
| 1st January to 31st January ... ... | 9 | 45 | 9 | 40 | 9 | 25 | 5 | 10 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 1st February to 31st October ... ... | 10 | 35 | 10 | 0 | 9 | 45 | 5 | 30 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 1st November to 15th November ... ... | 10 | 5 | 10 | 0 | 9 | 45 | 5 | 30 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 16th November to 30th November ... ... | 9 | 50 | 10 | 0 | 9 | 45 | 5 | 30 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 1st December to 31st December ... ... | 9 | 30 | 9 | 40 | 9 | 25 | 5 | 10 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 0 |

### Customs Clerks Promotion.

MR. SNOWDEN (Blackburn): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will explain the circumstances under which a second-class clerk, upper section (Customs), was recently promoted to the first class (Secretary's Office) over the heads of sixty-seven of his class, and a second-class clerk, upper section (Customs), was promoted to the first class (Accountant and Controller-General's Office) over the heads of thirty-six of his own class; and will he say whether the men passed over were considered unworthy of promotion.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The Board of Customs inform me that these and similar vacancies in the upper ranks of the two departments referred to are necessarily filled by selection on account of the special duties to be performed, and the two clerks in question were selected as the most suitable for the work. Their appointment in no way prejudices the claims of the clerks not selected for advancement in their ordinary line of promotion.

### The Appointment of Mr. L. J. Hewby.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will state the date of appointment to the public service of Mr. L. J. Hewby, lately Treasury first-class clerk, who was recently appointed as Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland, his annual emoluments as Treasury first-class clerk and his annual emoluments as Treasury Remembrancer, the nature of his special qualifications for the latter positon; whether Sir George Murray was responsible for his selection; and whether the Irish Chief Secretary or Under-Secretary, or both, were consulted in reference to the filling of this post in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) Mr. Hewby was appointed to the public service on 4th March, 1895. His emoluments as a first-class clerk in the Treasury were £825 per annum. His emoluments as Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland are £1,200 per annum. His qualifications for that post arise from his experience and training in the Treasury. He was selected by the First Lord of the Treasury, and the Irish Government were not consulted on the subject.

### The Vaccination Acts and the Statutory Declaration.

MR. LEHMANN (Leicestershire, Market Harborough): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that Mr. W. Muskerry Tilson, a Commissioner for Oaths, of 26, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., refused on 2nd April, 1908, to take a statutory declaration under the Vaccination Acts when applied to by Mr. G. H. T. Coleman, Homelea, Furzeham Road, West Drayton, for that purpose; and whether he will consider the advisability of introducing legislation to prevent such occurrences in future.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Commissioner for Oaths informs me that he has had a case in which he questioned a person who attended before him to make a statutory declaration under The Vaccination Act, 1907. He states that his object was to ascertain the *bona fides* of such person, and that the answers given did not satisfy him that he would be justified in taking the declaration. This is probably the case referred to in the Question. I think the Commissioner acted under a misapprehension of his duties in the matter, and I will communicate with him on the subject.

### Income-tax Relief.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer in how many cases in each of the financial years 1904–5, 1905–6, and 1906–7 relief has been granted from income-tax under the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1890, Section 23.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) As no record is kept of the cases in which relief is granted under the section referred to, I am afraid that I cannot give the information asked for by my hon. friend.

### Average Attendance in Church and other Schools.

MR. ADKINS (Lancashire, Middleton): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he will state the recognised accommodation and the number of children in average attendance in Church schools, Roman Catholic schools, Council schools, and others, respectively, in the years 1897 and 1907, respectively, showing the increase or decrease, as the case may be, in the decennial period.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*)

| | 1897. | 1907. | Increase (+) or Decrease( – ). |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) Recognised Accommodation. | | | |
| Church Schools ... ... | 2,759,670 | 2,681,442 | —78,228 |
| Roman Catholic Schools ... | 380,849 | 406,137 | +25,288 |
| Council and other Schools ... | 3,074,680 | 3,956,628 | +881,948 |
| (b) Average Attendance. | | | |
| Church Schools ... ... | 1,871,773 | 1,899,965 | +28,192 |
| Roman Catholic Schools ... | 240,784 | 286,188 | +45,404 |
| Council and other Schools ... | 2,375,986 | 3,105,131 | +729,145 |

### Income-Tax Assessments on Averages.

MR. WHITEHEAD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in the case of businesses which have been assessed to income-tax on the average profits of the three years preceding the year of assessment, there are any special cases in which the liability is affected by the actual profit in the year of assessment falling short of that average; and, if so, what are those cases; whether they include the cases enumerated in the 134th section of the Act of 1842, viz., cessation from business, death, bankruptcy, and any other specific cause; whether they include any other cases than those set out in that section; and, if so, what other cases; and what other specific causes than cessation from business, death, and bankruptcy are treated by the Inland Revenue as entitling to an abatement.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) Section 134 of the Income-tax Act of 1842 provides that, where a person shall from cessation of business, death, bankruptcy, or "any other specific cause be deprived of or lose the profits or gains on which the computation of duty was charged," the District Commissioners of Taxes, on application being made to them within three calendar months, may amend the assessment as the case may require and give such relief as shall be just. No general statement can ye made of what constitutes a "specific cause" within the meaning of this section, this being a matter for the District Commissioners to determine by reference to the particular circumstances of each case as it arises.

### War Taxation paid by Tea and Sugar.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, what is the total amount of war taxation that has been paid by tea and sugar since the imposition of the respective duties in the Finance Acts of 1900 and 1901.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The estimated yield of the additional duty imposed on tea during the war and the yield of the sugar duty to 31st March, 1908, are as follows—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Tea - - - | 14,816,000 |
| Sugar - - - | 41,847,000 |
| | 56,663,000 |

### Delay in Erection of Labourers' Cottages in Celbridge, No. 2, Rural District.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, so far back as 1st February, 1907, representations from or on behalf of labourers in the Celbridge, No. 2, Rural District for cottages and plots, under The Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1906, were forwarded to the local authority, and the Local Government Board has never since appointed an inspector to inquire into the subject of those requisitions; and, if so, what is the cause of the delay on the part of the Local Government Board; and when does that body propose to hold the inquiry.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Local Government Board have not yet received from the rural district council an improvement scheme in pursuance of the representations referred to in the Question. The delay in the matter therefore rests entirely with the Council and not with the Local Government Board.

### Public Elementary Schools in Single School Parishes.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he will issue a continuation of Cd. 3990 (Public Elementary Schools in Single School Parishes), showing the total number of such schools with the total attendance, and grouping them under the denominational and undenominational subdivisions adopted in this particular Return.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) Summary of Schools in Single School Parishes in Rural Areas [Cd. 3990]. The figures in the annexed table are a summary of those contained in the List [Cd. 3990] of Public Elementary Schools in Single School Parishes, as defined in section 3 (6) of The Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill, 1908. The table distinguishes between voluntary schools and council schools, and shows in each case the number of schools, their accommodation, and the average attendance for the year ended the 31st July, 1907.

| Schools or Departments. | Church of England expressed or implied. | | | Church of England by usage. | | | Total Church of England. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Schools or Departments. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. | Schools or Departments. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. | Schools or Departments. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. |
| I. Voluntary schools as classified in H. C. Return 178, 1906: | | | | | | | | | |
| Placed wholly in Class A .. | 3,221 | 438,200 | 282,286 | 279 | 34,346 | 21,672 | 3,500 | 472,546 | 303,958 |
| ,, ,, B 1 .. | 110 | 14,637 | 8,824 | 13 | 1,505 | 932 | 123 | 16,142 | 9,756 |
| ,, ,, B 2 .. | 30 | 3,938 | 2,421 | 6 | 644 | 449 | 36 | 4,582 | 2,870 |
| ,, ,, C .. | 58 | 7,260 | 4,783 | 14 | 1,747 | 930 | 72 | 9,007 | 5,713 |
| ,, ,, D 1 .. | — | — | — | 29 | 2,969 | 1,842 | 29 | 2,969 | 1,842 |
| ,, ,, D 2 .. | — | — | — | 236 | 24,697 | 15,128 | 236 | 24,697 | 15,128 |
| ,, ,, E .. | 1,413 | 149,855 | 83,383 | 129 | 14,403 | 7,776 | 1 542 | 164,258 | 91,159 |
| II. Schools or departments which from various reasons are assignable to more than one of the five Classes A to E. .. .. .. .. | 78 | 12,522 | 8,266 | 19 | 2,248 | 1,239 | 97 | 14,770 | 9,505 |
| Totals of I. and II. .. | 4,910 | 626,412 | 389,963 | 725 | 82.559 | 49,968 | 5,635 | 708,971 | 439,931 |
| III. Voluntary schools not included in the 1906 Return. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| IV. Council schools .. .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Grand Totals .. .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

The voluntary schools are arranged in the following summary in two aspects, viz., in respects of tenure and trusts under each of the five classes to which they were assigned in compiling the Return [H.C. 178, 1906]: and in respect of religious denomination by reference to the religious instruction which it appears that the trust deed (if any) intended, whether by implication or by express provision, should be given in the school; or, failing this, by reference to the religious instruction which, so far as the Board of Education are aware, is actually given in the school.

| Schools or Departments. | Roman Catholic. | | | Wesleyan. | | | Other Voluntary Schools. | | | Total. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Schools or Departments. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. | Schools or Departments. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. | Schools or Departments | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. | Schools or Departments. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. |
| I. Voluntary schools as classified in H. C. Return 178, 1906: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Placed wholly in Class A .. | 3 | 533 | 307 | 5 | 895 | 449 | 106 | 15,895 | 9,120 | 3,614 | 489,869 | 313,834 |
| ,, ,, B 1 .. | — | — | — | 3 | 345 | 187 | 4 | 435 | 241 | 130 | 16,922 | 10,184 |
| ,, ,, B 2 .. | 1 | 212 | 63 | — | — | — | 2 | 256 | 119 | 39 | 5,050 | 3,052 |
| ,, ,, C .. | 9 | 940 | 425 | 4 | 434 | 262 | 9 | 1,114 | 458 | 94 | 11,495 | 6,858 |
| ,, ,, D 1 .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | 327 | 196 | 33 | 3,296 | 2,038 |
| ,, ,, D 2 ... | — | — | — | — | — | — | 13 | 1,033 | 597 | 249 | 25,730 | 15,725 |
| ,, ,, E .. | 15 | 1,911 | 956 | — | — | — | 79 | 10,734 | 6,325 | 1,636 | 176,903 | 98,440 |
| II. Schools or departments which from various reasons are assignable to more than one of the five Classes A to E. .. .. .. .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | 1,125 | 631 | 102 | 15,895 | 10,136 |
| Totals of I. and II. .. | 28 | 3,596 | 1,751 | 12 | 1,674 | 898 | 222 | 30,919 | 17,687 | 5,897 | 745,160 | 460,267 |
| III. Voluntary schools not included in the 1906 Return. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 6 | 603 | 331 |
| IV. Council school .. .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,724 | 283,258 | 195,852 |
| Grand totals .. .. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 7,627 | 1,029,021 | 656,450 |

## Irish Land Commission and Recovery of Monies Due.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland why the Land Commission issue writs for recovery of half-years' annuity, or interest in lieu of rent, from £20 upwards, and do not avail of the powers of the County Courts, which have ample jurisdiction in all cases where the half-year does not exceed £50; whether he is aware that issuing writs against small farmers causes hardship owing to the heavy costs incurred, seeing that the costs of issuing a writ are £2 10s. whereas the costs of a civil bill are only 14s. 6d., that the costs of judgment on a writ are £5 16s., while the costs of a civil bill decree in cases up to £40 are only £1 19s., and above £40 and under £50 are only £2 19s.; whether the sheriffs' fees attendant on the execution of a fi. fa., are much higher than for executing a civil bill decree; whether the judgment on a writ appears in Stubbs' Gazette, which is ruinous to the credit of defendant, even though he pays without delay, wheras a decree is not so published; whether the powers of the sheriff are as effective under a decree as on a fi. fa., as a freehold interest in neither case can be seized by the sheriff; whether on a return of *nulla bona* on both a decree and fi. fa. the Land Commission advertise the holding for sale and sell under their statutory power; whether having regard to the number of cases in which proceedings are instituted, very few judgments or decrees are entered up, as nearly all defaulters pay on being served with either civil bill or writ; whether he is aware that there are four civil bill sessions in each county in the year, and all cases not exceeding £50 can be speedily dealt with in the County Courts; that no witness has to be procured to prove the amount due, as a certificate under the seal of the Land Commission is made evidence, and that the Land Commission sue in County Courts at present at the Easter and Michaelmas sessions; whether the solicitor to the Land Commission, being paid a fixed salary, gets no costs of these writs; and how are the costs so recovered disposed of.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Land Commission proceed in the superior Courts for the recovery of annuities from £20 upwards because the proceedings are more expeditious and effectual than proceedings in the County Court for the purpose of recovering arrears, in order to meet the dividends and sinking fund payments due in respect of the stock issued for the advances made, and to prevent charges against the Guarantee Fund and the rates of the counties. It is to be remembered that £20 for a half-year's annuity represents an advance of over £1,200, and the holding therefore is of considerable value; and it is the experience of the Land Commission that in such cases the money is more promptly recovered when the defaulters are sued in the Superior Courts. The Land Commission, as trustees of public moneys, which they are bound to collect punctually, feel obliged to use the most effective methods available for compelling payers of annuities and of interest in lieu of rent to pay without unreasonable delay. Writs are never issued until two demands for payment have first been made, and notice given that legal proceedings would be taken if debt should not be paid within a stated period. The full costs of issuing and serving a writ are £2 10s.; of marking judgment £4 18s. 6d. The Land Commission do not register their judgments which therefore do not appear in Stubbs' Gazette. The sheriffs' fees are almost identical in writ cases and in civil bill decrees. The lodgment fee is 1s. less in civil bill decrees than in Superior Court judgments; otherwise the fees are the same. Upon a return of "No Goods," in the case of either a judgment or decree, the Land Commission advertise the defaulters' holding for sale under their statutory powers. During the last completed year, 360 writs were issued by the Commissioners' solicitor for debts over £20 and not exceeding £50, and in these cases sixty-nine judgments were marked. Judgment is marked or a decree is made in about one case in every five in which proceedings are taken. It is the case that there are four civil bill sessions in each county in the year, and that cases not exceeding £50 can be dealt with in the County Court; also, that no witness has to be produced to prove the Land Commission claim, as the certificate of debt under seal of the Irish Land Commission is accepted as evidence. The Land Commission only sue at the two sessions mentioned in the Question because the annuities and interest are payable half-yearly and not quarterly, and the interest and sinking fund on the stock issued for advances are also payable half-yearly. The costs recovered from defaulters by the Commissioners' solicitor are appropriated in aid of the Land Commission Vote.

### New Irish University Senates.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the cause of the omission of the name of any person directly connected with primary education in Ireland from the proposed nominated senates and governing bodies of the new Universities and their constituent colleges; and whether he will remedy this omission.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer my hon. friend to the Answer which I gave to the Question on this subject put to me by the hon. Member for East Kerry on 13th May.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Michael Hickey.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what steps have been taken by the Estates Commissioners to reinstate on the lands of Cullinagh, Kilmeaden, County Waterford, an evicted tenant named Hickey who has made application for reinstatement; are the lands from which Hickey was evicted on the hands of the landlord, Mr. Kelly;

and, if so, can the compulsory powers of the Evicted Tenants Act be applied in this case.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have made an offer to the landlord for the purchase of the holding which was formerly occupied by Michael Hickey and is now in the landlord's possession. The landlord has refused the offer, and the Commissioners have directed further inquiry to be made in the case, with a view to considering the question of exercising the powers conferred by the Evicted Tenants Act.

### Unlawful Assembly at Mount Bellew.

MR. JOHN ROCHE (Galway, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on or about 2nd November, 1907, eight or nine persons were arrested at Mount Bellew on a charge of unlawful assembly and conveyed to Ballinasloe, a distance of about 19 miles, and there bound to the peace and to be of good behaviour before a resident magistrate; whether there are several local magistrates in the neighbourhood of Mount Bellew, and, if so, why the persons referred to were not brought before those magistrates; and what was the cost of conveying them to Ballinasloe.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that the facts are as stated in the first part of the Question. Several justices of the peace are resident in the locality of Mount Bellew, but, in pursuance of the usual practice in such cases, the application to bind the offenders to keep the peace was made to the resident magistrate. The cost of conveying them to Ballinasloe was £10.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of John Harte.

MR. F. MEEHAN (Leitrim, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application from John Harte, of Carrigans, an evicted tenant on the Lane-Fox estate, Dromahair, County Leitrim, which estate has been purchased by the Land Commission; and whether the Commissioners would take action to have Harte or his son, Thady Harte, reinstated or provided with a suitable farm elsewhere.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received an application from Thady Harte for a holding on the Lane-Fox estate from which his grandmother appears to have been evicted in 1879. This holding is now in the occupation of a tenant-purchaser, and the Commissioners have no power to put the applicant in possession of it. The applicant is already in possession of a small holding which has been purchased under the Land Acts, but if untenanted land should become available in the locality the Commissioners will consider the question of allotting him a parcel for the enlargement of his present holding.

### Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of G. L. Young.

MR. F. MEEHAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an evicted tenant named James McMeekin, on the estate of G. L. Young, County Derry, who was evicted in 1907, has applied to the Estates Commissioners to be reinstated; and whether the Estates Commissioners, having regard to the fact that he is a poor man and has a wife and a large family depending on him for their support, and that the farm is offered for sale by the landlord, would take immediate action to have him reinstated.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received the application in question, but, having regard to the date of the eviction, they cannot undertake to intervene in the matter.

### Royal Irish Constabulary—Members eligible for Retirement on Pension.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say what is the number of head constables, sergeants, and constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary who are eligible for retirement on pension.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) It is presumed that the Question is intended to refer to men of the Royal Irish Constabulary who have served for twenty-five years or upwards and are therefore eligible to retire on pension upon their own application. The Inspector-General informs me that in order to give the required information it would be necessary to call for local returns from the entire country. It does not seem desirable to impose so much trouble upon the force, but if the hon. Member has any substantial reason for requiring the information I will ask the Inspector-General to procure it.

### Prosecutions under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act in Belfast.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he could state the number of prosecutions under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts that have taken place in Belfast during the first quarter of the present year, and in how many of the cases convictions have been secured; and whether he could state the number of inspectors under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts employed in Belfast.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that twenty-five prosecutions under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act took place in Belfast during the first quarter of the present year, and convictions resulted in all cases. There are two inspectors under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act in Belfast.

### Sale of Estate of H. G. M. Stuart.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what progress has been made by the Estates Commissioners towards the sale of the estate of the trustees of Horatio Granville Murray Stewart; and whether the Commissioners will advance any money to Patrick Keeney, an evicted tenant on this estate, to crop, stock, and rebuild his house on the farm to which he was reinstated according to agreement made the 18th February last.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The agreements for the sale of the several estates of the Stewart trustees were lodged with the Estates Commissioners in August 1905, April, 1906, and May, 1907, but none of the cases has yet reached its turn to be dealt with. The Commissioners made an offer to the owners for the purchase of Patrick Keeney's holding, and the offer was accepted. No purchase agreement, however, has yet been lodged in the case, but as soon as this is done, and Keeney is in possession, the Commissioners will make a free grant of £30.

### Acquisition of Turbary on the Orkney Estate, County Tipperary.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the turbary on the Orkney estate, County Tipperary, has been vested in the Estates Commissioners for distribution amongst the tenants and the labourers on or in the neighbourhood of the estate; if not, will the Commissioners take steps to acquire this turbary in the interests of the whole people; have tenancies been created in any portion of the turbary since the sale was set on foot; and can he state what has become of the gamekeeper's residence on the estate.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The vendor in this case has offered 464 acres of bog land for sale to the Estates Commissioners, who have directed an inspection to be made with a view to considering the offer. The Commissioners have no information upon the last two parts of the Question, but these matters will be inquired into by the inspector in due course.

### Distribution of Turbary on the Montalt Estate, County Tipperary.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in connection with the distribution of the untenanted land on the Montalt estate, County Tipperary, the Estates Commissioners took any steps whatever under Section 7 of The Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1906; did they make any inquiry pursuant to Section 96 of The Irish Land Act, 1903; did they transmit to the council of the Cashel Rural District any report of their opinion; and what steps are the Estates Commissioners now going to take to provide, in conjunction with the Cashel Council, sufficient accommodation under the Labourers Act for the labourers of the district.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners made inquiries as to the accommodation needed for labourers on the Montalt estate, and their scheme for its re-sale provides for three-acres plots for some twenty purchasers of the labouring class. The Commissioners have also informed the Cashel Rural District Council that they are prepared to sell to the council, pursuant to the 7th Section of The Labourers Act, 1906, a further portion of land if the council should require it for the purposes of the Labourers Act. The Commissioners have reserved a portion of the land pending the reply of the council.

### Complaints of J. J. O'Mahony of Inniscarra.

MR. SHEEHAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners, through any of their inspectors, have investigated the complaints of fraudulent treatment made by John J. O'Mahony, a purchasing tenant on the estate of J. D. Cramer Roberts, Inniscarra, county Cork; whether this tenant has been processed for a year's interest which he claims to be excessive and unwarranted; are any concessions to be made to him as a result of the investigations of the Commissioners; and whether he will consider the advisability of putting a stay to legal proceedings in the meantime.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have fully investigated the complaints made by O'Mahony, and have decided that they are without foundation. The purchase money has accordingly been advanced, and the holding vested in O'Mahony. The Commissioners have instituted legal proceedings against O'Mahony for the recovery of interest in lieu of rent for the year ending 1st November last. These proceedings cannot be stayed.

## *QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.*

### Cost of Naval Gunners.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty in reference to his official statement that the annual effective cost to the country of a fully-trained gunner in the Royal Marine Artillery and of a naval seaman gunner (able seaman) is estimated to be, approximately, £53 in each case, whether he can state the data on which the estimate was made; and whether it allows for the large wastage of about 10 per cent. among seamen.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The items comprised in the total sum given as representing the annual effective cost to the country of a fully-trained gunner in the Royal Marine Artillery and of a naval seaman gunner (able seaman), were pay and allowances, clothing and victualling. The expense for maintaining one man for one year having been taken on the above basis, such consideration as the wastage among seamen did not enter into the calculations.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): Is it not the fact that the cost of a marine gunner to the country is a great deal less than that of a seaman gunner?

[No Answer was audible.]

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether his attention has been drawn to an Answer given by the Secretary to the Admiralty on 4th April, 1906, in which the cost of a gunner in the Royal Marines is given as £55 10s. and the cost of a seaman up to the date of being rated A.B., or before he attains a seaman gunner's rate, as £155 in pay and victualling only; and whether, in view of a recent official statement, he desires to modify this Answer, as the new Estimate shows a decrease in the cost of the seaman of at least £100.

MR. MCKENNA: The Answer to the first portion of the hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative. With regard to the second portion, as the figures given by my hon. friend on 4th April, 1906, represented the cost of a marine for a period of eighteen months, namely, from enlistment to date of becoming efficient, and of a bluejacket for a period of four years, namely, from entry as a boy to date of being rated able seaman, it is not necessary to modify them with reference to the recent official statement respecting the annual effective cost of a marine gunner and seaman gunner when fully trained.

### Casualties of Naval Manœuvres.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he will grant the Return of Naval Casualties during manœuvres or tactics now standing on the Order Paper of the House.

MR. McKENNA: We have no detailed records in the office which would enable us to give the information asked for the years prior to 1901, but I shall be glad to have a Return prepared on the lines of the hon. Member's Motion as far as all manœuvres and tactical exercises ordered by the Admiralty are concerned, from 1901 to the end of 1907.

### Lieutenants for Nucleus Crews.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, in reference to the official statement that an additional lieutenant has been allowed in the "Charybdis" class of cruisers for the nucleus crews, making three lieutenants in all, whether he can state on what date the additional lieutenant joined H.M.S. "Charybdis."

MR. McKENNA: An additional lieutenant was ordered on 14th May to join the ship.

MR. BELLAIRS: Did not the right hon. Gentleman receive notice of my Question on 6th May—eight days before—the Question relating to additional lieutenant?

MR. McKENNA: The Order Paper will show the date.

### Regulations for Night Manœuvring.

MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, in view of the facts that officers commanding His Majesty's ships are bound by Article 1035 of the King's Regulations to observe the regulations made by Order in Council for preventing collisions at sea, and that those regulations enjoin the carriage of certain specified navigation lights from sunset to sunrise by every steam vessel under way, any instructions have been issued to such officers relieving them from the obligations of Article 1035 during night manœuvres; and, if so, whether he will lay those instructions upon the Table or state their purport to the House.

MR. McKENNA: Instructions have not been issued to officers in the sense suggested in the Question, but commanders in-chief have discretion to carry out manœuvres under conditions that are designed to reproduce as nearly as possible those which must be met in time of war.

MR. BOWLES: Was that discretion given by order of the Admiralty in writing?

MR McKENNA: It has been exercised for a good many years past and no alterations has taken place in the practice.

### Flour for the Navy.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the flour mills in the Deptford Victualling Yard are lying idle, all the flour required being supplied by contractors; whether he can see his way to having the Government plant utilised for the purpose for which it was erected; whether he is aware that the contractors supply the flour in bags instead of casks, and that a waste of flour is involved through the bags not being water-tight; whether he will take steps to remedy this; whether he is aware that the bags of flour which are sent direct on board are not inspected, the only inspection being that a sample is submitted at the victualling yard; and whether he will institute a more thorough system.

MR. McKENNA: As stated in the reply to a former similar Question put by the hon. Member on 4th December, 1906, it is not proposed to revert to the old system of direct Government manufacture of flour. The flour supplied by contractors is delivered in the ordinary trade sacks, which are quite suitable for the purposes required. There is no waste of flour involved. The present system of testing a percentage of the flour supplied has proved to be sufficiently thorough, and is moreover the only practical one, having regard to the enormous quantities dealt with. It is not proposed to extend it.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to sell the plant at the Deptford Victualling Yard?

MR. McKENNA: Not at the present time.

MR. CROOKS: I hope, then, you are going to use it some day.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): Does it signify whether the flour mills are idle or not if the expenditure on the Navy is unproductive?

MR. McKENNA: I do not admit that it is unproductive.

*MR. REES: I am glad to hear that.

MR. CROOKS: It is a form of insurance.

### Deptford Victualling Yard—Coopers' Apprentices.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether it is the intention at the Deptford Victualling Yard to discharge coopers' apprentices after their term of apprenticeship has expired, although there is an assurance in their articles of apprenticeship of regular employment if they prove themselves efficient.

MR. McKENNA: The articles of apprenticeship do not give a promise of employment, and the yard regulations are quite clear upon this point. Employment is dependent upon vacancies in the authorised staff; and no vacancies exist at the present time, nor are likely to occur in the near future.

### "Cobra" Court-Martial.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether any instructions of any kind whatsoever, other than the ordinary orders for the assembly of a court-martial, were issued in connection with the "Cobra" court-martial in 1901; and whether the Court exceeded its powers in bringing in a verdict that the loss was due to structural weakness, and that the Court also found that the "Cobra" was weaker than other destroyers, and, in view of that fact, it was to be regretted that she was purchased into His Majesty's service.

MR. McKENNA: The "Cobra" court-martial appears to have been convened under Sections 91 and 92 of the Naval Discipline Act to inquire into the cause of the loss of the "Cobra," and to try the survivors for their conduct on the occasion. The Court did not exceed its powers in "finding" (there being no charge, there was no "verdict" properly so called) that the loss was due to structural weakness. It did exceed its powers in finding that the "Cobra" was weaker than other destroyers, and that, in view of that fact, it was to be regretted that she was purchased into His Majesty's service. After the minutes of the court martial had been considered by the Admiralty, the President, the Members of the Court, and the Deputy Judge Advocate, were informed that the Court was not justified in this expression of opinion.

### Naval Accidents.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will state how many ships and other craft of war have been in accidents since the 1st January, 1901; how many of these vessels were totally lost, and what was their original cost; how many were repaired in Government dockyards and how many outside; what was the number of lives lost as a result of accidents during the years referred to; and can he state the amount paid in pensions, etc., to the dependents of those who lost their lives.

MR. McKENNA: The information asked for will be supplied in a Return, if the hon. Member will be good enough to move for it.

### Territorial Scheme Finance.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT (Marylebone, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how much of the money paid under the Territorial Army Grant goes to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the regular Army; what is the number of regular soldiers in receipt of this pay under heads of their respective rank; and whether there is a regular scale of pay for the Generals holding commands in the Territorial Army.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The amount provided in the Vote for the Territorial Force for officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Regular Army is £285,000. The approximate numbers and ranks are shown on page 49 of the Estimates. The pay of General Officers Commanding Divisions of the Territorial Force is fixed at £1,500 a year.

### The Special Reserve.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War why a man over thirty years of age is considered to be too old to join the Special Reserve of the Army, seeing that men between thirty and forty are better fitted to take the field than boys under eighteen who may be enlisted.

MR. HALDANE: It is not considered that men over thirty-six years of age are suitable for active service abroad, and the maximum age was therefore purposely fixed at thirty, so that men could put in a term of six years before reaching the age of thirty-six. I may add that experience has shown that for active service reservists over the age of thirty-six are of less value than younger men.

MR. ASHLEY: But the right hon. Gentleman has not answered my Question why men over thirty cannot be put on the Special Reserve?

MR. HALDANE: Because we want men in that with six years training.

MR. ASHLEY: Would you allow a man who has completed twelve years service with the colours to go straight from the Regular Army into the Reserve?

MR. HALDANE'S reply was inaudible.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER pointed out that there were in the Army some 20,000 men over the age, and it would therefore be impossible to take them into the Reserve under this decision.

### Apprentices and the Territorial Force.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War why a special Army Order has been issued prohibiting the enlistment of an apprentice into the Territorial Force, even if the master raises no objection, in view of the fact that apprentices were permitted to join the Volunteers.

MR. HALDANE: If the hon. Member will refer to Army Order 110 of this month he will find that the prohibition has been cancelled.

### Camp Allowances.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that the authorised camp allowance which is to be paid to the Territorial soldier when out for annual training does not enable him to provide a substitute to perform his civilian duties, he will increase this allowance to a sum which will enable the soldier to attend this training and make himself efficient in accordance with the spirit of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907.

MR. HALDANE: No, Sir. This question has been long since discussed and disposed of.

### Imperial Yeomanry Training.

MAJOR RENTON (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the Imperial Yeomanry during their annual training are expected to practise marching past, or any ceremonial and parade movements, to the exclusion of more practical exercises.

MR. HALDANE: It is intended that the training carried out in camp should be of a progressive nature and more advanced than that carried out during drills, as much time as possible being devoted to squadron training and field operations. The training should be confined wholly to such elements as are essential to success in war.

### The Militia and the Special Reserve.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many of the 1,406 men who have joined the Special Reserve of the Artillery and of the 10,830 men who have joined the Special Reserve of the Infantry are men who have transfered from the Militia in consideration of the receipt of a bounty; and how many are new enlistments.

MR. HALDANE: In the case of the Artillery 380 were transferred from the

Militia, 1,010 were recruits, and 15 re-enlisted men. In the case of the Infantry 4,875 were transferred from the Militia, 5,844 were recruits, and 111 re-enlisted men.

### Transfers from the Regular Army to the Special Reserve.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what proportion of the men who have enlisted in, or been transferred to, the Special Reserve are expected to pass to the Regular Army on or before the completion of their period of training in the Special Reserve.

MR. HALDANE: The new system has not been long enough in practice to furnish any data from which the proportion could be calculated. It is however, expected that the number will be about the same as that which used to join the Regular Army from the Militia.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: But when the right hon. Gentleman tells us 10,000 men have joined the Special Reserve, does he mean that they have joined the Special Reserve or the Regular Army?

MR. HALDANE: The Special Reserve.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Is it not the fact that a very large proportion—90 per cent.—of the men are passing on to the Regular Army.

MR. HALDANE: They have joined the Special Reserve and they are there now.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Is it not perfectly well known at all the depots that 80 or 90 per cent. of the men have joined the Special Reserve with the object of taking the £2 bounty and passing into the line at the end of three months?

MR. HALDANE'S reply was inaudible.

### Appointment of Officers.

MR. ARNOLD FORSTER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that in the *Gazette* of the 12th May thirteen officers of Militia and fifty-nine officers of Volunteers are named as having resigned their commissions, and only two officers of Militia and four officers of Volunteers as having received first commissions; and whether these resignations involve a net reduction of the officers of Militia by eleven and of the officers of Volunteers by fifty-five, or whether the apparent loss has been made good in whole or in part by the issue of commissions to officers joining the Special Reserve and Territorial Force.

MR. HALDANE: As regards the Special Reserve of officers no first appointments are to be made until the last Militia unit has completed its training for the current year. As regards the Territorial Force the Gazetting and issue of Commissions has not yet begun except in the case of a few Royal Army Medical Corps Officers. It is not therefore practicable to calculate any balance of the nature suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: At this time do not these figures represent a net loss of Militia and Volunteer officers?

MR. HALDANE: Why call it a loss when the officers are ready, and will come forward in due course?

### Age of Army Recruits.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether any men have yet been allowed to enter the Regular Army from the depots at the age of 17½; and, if so, what is the number of such men.

MR. HALDANE: The right hon. Gentleman is presumably referring to the Special Reserve recruits who are allowed to enlist in the Regular Army if under the age of 18 provided that they have completed the six months drill on enlistment. Recruiting for the Special Reserve only commenced on January 16th, and no such recruits could therefore have enlisted into the Regular Army as none would be qualified before the 15th July.

MR. ASHLEY: Is it the right hon. Gentleman's intention to permit the enlistment of these men at 17½?

MR. HALDANE: We have said that when they have undergone six months training in the Special Reserve we shall enlist them into the Regular Army.

### Inspections of the Territorial Force.

Major Renton: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, if he will cause instructions to be issued that no unit of the Territorial Forces is to be inspected on more than one day during their annual training unless under exceptional circumstances.

Mr. HALDANE: It is not considered desirable to issue definite regulations on this point. It is held that economy of time and thoroughness of inspection are more likely to be obtained by leaving the matter in the hands of the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief, to whose interest it is that no more time shall be lost to training than can be possibly avoided.

### Small Arms Factory, Enfield.

Mr. ABEL SMITH (Hertfordshire, Hertford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War when the rule under which young men are discharged on reaching the age of twenty-one was first applied at the Small Arms Factory, Enfield; how many men have been discharged under it; and whether it is to be a permanent rule of the department.

Mr. HALDANE: The rule is that boys reaching the age of twenty-one may be retained as men and paid as men if there are vacancies; if there are no vacancies they cannot be retained. Discharges under this rule had to be put in force on the 22nd February, 1908, and have affected nine persons.

Mr. ABEL SMITH: Is this a new rule?

Mr. HALDANE replied in the negative.

### Government Factory Danger-Houses—Rates of Pay.

Mr. CURRAN, (Durham, Jarrow): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can see his way to raise the minimum rate of pay for the men working in the danger-houses in the Government factories, which is at present 23s. 6d. per week, in view of the fact that the police who patrol outside the danger-houses are allowed 1s. a day extra.

Mr. HALDANE: The rates of pay for men working in the danger-buildings are fixed with special regard to all the conditions of their employment. The terms of service of the Metropolitan Police are not in any way comparable with those of Ordnance Factory employees.

### Volunteer Camps.

Mr. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many Volunteers went into camp in the years 1904 and 1905, for eight days and fifteen days respectively; and how many Volunteers or members of the Territorial Force are expected to attend camp for the corresponding period during the current year.

Mr. HALDANE: The Volunteer figures for all ranks, including permanent staff, were as follows:—

| | 1904. | 1905. |
|---|---|---|
| 8 days - | 155,437 | 148,925 |
| 15 days - | 23,038 | 24,882 |

I may observe that only Heavy Batteries, Royal Army Medical Corps Units, Submarine Miners, and the twenty-seven Field Army Battalions were allowed to camp for more than eight days. As regards the future it will not be practicable to attempt to give any forecast until after the 30th June.

### War Office Contracts—Rates of Wages.

Mr. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that many firms who contract for the manufacture of paint brushes for the War Department are not paying the standard rate of wages in their particular district; and whether he will assist in the prevention of sweating by giving the names of those firms in receipt of Government contracts.

Mr. HALDANE: The hon. Member is no doubt aware that considerable facilities are given to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress for the detection of cases of alleged breach of the Fair Wages Resolution, and I am always willing to investigate those cases, and, if necessary, to remove the firm from the list of those to whom tenders are issued. I am not sure that the publication of names would materially add to the efficiency of our machinery for the prevention of sweating, but if the hon. Member will give me the name of the firms not paying the recognised district rate, early investigation shall be made.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that it is very difficult for trade unions to find out who the contractors are?

MR. HALDANE: But they do find out.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: After the contract is completed.

### Territorial Forces Clothing Contracts.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for war whether he has requested the County Associations when placing contracts for the clothing for the Territorial Forces with private firms to observe the Fair Wages Resolution of this House; and, if not, will he take the necessary steps to inform them of the existence of such a Resolution.

MR. HALDANE: We will draw the attention of Associations to the inclusion of the Fair Wages Clause in Government contracts, and I hope that this course will lead to its inclusion in tenders for clothing issued by them.

### Territorial Outfit Grants.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state how much his department allows for the service outfit for each recruit of the Territorial Force, and if such sum is calculated annually; and whether he will state what that outfit consists of.

MR. HALDANE: An initial grant for recruits is made for clothing at the rate of £4 8s. for mounted recruits, and £3 15s. for dismounted; and personal equipment at rates ranging from 9s. to £1. An annual grant of 23s. per efficient is made for the upkeep and replacement of the outfit. The outfit consists of two suits, one of which must be the regulation service dress, including great coats, and the usual personal equipment.

### Royal Field Artillery.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the fact that the effective strength of the Royal Field Artillery has been reduced during the past four months by 1,076, and is now 570 below the number provided for in the Estimates, he will say what steps he proposes to take beyond the training of 934 Special Reservists with the training brigades to carry out the pledge he gave on 4th March in this House, that the strength of the Royal Field Artillery should not be reduced till for every man so reduced four or five trained Militiamen were ready to take his place.

MR. HALDANE: The hon. Member has committed the error of comparing strength with establishment.

MR. ASHLEY: No, no.

MR. HALDANE: Yes, yes! Moreover he has probably been misled by the fact that there has been, as there generally and normally is in the beginning of every year, a large outflow to the Reserve. The vacancies caused in the strength with the colours will be filled up again by the ordinary process of recruiting.

MR. ASHLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that the strength of the Field Artillery on 1st May was 570 below the establishment, whereas it was 400 and something above the establishment on 1st January?

MR. HALDANE: The strength always oscillates. You cannot take it at a particular moment and say that that is the strength compared with the establishment. A month later it may be far different.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Is it not a plain matter of fact that, according to the figures given by the right hon. Gentleman, the Field Artillery has been reduced?

MR. HALDANE: For the moment it may be, but at other moments it is above. The point of these questions is to make out that we have reduced the Field Artillery. It is absolutely untrue that we have done anything of the kind. The Field Artillery is higher in numbers than at the time the right hon. Gentleman was in office.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The right hon. Gentleman says my hon. friend is mistaken. My object is to point out that my hon. friend is not mistaken. I should like to know in what respect my hon. friend was mistaken when he stated a plain matter of fact.

MR. HALDANE: That means there are two people mistaken now.

MR. ASHLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that the Field Artillery are 1,076 men less in strength than on 1st January last?

MR. HALDANE: At particular moments of the year the strength is below, and at other times of the year above the establishment. It is a misleading Question, and depends on a confusion of thought between strength and establishment.

### Scarlet Fever on War Office Property.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a serious outbreak of scarlet fever has occurred in the villages of Nether Avon and Fittleton, in houses belonging to the War Office, Salisbury Plain estate; whether, beyond paying a few visits, the military medical officers have taken any steps to check the spread of the disease by isolating the cases or otherwise; and what immediate steps he proposes to take in this matter.

MR. HALDANE: I am aware of the outbreak of scarlet fever in question. The military medical and civil authorities have been working closely together throughout the epidemic, but the cases have all been treated by the civil practitioners residing in the neighbourhood. Stringent rules are in force to prevent communication between the affected villages and the troops. The Pewsey Council have been recently approached with a view of providing the necessary isolation accommodation.

MR. ASHLEY: Could the right hon. Gentleman see his way to accommodate some of these cases at the isolation hospital at Bulford where there are beds not in use?

MR. HALDANE: I will ask about that.

### Repatriation of Chinese Coolies from the Transvaal.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Chinese coolies serving in the Transvaal mines have to give reasons in support of their request to be repatriated under the terms of the repatriation notices posted in the mines; and, if so, how many have demanded to be repatriated on the specific grounds that they considered the conditions of indentured labour under which they worked to be tantamount to slavery, for the period since the posting of the notices to present date.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel SEELY, Liverpool, Abercromby): If the hon. Member will refer to page 190 of Cd. 3025 he will learn the conditions which a labourer was required to satisfy before his application for repatriation at the expense of the Home Government could be granted. The Secretary of State left it to the Transvaal Government to decide whether these conditions were fulfilled or not. Up to 31st December last the applications of 829 coolies had been acceded to by the Transvaal Government, but the Secretary of State has no information as to the terms in which these applications were couched. They were never sent home to this country; and they are understood to have been in Chinese. The transmission and translation of such a large number of petitions would involve so much labour to the Transvaal authorities and so much expense to this country that my noble friend does not feel justified in asking for the information desired by the hon. and gallant Member.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: May I take it that this Answer can be boiled down into a negative?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Commonwealth Coat of Arms.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies why, if England, Scotland, and Ireland are to be represented in the arms of the Commonwealth, Wales, from which the Mother Colony of Australia takes its name, is to be omitted.

COLONEL SEELY: The arms were granted by His Majesty by Royal Warrant at the request of the Commonwealth Government; and I fear I cannot add anything to the Answer which I gave to a similar Question by the hon. Member for Govan last Tuesday.

*MR. REES: What is the reason for having overlooked this important point? Have the records of the Colonial Office disclosed anything to the discredit of St. David?

MR. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan) asked what was the emblem of Wales.

COLONEL SEELY: I am afraid I must have notice of that Question.

*MR. REES: Is not the red dragon of Wales known at the Colonial Office?

[No Answer was returned.]

### British East Africa.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the value of taxes paid by the white community of British East Africa, together with rents, licences, registration fees, and fees for land sales and cattle sales; and what proportion does the amount bear to such taxes, fees, and other State charges paid by the rest of the taxpayers.

COLONEL SEELY: It is not possible to give exact figures, but the latest estimate, which refers to the year 1905–6, gives the figures of taxation as £2,550 paid by white colonists and £49,439 by the rest of the taxpayers, or a proportion of about 1 to 20. If the receipts from rents estimated at £5,365 were all credited to the white colonists the proportion would be about 1 to 6.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Can the hon. Gentleman say in regard to the white population how many are salaried officers of the Crown and how many paid officers of the Syndicate?

COLONEL SEELY: I can inquire.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: The hon. Gentleman has not answered that portion of my Question as to licences, registration fees, etc.

COLONEL SEELY: I am sorry if it has been overlooked. Possibly we have not the information in our possession. If the hon. Gentleman will put another Question we will try and give him the information.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I will repeat my Question.

### Singapore Bishopric.

MR. LAIDLAW (Renfrewshire, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies how much the Government of the Straits Settlements have contributed towards the establishment of the new Bishopric of Singapore; if the Federated Malay States have contributed to this object, will he state how much has been contributed by each of the respective States; and how much the Government of the Straits Settlements have undertaken to pay towards the support of the new bishop.

COLONEL SEELY: Since 1906 the Straits Settlements Government have contributed £150 per annum to the Singapore Bishopric Endowment Fund. As regards the Federated Malay States, Perak and Selangor each contributed $7,500 to the fund in 1906, and Negri Sembilan $5,000. The Government of the Straits Settlements pays £100 per annum towards the salary of the bishop, and also, I understand, his travelling expenses within the Colony.

### The Governor of Natal.

MR. HERBERT (Buckinghamshire, Wycombe): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will lay upon the Table a copy of the Commission under which the Governor of Natal holds his appointment.

COLONEL SEELY: I shall be happy to show the hon. Member a copy of the Commission, but as it is a purely formal document, I do not think that it is of sufficient general interest to justify my laying it upon the Table.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) asked if the Governor was also Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

Colonel SEELY said the Commission was in the ordinary form and differed in no important respect from the Commissions to other Governors.

### Examination of Dinizulu.

Mr. HERBERT: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having regard to the fact that His Majesty's Government have not yet been able to obtain from the Government of Natal a definite answer to the question whether, according to the law of Natal, a prisoner charged with treason or murder can be kept in gaol indefinitely without a definite charge being preferred against him specifying the overt acts of treason and the name of the person alleged to have been murdered, and having regard to the fact that the law of Natal is alleged by the Government of Natal to be the same in this respect as the law of Cape Colony, His Majesty's Government will at once obtain the opinion of the Attorney-General of Cape Colony upon the point.

Colonel SEELY: I cannot add anything to the information already given; the Natal Attorney-General states that the preliminary examination is being conducted without avoidable delay. I am sure the House will appreciate that the Secretary of State could not undertake to consult the Attorney-General of one responsibly governed Colony with regard to the proceedings of the authorities in another.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Is it not the case that by means of this, a so-called preliminary investigation has lasted eleven months without a charge being formulated?

Colonel SEELY: I have said there has been a regrettable delay.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Was not this particular prisoner arrested under a general warrant?

Colonel SEELY: A general warrant in a technical sense, but not really so.

### Emigration to Canada.

Earl WINTERTON (Sussex, Horsham): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if his attention has been called to the growing dissatisfaction on the part of the Parliament and people of the Dominion of Canada with the system adopted by certain charitable agencies in this country of paying the cost of the migration of persons of known bad character and proved unfitness for work to the Dominion; and whether the Secretary of State will consider the advisability of issuing a Memorandum to all such agencies urging them in future to encourage all undesirables who wish to emigrate to go, not to the Dominion or to any portion of the British Empire, but to some other undeveloped country.

Colonel SEELY: The Canadian Government have already taken steps to supervise the action of charitable agencies in this country in sending emigrants to Canada by prescribing that after the 15th of April last all emigrants sent to Canada by such agencies must obtain certificates from the Canadian emigration authorities that they are suitable settlers for Canada. A warning to this effect is printed in the quarterly circular issued by the Emigrants' Information Office.

Sir GILBERT PARKER: When the hon. Gentleman speaks of "emigration authorities" does he mean those here or in Canada?

Colonel SEELY: Those here.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY asked if the Canadian Government were not paying a bounty of £1 per head for all emigrants from Ireland. Would copies of the warning be sent to the Irish emigration agents?

Colonel SEELY: It is circulated to all emigration offices. I will see that it is sent to those in Ireland.

Mr. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Is it the intention of the Government to secure for the Colonies the pick of the people of our own country and to leave us with the remnants?

Colonel SEELY: No; the hon. Member must not assume anything of the kind.

### Canada and Asiatic Immigration.

Earl WINTERTON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the Report made by the Hon. Mackenzie King, Canadian Minister of Labour, on the subject of his conference with His Majesty's Government with regard to a solution of the Asiatic immigration problem in the Dominion.

COLONEL SEELY: The Report has not yet been received.

### The Arrest of Mr. Luxenburg.

SIR WILLIAM BULL (Hammersmith): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what steps have yet been taken towards putting forward Mr. Nicholas Luxenberg's claim against the Russian Government for his arrest and imprisonment at Odessa in March last, or what further information is required before a claim is put forward by the Government on Mr. Luxenburg's behalf.

MR. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden; for Sir EDWARD GREY): My right hon. friend expects to receive soon from St. Petersburg a Memorandum as to the reasons for Mr. Luxenburg's arrest in the first instance. When that is received he will have it, together with Mr. Luxenburg's statement, considered here to determine whether there is any ground on which a claim for compensation can be founded. My right hon. friend cannot make any statement till he has the facts before him.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): How soon may we expect a statement?

MR. J. A. PEASE: I understand the preparation of the case will not take very many days.

### Asiatics at Mozambique.

SIR WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the regulations recently published by the authorities of the Portuguese province of Mozambique, and especially to the differential treatment under which our Asiatic fellow subjects will labour compared with that of Asiatics who are subjects of the Portuguese Government; and will he say if he proposes to take any, and, if any, what, action in the matter.

MR. J. A. PEASE: The regulations referred to have not been brought to the notice of my right hon. friend, but he will make inquiries on the subject.

### Gun-running in the Persian Gulf.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give the House any information regarding the "Proserpine's" encounter with certain gun-running dhows in the Persian Gulf.

MR. J. A. PEASE: On 20th April while the boats from His Majesty's ship "Proserpine" were searching two dhows suspected of carrying arms, which were at anchor close to the shore near Banji, north of Jask, heavy rifle fire was opened upon them by armed gun-runners. The boats returned safely to the ship, but one seaman was killed and one so severely wounded that he subseqently succumbed to his injuries. Any further Question on this subject should be addressed to the Admiralty.

### Imports of Hops.

MR. B. S. STRAUS (Tower Hamlets, Mile End): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can give the amount of hops imported into this country up to 1st May this year, and the average amount imported during a similar period for the last five years; and whether there has been an increase in the importation of hops since the agitation to put a duty upon hops commenced some time ago.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. CHURCHILL, Dundee): The quantity of hops imported into this country during the first four months of this year was 150,758 cwts. The average quantity imported during the corresponding period of the five previous years was 63,609 cwts. In view of the large fluctuations in the imports of hops, I propose to give the monthly figures for the last five years in the Votes. These figures will afford the information asked for in the last part of the Question.

Appended is the Table above referred to:—

The following table shows the quantity of Hops imported into the United Kingdom in each month of each of the years from 1903 to 1907 inclusive, and in each of the first four months of 1908.

| Months. | Years. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. |
| | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. |
| January - - | 21,372 | 46,922 | 11,091 | 30,578 | 28,827 | 34,980 |
| February - - | 8,613 | 31,720 | 7,833 | 27,810 | 24,346 | 24,978 |
| March - - | 5,256 | 6,949 | 3,372 | 11,609 | 13,811 | 33,279 |
| April - - | 3,095 | 4,270 | 5,215 | 14,129 | 11,476 | 57,521 |
| May - - - | 2,455 | 3,434 | 3,204 | 4,399 | 5,789 | — |
| June - - - | 6,632 | 2,481 | 1,521 | 10,271 | 6,232 | — |
| July - - - | 5,493 | 3,014 | 522 | 14,249 | 16,247 | — |
| August - - | 5,684 | 5,483 | 1,529 | 5,756 | 13,013 | — |
| September - - | 10,953 | 28,117 | 4,606 | 9,032 | 9,603 | — |
| October - - | 6,278 | 65,530 | 14,165 | 23,092 | 24,290 | — |
| November - - | 14,075 | 67,505 | 22,593 | 50,847 | 29,065 | — |
| December - - | 24,092 | 48,242 | 33,252 | 30,847 | 19,625 | — |
| Total for the Year - - | 113,998 | 313,667 | 108,953* | 232,619 | 202,324 | — |

* Revised figure. The total of the separate monthly amounts is 108,903 cwts.

Mr. **STANLEY WILSON** (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness): May I ask if the right hon. Gentleman intends to do anything to save this important industry?

[No Answer was returned.]

Sir **GILBERT PARKER**: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, what were the average importations of hops for the five-year periods 1876-80, 1881-85, 1886-90, 1891-95, 1896-1900, 1901-1906, and also for the year 1907, respectively; what were the average exports of hops for the same period; what is the estimated value of hops imported and exported for the periods named, respectively; what was the amount of hops used in the brewing industry in the year 1907 and the value thereof; and what was the value of the hop substitutes employed in the brewing industry during the year 1907.

Mr. **CHURCHILL**: I will have a statement with regard to the imports and exports of hops in the years mentioned printed in the Votes. In the year ended September 30th, 1907, 624,432 cwts. of hops and 263 cwts. of hop substitutes were used for brewing in the United Kingdom, but I am unable to give any information as to their value.

Appended is the statement referred to:—

The following statement shows the quantity and value of hops imported into and exported from the United Kingdom in the years and periods referred to in the Question :—

| Year, &c. | Quantities. | | | Values. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Imports into the United Kingdom. | Exports of British Hops. | Foreign and Colonial Hops re-exported. | Imports into the United Kingdom. | Exports of British Hops. | Foreign and Colonial Hops re-exported. |
| | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. | £ | £ | £ |
| 1876 - - - - | 167,366 | 20,305 | 17,307 | 763,440 | 144,736 | 94,104 |
| 1877 - - - - | 250,039 | 13,508 | 5,624 | 1,170,621 | 88,635 | 28,175 |
| 1878 - - - - | 168,834 | 12,520 | 4,804 | 631,567 | 57,220 | 15,751 |
| 1879 - - - - | 262,765 | 7,153 | 2,355 | 1,217,938 | 43,771 | 12,222 |
| 1880 - - - - | 195,987 | 9,018 | 11,874 | 900,891 | 52,647 | 33,392 |
| Annual Average, 1876-1880 - - | 208,998 | 12,501 | 8,393 | 936,891 | 77,402 | 36,729 |
| 1881 - - - - | 147,559 | 13,727 | 9,463 | 695,297 | 81,078 | 29,605 |
| 1882 - - - - | 319,620 | 8,186 | 5,908 | 2,962,631 | 81,534 | 47,087 |
| 1883 - - - - | 129,900 | 8,787 | 14,025 | 1,089,246 | 90,462 | 197,686 |
| 1884 - - - - | 256,777 | 8,913 | 9,343 | 1,615,309 | 55,234 | 43,833 |
| 1885 - - - - | 266,952 | 7,094 | 7,364 | 1,001,728 | 40,410 | 21,361 |
| Annual Average, 1881-1885 - - | 224,162 | 9,341 | 9,221 | 1,472,842 | 69,744 | 67,914 |
| 1886 - - - - | 153,759 | 19,142 | 50,181 | 447,253 | 70,752 | 153,654 |
| 1887 - - - - | 145,122 | 12,515 | 15,245 | 427,753 | 49,994 | 32,096 |
| 1888 - - - - | 216,606 | 8,289 | 6,522 | 799,391 | 48,382 | 20,479 |
| 1889 - - - - | 199,384 | 10,293 | 7,748 | 713,094 | 51,012 | 32,248 |
| 1890 - - - - | 188,028 | 6,164 | 6,330 | 877,704 | 49,509 | 25,994 |
| Annual Average, 1886–1890 - - | 180,580 | 11,281 | 17,205 | 653,039 | 53,930 | 52,894 |
| 1891 - - - - | 195,266 | 5,763 | 3,977 | 980,050 | 45,909 | 23,886 |
| 1892 - - - - | 187,507 | 5,798 | 4,875 | 960,280 | 41,955 | 27,453 |
| 1893 - - - - | 204,392 | 11,584 | 7,092 | 1,141,294 | 79,884 | 33,694 |
| 1894 - - - - | 189,155 | 13,317 | 7,522 | 774,378 | 65,388 | 25,519 |
| 1895 - - - - | 217,161 | 10,145 | 2,929 | 644,505 | 37,160 | 10,745 |
| Annual Average, 1891–1895 - - | 198,696 | 9,321 | 5,279 | 900,101 | 54,059 | 24,259 |
| 1896 - - - - | 207,041 | 10,505 | 2,798 | 591,582 | 34,548 | 8,011 |
| 1897 - - - - | 164,154 | 10,779 | 4,715 | 524,297 | 43,841 | 8,661 |
| 1898 - - - - | 244,136 | 12,955 | 7,434 | 1,030,140 | 71,321 | 26,983 |
| 1899 - - - - | 180,233 | 11,310 | 3,297 | 809,842 | 65,325 | 16,715 |
| 1900 - - - - | 198,494 | 14,999 | 3,586 | 795,479 | 63,526 | 10,005 |
| Annual Average, 1896-1900 - - | 198,812 | 12,110 | 4,366 | 750,268 | 55,712 | 14,075 |
| 1901 - - - - | 116,042 | 18,192 | 4,906 | 461,355 | 79,575 | 18,305 |
| 1902 - - - - | 191,324 | 15,785 | 7,450 | 798,586 | 68,830 | 21,401 |
| 1903 - - - - | 113,998 | 22,317 | 7,962 | 578,739 | 125,826 | 44,773 |
| 1904 - - - - | 313,667 | 13,878 | 6,191 | 1,839,854 | 104,846 | 32,497 |
| 1905 - - - - | 108,953 | 16,254 | 9,421 | 456,280 | 80,986 | 51,561 |
| Annual Average, 1901–1905 - - | 168,797 | 17,285 | 7,186 | 826,963 | 92,013 | 33,707 |
| 1906 - - - - | 232,619 | 11,608 | 3,128 | 852,476 | 57,053 | 11,611 |
| 1907 - - - - | 202,324 | 10,435 | 6,770 | 764,881 | 48,731 | 24,684 |

### Extension of Empire.

Mr. VERNEY (Buckinghamshire, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the prospective financial liabilities incurred by the acquisition of fresh territory and the political issues involved, the Government will give the House of Commons an opportunity of discussing any proposed enlargement of British territory before an arrangement involving such enlargement is finally concluded.

Mr. J. A. PEASE: My right hon. friend cannot promise any except the usual opportunities for discussion on the Foreign Office Vote, and the other occasions which occur normally in the course of the session. He can give no special engagement which would not be in accordance with precedent.

### Great Britain and Siam.

Mr. VERNEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is now in a position to state the terms of any proposed agreement with the Siamese Government in regard to the modification of existing treaties which deals with extra-territorial jurisdiction.

Mr. J. A. PEASE: The Answer is in the negative.

### Irish Land Act Finance.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he expects to be in a position to announce before Whitsuntide the plan of the Government for removing the financial difficulties which hinder the operation of the Irish Land Act of 1903.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs): I fear that at present I cannot make any statement with regard to the date at which the decision of the Government can be announced.

Mr. LONSDALE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Prime Minister told a deputation recently "I am quite certain that by the time Parliament meets we shall be in a position to tell the House of Commons what our plans are for removing the financial block in the working of the Act." What has been the cause of the delay?

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.): I will answer that. Almost the moment after Parliament met we had the Report of a Departmental Committee on the subject, and our anxiety has been to get the views thereon of the various Irish interests concerned. Hence the delay.

### London Meat Trade.

Mr. BOWERMAN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the fact that Messrs. Armour and Company, meat packers of Chicago, are calling up £1,000,000 new capital for the purpose of opening in London and the provinces retail shops for the direct supply of their meat to the consumer, avoiding Smithfield market and the tolls and charges there levied; and will he say whether he proposes to take any steps, by legislation or otherwise, to prevent a scheme which will destroy the business of English butchers and meat salesmen, who cannot compete with American packers permitted to trade on such terms.

Mr. CHURCHILL: I understand from Messrs. Armour that the Company have not called up any new capital, and that they have no intention of opening retail shops in London or the provinces.

Mr. BOWERMAN: Can the right hon. Gentleman state how many butchers' and meat salesmen's businesses in Smithfield and elsewhere have already been acquired or financed with the object of obtaining such control as to compel them to sell imported American beef alone?

Mr. CHURCHILL: That is a very important Question, and I could do more justice to it if the hon. Gentleman would give me notice.

Mr. WATT (Glasgow, College): Will the right hon. Gentleman introduce legislation to permit the free importation of Canadian cattle?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Sir F. BANBURY (City of London): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he intends to protect the trade of English butchers?

MR. CHURCHILL: That is a Question of which I must have notice.

### German and British Trade Statistics.

EARL OF RONALDSHAY (Middlesex, Hornsey): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the trade of Germany for the first quarter of 1908 shows an increase or a decrease over the trade of that country for the same period of 1907, and to what extent; and whether the trade of Great Britain for the first quarter of 1908 shows an increase or a decrease over her trade for the same period of 1907, and to what extent.

MR. CHURCHILL: The system under which the quarterly statistics of German trade are compiled renders it impossible to make an exact comparison of the nature indicated by the noble Lord. Our own statistics of imports and exports are based on the values ruling at the time as declared by importers and exporters, whereas the only statistics available of the foreign trade of Germany during the first quarter of the year 1908 are based for the most part on the official average values of the various commodities ruling in 1907. Thus the German imports for home consumption in the quarter compiled on the basis above indicated showed an increase of about £1,600,000, and the German exports of domestic produce an increase of £900,000, while our own imports for home consumption showed a decrease of £4,100,000 and our exports of domestic produce a decrease of £2,600,000. If, however, the factor of the fall in prices which has occurred in respect of many important commodities could be allowed for in the German Returns it is believed that they, like our own, would show decreases for both imports and exports.

### Hop Imports.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE (Dumbartonshire): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, what were the amounts of hops imported into the United Kingdom during the year 1907, from British Possessions and from foreign countries, respectively.

MR. CHURCHILL: During 1907, 199,222 cwts. of hops were imported into the United Kingdom from foreign countries, and 3,102 cwts. from British Possessions.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE: In the proposals that have been made to the right hon. Gentleman for taxing imported hops, is it proposed to tax Colonial hops as well as foreign hops?

MR. CHURCHILL: No proposals have been made to me to tax imported hops.

### Hops for Scottish Brewers.

MR. DUNDAS WHITE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what was the amount of hops and the value thereof used in brewing in Scotland during the year 1907; and what amount, if any, of these were grown in Scotland.

MR. CHURCHILL: During the year ended September 30th, 1907, the quantity of hops used for brewing in Scotland was 30,499 cwts. but I am unable to give any information as to their value. So far as I am aware no hops are grown in Scotland.

### Unemployment Benefits.

MR. GOULDING (Worcester): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, if he can give any information as to unemployment among members of trade unions which do not give any unemployed benefit. I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he has any information which would enable him to estimate the extent of unemployment among unorganised and non-trade unionist workers.

MR. CHURCHILL: There is no information available as to the number of members who are unemployed belonging to trade unions who do not give unemployed benefit; nor is there any source so far as I am aware which would enable me to frame a statistical estimate of the numbers unemployed among unorganised and non-union workers. Such information as is received by the Board of Trade from employers and workpeople and their organisations, and from other sources on the state of employment is regularly utilised for the purposes of the articles on the state of employment in the principal industries given in the monthly Board of Trade Labour Gazette.

MR. GOULDING: As it is of great importance to have accurate figures in regard to unemployment in the case of non-trade union workers, will the right hon. Gentleman ascertain what steps can be taken to secure them for the House and the country?

MR. CHURCHILL: I admit it is a very important matter and I have every desire to give all possible information, but I am not sure it is possible to make very great advance in our present methods of acquiring information.

MR. GOULDING: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of appointing a Sub-Committee to advise on the matter?

MR. CHURCHILL: I am bound to consider the matter if the hon. Member brings it before the House.

EARL WINTERTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of forming a branch of the Board of Trade on the same lines as the German Imperial Statistical Bureau?

MR. CHURCHILL: Not on the spur of the moment.

### Canadian Wheat Exports.

MR. GOULDING: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the United States Treasury returns indicate the amount of Canadian wheat exported from the United States as flour mixed or not mixed with United States flour; and, if so, will he state what the quantity was in recent years, and the amount of rebate paid on the same bv the United States Treasury.

MR. CHURCHILL: The quantity of imported wheat milled in the United States and exported with benefit of drawback was 85,905 Imperial quarters in the year ended 30th June, 1905, and 55,795 Imperial quarters in the following year, the latest for which the information was available. The net drawback paid was £36,543 in the former and £23,369 in the latter year. The figures do not distinguish wheat of Canadian origin, but no doubt most of the wheat referred to was Canadian.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Canadian wheat imported into the United States for milling purposes enters duty free?

MR. CHURCHILL: I should like notice of that Question.

### Merionethshire School Dispute.

MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether the salaries of teachers in Church of England schools in Merionethshire are now being paid by the local education authority or by the Board of Education under the Local Authority Default Act, 1904.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury): The Board understood that the salaries which became due at the last quarter day would be paid by the local education authority. In any case no payments in respect of any of the March salaries have been made by the Board of Education under the Local Authority Default Act, 1904, and the Board have no reason to believe that any salaries remain unpaid.

### Port of London Customs Watchers.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to a Report recently issued by a committee of the Board of Customs recommending that the watchers of the port of London should be quartered in different huts from those occupied by their superior officers, on the ground, amongst others, that they belong to a lower social class; whether he has seen a protest, signed by 500 watchers, in which it is pointed out that they comprise men who have held responsible positions in the Navy, Army, and police, and hold certificates for good conduct and life pensions, and that their duties bring them into hourly contact with their superior officers, and demanding an apology for what they regard as an insult to their body; and whether it is proposed to act upon the committee's recommendation, or what other steps, if any, are to be taken in regard to it.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): The Board of Customs inform me that the statement referred to is an expression of opinion contained in an exhaustive and valuable Report from a Departmental Committee appointed by them to advise as to the necessity for improvements in the office accommodation in the port of London. As copies of the Committee's Report were distributed to supervising officers only, and it has not been made public, I am at a loss to understand how access to it has been obtained by the watchers. I have received through the hon. Member privately a copy of the protest referred to, but I understand that it has not been submitted by the men to the Board. In these circumstances I cannot undertake to consider it. I may point out, however, that the desirability of providing separate accommodation for persons in responsible and subordinate positions is generally recognised by private employers as well as in public departments, and that I do not see any reason for interfering with the discretion of the Board in a matter of this kind.

MR. CROOKS asked if the presentation of the memorial would be prejudicial to the men.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I do not think so.

### Belfast Graving Docks Contract.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that in the agreement made between the Belfast Harbour Commissioners and Messrs. Middleton, Scott, and Company, contractors for the new graving dock at Belfast, power is given to the contractors to sub-let the brickwork part of the contract; whether the practice of sub-letting public contracts has been condemned by resolution of the House of Commons, and is not allowed by the Irish Local Government Board, and, if so, why no similar control is exercised over the harbour trusts; and whether, if the facts are as stated, he will exercise his powers to prevent the practice in the case of these trusts.

MR. CHURCHILL: I have no legal power to interfere with regard to contracts made by Harbour Boards. I am, however, informed by the Belfast Harbour Commissioners that the contract entered into by them with Messrs. Middleton, Scott, and Company, contains a clause providing that sub-contracts for supply of "materials or certain manufactured works" may be made with the approval of the Commissioners' engineer, but that any such sub-contract shall not relieve the contractors from any duties and liabilities under their contract, any acts or defaults on the part of the sub-contractor being treated as the acts or defaults of the contractors. The late Engineer to the Harbour Board gave the necessary approval to the sub-letting of the brick work part of the contract in October, 1904, and the arrangement is still in force. It is the case that on the 13th February, 1891, the House of Commons passed a Resolution that in their opinion it was "the duty of the Government in all Government contracts to make provision against the evils recently disclosed before the Sweating Committee, to insert such conditions as may prevent the abuse arising from sub-letting, and to make every effort to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen," but this Resolution did not of course apply to bodies other than Government Departments. The Irish Local Government Board inform me that they have no specific regulation on the subject of sub-letting, each case being dealt with on its merits, and that they are not prepared to say that sub-letting is objectionable in every instance.

### Castleblayney, Keady, and Armagh Railway.

MR. McKEAN (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can say what was the time specified for completion in the original Act of the Castleblayney, Keady, and Armagh Railway; and what extensions of time have since been granted to the company; whether he is aware that the works between Keady and Castleblayney have been idle and derelict, with the exception of a few odd days, for over twelve months, that there is no sign of the re-starting of the works, and that the work of arbitration is still incomplete; and whether, seeing that the farmers through whose lands the works pass suffer by trespass, loss of cattle, and want of privacy and protection by reason of the unfinished state of affairs; and that many of the roads on which overhead and underground bridges are proposed, and proposed accommodation roads, are in such a state as seriously to interfere with traffic, and also prevent farmers from the use of threshing mills, and such similar conveniences in their farming pursuits, he will say what steps will be taken by the Board of Trade to have the Act carried to immediate completion.

MR. CHURCHILL: The time originally specified for the completion of this railway was five years from the 8th August, 1900, and it was subsequently extended by Parliament to the 29th November, 1909. I am informed by the Company that the contractor for the railway commenced work about the beginning of the year 1904, and proceeded therewith until the middle of December, 1907, when he stopped working. He resumed in January last, but the company's engineer having recently advised the directors that inadequate progress was being made, they are now in a position to take steps to obtain possession of the works and complete them themselves, and this they propose to do as soon as possible.

MR. MCKEAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the facts disclosed in the Question constitute the practice of the companies who obtain powers to construct lines which would be for the public good, but do not intend to use them because they would not prove profitable to the company? Will he take steps to compel the companies to carry out these powers?

MR. CHURCHILL: I think the steps I have indicated as to be taken in this case will be effective.

MR. MCKEAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman take steps to compel railway companies generally to carry out these powers?

MR. CHURCHILL: That is a Question of too wide a scope for me to answer offhand.

**Whaling Station on the Mayo Coast.**

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that a Norwegian company is about to establish a whaling station on the island of Iniskea, on the coast of Mayo; and whether, seeing that whaling stations are detrimental to the fishing industry, and that the inhabitants who are about to be affected by the particular station in question have strongly protested against its establishment, he will decline to give permission to the company to erect it.

MR. CHURCHILL: An application has been made to the Board of Trade for their consent so far as foreshore and navigation are concerned to the erection of a wharf slipway and landing stage in connection with a whaling station at Rusheen Island, adjacent to Iniskea. The Board have caused the application to be advertised and have received a number of objections, which will receive due consideration on their merits and upon grounds of general policy. I observe, however, that these objections appear to relate not so much to the provision of landing facilities on the foreshore as to the establishment of a whaling station, which is a question to be dealt with by the Department of Agriculture under the Fishery Acts rather than by the Board of Trade, who have no jurisdiction to prevent or regulate the use of the buildings which have been erected above high water mark for whaling or other purposes. The Board are in correspondence with the Department of Agriculture on the subject.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Norwegians have absolutely driven whaling stations from their coasts on account of the damage done to the herring fishery? Is he also aware that their establishment on the west coast of Shetland was followed by a great diminution in the catch of herrings there?

MR. CHURCHILL: That is an aspect of the case primarily for the Board of Agriculture to consider. I am in communication with that body, and if they report there is a likelihood of injurious results they may rely on the effective co-operation of the Board of Trade.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware the whaling factories have simply followed the whales and for no other reason?

[No Answer was returned.]

### The Licensing Bill.

SIR F. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in the event of it becoming necessary to move to fix a time limit to the discussion of the Licensing Bill in Committee, he will favourably consider the procedure suggested in a Motion on to-day's Paper for a new Standing Order to secure priority, in such cases, for Amendments raising the more important issues.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): My hon. friend's suggestion shall be carefully considered.

### Irish Administration.

MR. MULDOON (Wicklow, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister, having regard to the fact that the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is primarily responsible for the government of Ireland, whether his attention has been directed to numerous cases in which the heads of other Departments of State, the jurisdiction of which extends to that country, have discharged duties there involving questions of the highest importance in reference to policy and administration without consultation with him; and whether, as Prime Minister, he will take any steps to insure that as regards Ireland the action of every Department shall be subject to the control and authority of the Chief Secretary.

MR. ASQUITH: While it is true in a sense that the Chief Secretary is primarily responsible for the government of Ireland, there are other Departments of State which exercise jurisdiction over the United Kingdom generally, and it would require elaborate and far-reaching legislation in order to bring the action of these Departments in regard to Ireland under the control of the Chief Secretary. Such Departments are, *e.g.*, the Home Office, Board of Trade, Post Office, Inland Revenue, and primarily the Board of Works, which is under the control of the Treasury; but as to this last-named Department it is to be remembered that the Irish Council Bill of last year brought it under the control of the proposed Irish Council, but the Bill was rejected.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that appointments have recently been made in Ireland of which the Chief Secretary knows as much or as little as the man in the moon?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Whitsuntide Holidays.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he can give the House any information regarding the date and duration of the Whitsuntide holidays.

MR. ASQUITH: It is proposed that the House shall rise after its sitting on Thursday, June 4th, and resume on the following Wednesday, June 10th.

### Irish Supply.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he will consult the wishes of the Irish Unionist Members in regard to the Votes to be considered upon one of the three allotted days allocated to Irish Supply.

MR. ASQUITH: I should like before giving a definite Answer to this Question to have a full opportunity of considering the precedents.

MR. LONSDALE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware it has been the invariable practice since the Supply Rule was established to acknowledge some priority of claim on the part of the Opposition to select the Vote to be discussed?

MR. ASQUITH: I am aware of that. I am considering the matter, if the hon. Member will only give me time.

### East Wolverhampton Election.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that on the day of the poll in the recent by-election in East Wolverhampton a body of workmen employed at the Patent Axle Box Works, Wednesfield, were marched in procession to the polling booth with the Tariff Reform candidate at their head, and that it is stated that many of those in the procession were pressed to do so; whether he will cause inquiry to be made into this allegation of intimidation; and whether he will recommend at an early date some amendment of the present law to prevent the recurrence of such practices.

MR. ASQUITH: I am not acquainted with the facts. If the hon. Member thinks there is ground for the suggestion that the law was violated the facts should be laid before the Public Prosecutor. I cannot, in the circumstances, say whether a case is made out for the amendment of the existing law.

EARL WINTERTON: If the right hon. Gentleman makes any inquiry will he enlarge its scope to take into consideration the alleged intimidation by trade unions in compelling their members to pay for the support of certain political candidates?

[No Answer was returned.]

### Supply Discussions.

SIR F. CHANNING: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether arrangements can be made in future to put down for each allotted day in Supply a sufficient number of important Votes for discussion to insure that the whole of each allotted day shall be occupied, and a larger number of Votes in Supply passed in the ordinary way after discussion instead of under the Closure rule at the end of the session.

MR. ASQUITH: A sufficient number of Votes are put on the Order Paper for each allotted day in Supply to occupy the time of the House, in the ordinary course, until eleven o'clock, though it sometimes happens by arrangement that certain of those Votes which are down for a particular day are postponed.

### Malicious Injuries (Ireland) Bill.

MR. MULDOON (Wicklow, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the adjournment of Parliament on the 6th April last, consequent upon the resignation of the late Prime Minister, prevented the House of Commons discussing and reading a second time the Malicious Injuries (Ireland) Bill, which was the First Order on the 10th April; and whether, having regard to the circumstances under which the adjournment took place and its results, and to the importance attached in Ireland to an amendment of the law upon this subject, he can see his way to granting an early day for the Second Reading of the Bill.

MR. ASQUITH: Having regard to the state of public business I regret that I am unable to give special facilities for the Bill in question.

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## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Will you permit me, Mr. Speaker, to ask Question 103, which has not been reached, but which is of urgent importance in view of the approaching discussions on the Budget Resolutions?

The question was as follows—

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is proposed to charge the same duty on Irish-grown tobacco as on foreign imported tobacco; and whether, in view of the fact that the Irish tobacco industry was stamped out by Act of Parliament, some remission of taxation on Irish-grown tobacco can now be given to help a reviving industry, with a view to giving much sorely-needed employment in Ireland.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will get an Answer to-morrow morning.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: But may I put it now? I desire to ask a supplementary Question.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot ask a question supplemental to one which has not been put.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: But as the Budget Resolutions will very shortly be discussed it would be impossible for me to put down this Question in time to get an Answer before that discussion takes place.

*MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will put the supplementary Question down to-day he will get an answer on Wednesday.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Yes, but a supplementary Question loses all its virtue when not put across the floor of the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) said he understood that a very large number of Members desired to take part in the debate on the Education Bill. If the Prime Minister found that that was the general view of the House, he hoped he would be in a position to allow the debate to go on till Wednesday.

MR. ASQUITH, after warmly congratulating the right hon. Gentleman on his return to the House, said that, having taken such opportunities as he had of ascertaining the state of opinion in all quarters of the House, he had come to the conclusion that, on the whole, it would be right to allow the debate to go on till Wednesday. The division would be taken before the dinner-hour on that day.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.): What about the Budget Resolutions?

MR. ASQUITH said the income-tax Resolution would be taken on Monday.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked when there would be an opportunity of discussing the tobacco duty Resolution.

MR. ASQUITH said there would be a number of opportunities—on the Report of the Resolution, on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill, and again in Committee on the Bill.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: When will the Report stage be taken?

MR. ASQUITH: I cannot say yet.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND gave notice that, on the Report of the Resolution, he would call attention to the fact that the duty on tobacco grown in Ireland was as large as that on foreign-grown tobacco, and move that, in the interests of a local industry which gave employment to a large number of people, a smaller duty be placed on Irish-grown tobacco.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: Can the right hon. Gentleman indicate when the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill will be taken?

MR. ASQUITH: I must have notice of that.

## STANDING ORDERS.

Ordered, That so much of Standing Order 91 as fixes Five as the quorum of the Select Committee be read and suspended.

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the session, Three be the quorum of the Committee.—(*Mr. Ellis.*)

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## NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Belville Stanier, Esq., for the county of Salop (Northern or Newport Division).

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## MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to provide for the Closing of Shops and the prohibition of Street Trading on Sunday." [Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill [Lords.]

And also a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law with respect to Small Holdings and Allotments in Scotland." [Small Holdings and Allotments (Scotland) Bill [Lords.]

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## MONUMENT TO SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT, Oldham, in the Chair.]

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): Three weeks ago this House paid to the memory of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman the special tribute of affection and reverence which was due from us to one who was not only the head of His Majesty's Government, but the Leader and father of the House of Commons. To-day I am confident that, by adopting with unanimity the Resolution which has just been read from the Chair, the House, on behalf of the whole nation, will express its desire that the eminent services to the State of our late Prime Minister should be commemorated by a monument to be set up at the public expense in Westminster Abbey. This form of recognition, which, I need not say, goes a long way back in our history, though for a time it fell into abeyance, has now been followed for many years past in the case of men who have held the highest office under the Crown. It was adopted in regard to Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Salisbury. We propose to-day, with, I believe, the heartfelt concurrence of the whole people, to add the name of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to that illustrious roll. The mere mention of the names I have just enumerated, calling up, as each of them does, to our minds the personality and the achievements of the great man by whom it was borne, can hardly fail to cause us to reflect from what an amplitude of resources and with what an infinite diversity of gifts this country of ours is served. We are under no temptation upon occasions like this to enter into comparisons or contrasts between this man and that. We do not attempt, we ought not to attempt, to anticipate the judgment of posterity, and to weigh, in any nicely-adjusted balance, the relative quota of their several contributions to the common stock of counsel and policy. We forget for the moment even the controversies in which they took part, the strife and the tumult in which so much of their days and nights were spent, the ebb and flow of their party and political fortunes. We remember only, in gratitude and with honour, that each of them in his turn gave all that he had to the public service, and did what in him lay, in his day and generation, to leave his country greater and happier than he found it. That is their title, the best and the only title, to perpetual commemoration within the walls of the Abbey which is consecrated to our immortal dead, and it is a title which was worthily won for himself by the leader whom we have lost.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying that His Majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the late Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with an inscription expressive of the high sense entertained by this House of the eminent services rendered by him to the country in Parliament and in great offices of State, and to assure His Majesty that this House will make good the expenses attending the same."—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

MR. BALFOUR (City of London): It is impossible for me to add anything to the substance of what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, and still more impossible for me to improve upon the form in which the substance of his remarks was couched. The Resolution which has been put from the Chair is, I take it, the natural, fitting, and appropriate corollary of what passed in this House when I, unhappily, was absent only a few weeks ago; and as every Member of this House and every party in this House was unanimous in expressing its high appreciation of the character and public services of the late Prime Minister, so, I am convinced, there will not be less unanimity in voting public money for a permanent memorial of his fame. The right hon. Gentleman has proposed, in the first place, that Parliament should provide money for a public memorial, and, in the second place, that that public memorial should be placed in Westminster Abbey. To both propositions I give my hearty assent, and, I may say, that of my friends. As regards the second proposition, I should hope, while we are all unanimous and anxious to see the statue of the late Prime Minister added to the illustrious band of statesmen, that this may be the last occasion on which the House will vote public money for a monument in Westminster Abbey. But that is a topic, as we are all agreed that a memorial of the late Prime Minister should be placed there, on which I only make a personal observation—though I feel very strongly about it—parenthetically and in passing. The practice to which the right hon. Gentleman referred has indeed not been a universal practice. It has had exceptions even in the period to which he more particularly referred, for I think I am right in saying that no public money was voted for the statue of Lord John Russell. Before the time of Lord Palmerston's death, some of the most illustrious of our Prime Ministers had no statue, or no statue contributed at the public cost in that great Abbey. But I think it is well that the late Prime Minister should have among his predecessors an honoured place. We all feel that in him we have lost a man of high character and great attainments. We may say of him, that for forty years he was an honoured Member of this House, he led the Opposition, he led the House of Commons, and he died practically in office. I believe that these four statements cannot be made of any single one of his predecessors in the long roll of British Prime Ministers. For these reasons, if for no other, I cordially second the proposal made by the Prime Minister, and I rejoice to think that a permanent memorial of the late honoured statesman would be there in that great city, reminding us all how transitory are the controversies which divide politicians, and how permanent is the gratitude which the country owes to those who have done it service.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I feel profoundly that not a single word is necessary by way of addition to the eloquent panegyrics pronounced by both right hon. Gentlemen on the honourable career and the great and lovable qualities of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Yet I daresay the House will recognise that it is fitting that the voice of Ireland should be heard upon this occasion, associating her directly with this project to do honour to his memory. My words will be few and they will be very simple. In the past, as a rule, the Irish Nationalist Party has held aloof from all ceremonial proceedings in which this House as a whole took part. That was due to the fact that we are not willingly here, that though we are in this House we are not really of it, that we have not come here to merge ourselves in this Assembly or to acquiesce in its proceedings, but, rather, that we have come here to protest against a system of which it is the symbol and the instrument. We have felt, therefore, that on the whole, upon these occasions, it was more proper for us to abstain from associating either ourselves or our country with proceedings of this kind, in which the British Parliament was engaged in honouring British statesmen. But we made an exception on the death of Mr. Gladstone, and we make an exception to-day in the case of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The name of the late Prime Minister will not go down in history as associated with any very great achievement for Ireland. But it was not his fault. He did his best for Ireland, and everyone of us believes that in him Ireland had an honest and true friend, a friend of her material advancement and a friend of her national freedom. This statue which is about to be voted will be erected at the expense of the people of all these countries, the rich and the poor alike, the people of England, of Scotland, of Ireland and of Wales. Of these countries Ireland is the poorest; of their peoples, the Irish are the most sorely oppressed by the weight of taxation, but there is no Irishman so poor as to begrudge his mite towards honouring the memory of this kindly, brave, and consistent friend of our country. This British Parliament does well in honouring the memory of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. For my part I may be allowed to say that I will always look back with intense pleasure to the fact that it has been my lot on this occasion, on behalf of all of my colleagues, and in the name of my country, to lay this little wreath of shamrocks upon his grave.

SIR ALFRED THOMAS (Glamorganshire, E.) said: It is most fitting that a monument be erected to the memory of one whose name is enrolled among the great and good of our nation. It will serve to point to what sublime height can be reached through the power and inspiration of character. The sculptor who will be entrusted with this work is to be envied, for he will find ready fashioned a model of his subject enshrined in the heart of every man who knew him. May it ever be the good fortune of our country to be served by men so disinterested, so unselfish, and of whom posterity may say, as can be so truly said of him: "All his ends were his country's, his God's, and truth's."

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. McKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): I rise to move the Second

Reading of this Bill. When introducing it last February, I endeavoured to give a full explanation of its provisions, and though it might be expected that the subject would be received with varying degrees of warmth, I cannot complain that its terms were misunderstood, nor, in the circumstances, did I think that it would have been necessary for me to trouble the House with a second speech, at any rate, at this stage of the debate. But it so happens that there has been a change which gives occasion for some preliminary statement, and by the wish of my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Education, the duty of making that statement falls to me. I am not referring to the change that has taken place in the office of the Presidency of the Board of Education. That is a matter of merely personal interest, and indicates no change whatever in the policy of the Government. But what I have in mind is what I think the House would like to have introduced into the debate in its earliest stage, and that is the consideration of the introduction in another place of the much discussed Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The Bill introduced by the Bishop of St. Asaph cannot be treated as an ordinary Bill introduced by an unofficial Member. If I were to criticise it on the ground of its incompleteness, of its technical defects, or of the impossibility of its application in its present form, I should be misunderstanding its purpose, and I should be failing to appreciate its importance in the present discussion. The Bishop of St. Asaph had a proposal to make, and he adopted the form of a Parliamentary Bill in which to put it forward. His proposal related particularly to the schools connected with the Church of England. He introduced it in another place in a very clear and comprehensive speech—in a very remarkable, weighty, and, if I may say so, most courageous speech. The Archbishop of Canterbury lent his countenance to the Bishop's Bill. That such a proposal was made and supported must be taken into the gravest consideration by the Government, and its relation to their own proposal fairly estimated. The essential matters in which the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill follows that of the Government have to be taken into account. Their divergencies have to be examined and their importance weighed. It will be found, I think, that, in essentials, the Bishop's Bill follows very closely the lines of the Government measure, and, in consequence the very fact of the introduction of this Bill gives great encouragement to those who support the Government in their earnest desire to obtain a lasting settlement of this controversy.

The Bill of which I now move the Second Reading embodies the Government plan in carrying out two cardinal principles in our educational system—the first that the public elementary schools of the country are to be placed under public control, and the second that there is to be no religious test on the appointment of the teachers. These are principles on which the Government insist, and they can admit of no modification of the Bill which would destroy those principles or which, by whittling them away, would turn fundamental principles into mere false pretences. The method adopted by the Government for establishing those principles is a simple one. It is proposed that only one type of public elementary school shall be recognised in the future. Such a school will receive both State aid and rate aid. It will be placed entirely under the control and management of the local representative authority. The teachers in these schools will be appointed without religious tests, and no child not otherwise being educated will be compelled to attend any school except a public elementary school of the kind I have described. The religious instruction given in such schools will be of the kind to which we have been accustomed in this country ever since Mr. Forster's Act was passed in 1870. Such are the fundamental provisions of the Government Bill, and so far the Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph has been textually copied from the Government measure. It is obvious, therefore, that, if the Bishop's Bill can receive the same amount of support on that side of the House as the Government measure has received upon this, there is every ground for hoping that a satisfactory settlement may be attained on lines agreeable to all sections of the House. I have stated the first and cardinal provisions of the Government Bill. I pass to the later clauses, in which an endeavour is made to provide for those classes of the community to whom a short and simple settlement of the kind I have indicated would prove unsatisfactory. I hope the House will pardon me taking a somewhat unusual course. I am not attempting at the moment to defend the details of the Government Bill. There will be a further opportunity of doing so should it be considered necessary in the course of this debate. What I am endeavouring to do is to state in the shortest and simplest form the actual provisions of the Bill, and in particular to show the relation between these provisions and the provisions of the Bill introduced by a bishop of the Church of England; and I ask the House to go with me so far as to say that if either of these two Bills is acceptable, and if I show that the differences between them are so slight or at any rate are of such a kind as ought not to be incapable of adjustment, then the House may be fairly asked to give a Second Reading to the Government measure with the hope and anticipation that such an adjustment may be found before the Committee Stage is reached. Now it is in dealing with the existing denominational schools that the Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph diverges from that of the Government, though here again the divergence is less serious than may appear at first sight. The Government have proposed to deal with denominational schools in three different ways. In the first place, in single-school areas it is proposed that the managers of existing denominational schools may make it a condition of transfer of their buildings to the local authority that Cowper-Temple instruction of a certain definite kind shall always be given in their schools and that facilities for giving denominational instruction shall be allowed. The second method adopted for dealing with denominational schools is to provide that Parliamentary grants, though not rate aid, may be given to schools not in single-school areas which conform to all the requirements of the Board of Education as regards educational efficiency, but the managers of which do not desire to bring their schools under the conditions governing public elementary schools. The third provision is applicable to schools in other than single-school areas, according to which the managers of denominational schools may make it a condition of the transfer of their schools that Cowper-Temple instruction of a definite kind shall continue to be given in the school. Under the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill no distinction is made between single-school areas and other areas. Facilities for giving denominational instruction on a more extended scale are proposed for all schools, and there is no provision for allowing any school to receive the Parliamentary grant but without rate aid. The only schools recognised in the Bishop's Bill are the public elementary schools, thus cutting out from public assistance of every kind those schools in which the maintenance of a religious atmosphere is regarded as essential to their existence. I understand, however, that in introducing his Bill the Bishop of St. Asaph admitted its incompleteness in this respect, and was prepared to make provision for schools of a homogeneous religious type, such as those connected with the Roman Catholic faith and the Jewish faith. It may, therefore, be said, using the current jargon on this subject, that in the Government measure and in the Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph it is proposed alike to use facilities and contracting-out as the means for dealing with the existing denominational schools. In the Government Bill facilities are confined to the single-school areas, and contracting-out is allowed in all areas other than single-school areas. Under the Bishop's Bill, not as introduced but as explained by him, facilities are to be made universal, and some provision is offered for the contracting-out. Thus it will be seen that the only point of difference between the two measures is this—How much facilities are to be allowed in the public elementary schools and how much contracting-out is to be allowed, the extent and the kind of facilities, the conditions and the grant on contracting-out? Thus in fundamentals, in essentials—that is to say, in the constitution of one type of public elementary school—the two Bills are identical. They differ only on the question of the degree in which facilities and contracting-out will hereafter be allowed.

Now, I cannot help thinking that, the conditions being such as I have stated, if the spirit of partisan controversy can be allayed and a single eye be kept on the efficiency of education in this country, it ought not to be impossible for this House to come to an agreement to procure a lasting settlement. The chief criticism directed against she Government Bill has turned upon contracting-out. I may say at once that on educational grounds the Government have no partiality for that expedient. It was included in the Bill as a concession to denominationalist feeling, and I am bound to say that I see no other practicable method of dealing with those schools in which it is proposed to submit the teachers to a religious test upon their appointment. It is not open to the Government, however, in putting forward their proposals, to deal with the various denominations in this country otherwise than upon a footing of exact equality; but when a proposal is made by a distinguished member of the Church of England of episcopal rank, and that proposal receives encouragement and support from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the way is made easier for the Government, at any rate in dealing with schools connected with the Church of England, and they feel themselves more at liberty to consider proposals under which schools of a distinct homogeneous religious type of the kind to which I have already referred are proposed to be dealt with on a footing distinct from the conditions applicable to the denominational schools through the country as a whole. On educational grounds, as I have said, the method of facilities adopted by the Government in single-school areas is undeniably preferable to the method of contracting-out, and the Government would rather deal with the denominational claims by way of facilities, as proposed by the Bishop of St. Asaph, than by way of contracting-out, provided—and this is very material—that such procedure is acceptable to the denominations, that the facilities are of a kind which are administratively practicable, and, further, that they could not be so used as to constitute a religious test on the appointment of the teacher. It is notorious that a settlement on the basis of religious facilities is repugnant to certain religious communities in our midst, for whom alone under the suggested arrangement the alternative method of contracting-out would have to be maintained. Rate aid, which is a principle of the Government Bill and of the Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph alike, cannot be given except under conditions of public control; but in the schools connected with the religious bodies to which I have referred public control is impossible so long as the appointment of the teachers is to be limited to those persons who are connected with the religious faith of the trustees or founders of the schools. It has been claimed on behalf of the parents of the children attending the strictly denominational schools that they are alike taxpayers and ratepayers, and that they are, therefore, entitled to a full share of the expenditure of their schools out of taxes as well as rates. Without touching upon the religious side of the argument, a moment's consideration of the question will show the unfairness of this claim. It would amount to this—that teachers who professed themselves to be of a particular faith were to be entitled to exclusive appointment in schools connected with that faith, while they were to have equal liberty with all other teachers as regards appointments in all the public schools of the country. It is obvious that to grant such a claim would be giving a very unfair advantage to those persons who profess themselves as of a particular faith. It would, moreover, be educationally harmful, inasmuch as the teachers in the schools would be appointed, not necessarily on the ground of their efficiency in teaching, but because of their religious professions. I am unable to see how equal justice can be done to the teachers and to the public unless we follow the plan adopted in 1870, and continued by the right hon. Gentleman opposite in his Act of 1902, so far as the provision of the building is concerned, whereby the supporters of denominational schools are bound to contribute some special part of the cost of the maintenance of those schools, while the Parliamentary grant is confined to meeting so much of the cost of maintenance as may be directly due to the giving of the secular instruction in the schools. In the Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph the difficulty is got over by ignoring it. The Government can see no way out of the difficulty except by following the plan of the Act of 1870, though with a very heavily increased grant, which would at once secure greater efficiency in the contracting-out schools and be a guarantee that no undue burden was thrown upon their supporters. For those who desire a settlement I believe all the elements of a possible arrangement are to be found in the present Bill. I am convinced that the great body of the public, and the large majority of the Members of this House, are anxious for peace, and that if a spirit of practicability and common sense is allowed to have its way, a satisfactory settlement can be obtained. I cannot hope for agreement with those, if there be any, who choose to regard the education question merely as a factor in some fine-spun scheme of political strategy, who wish to keep the question alive in order to promote party interests or the interests of a particular section of their party. If there be any such views held by any responsible persons in either House, I can only say that with them agreement is impossible. The Government do not propose to proceed in any such way. Every suggestion will be fairly considered on its merits, and such proposals as are generally acceptable will be grafted on the framework of the Government Bill, if evidence is forthcoming that the acceptance of such suggestions will lead to lasting peace. I recognise that those who have a paper plan of their own, or others who may desire to excercise their dialectical skill in finding objections to every definite proposal which does not conform to some plausible but wholly impracticable theory, will have no difficulty in keeping the controversy alive. I observe on the Order Paper a number of Amendments proposing to reject this Bill because, as is alleged, not sufficient recognition is given to the rights of parents. The argument in support of parents' rights has a beautiful and seductive simplicity. It is said that if the State takes upon itself to give religious instruction to children, it should only give such instruction as may be acceptable to the parents. But how in practice can that theory have practical effect given to it? I submit to the judgment of this House that that theory has been best adapted and put into the only possible practical use by the method adopted by Mr. Forster in 1870. It is not within the practical possibilities of school life that every parent can have such religious instruction as he likes given to his own child. If that is once granted, it is obvious that the only method of procedure must be to find, if you can, some form of religious instruction which, though not giving all that everyone might choose, is nevertheless of a kind which is generally acceptable to the great bulk of the people of this country. After thirty-eight years of experience we have found that Cowper-Temple instruction is of that kind; and though I readily admit that a great many parents would wish to have more religious instruction given, and that there is a minority of parents who would wish this instruction not to be given at all, it is a fact that this particular kind of instruction does satisfy or is acceptable to the great majority of the parents. Then the only other liberty you can give to the parent is that of withdrawing his child from such instruction if he does not wish him to receive it. I think that the great bulk of the parents wish to see their children receive religious instruction based upon the reading of the Scriptures and the moral instruction which can be derived from their exposition. But I certainly fear that if the people of this country found themselves unable to get peace in the schools upon the basis of the religious instruction which I have described, they would rather remove religious instruction altogether from State responsibility. [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] If peace can be obtained, I believe that religious instruction in our schools will be secured. Failing such peace, I fear that this House will be driving our nation directly on to the end of purely secular instruction in public elementary schools. [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] I have avoided as far as possible any reference to Nonconformist grievances or denominational claims. I have not sought to go over old ground, though I recognise that the old ground will have to be discussed in the course of this debate. I have only sought to make some few preliminary observations, summarising as far as I could the situation which has been created by the introduction of a Bill in another place almost immediately upon the top of the Bill introduced by the Government. My sole endeavour has been to use only such language and to refer only to such matters as might tend to the promotion of peace. Those who wish to find fault with me—and I have no doubt there will be a great many—will complain that I have not made a full and elaborate defence of the precise terms of the Government Bill; they will say also that I have not made any clear and definite statement as to the Government policy. With regard to the first objection, I can only say that it is not always necessary, particularly when a Bill has been fully explained on its first introduction, to give a second elaborate explanation on introducing the Second Reading. I go further and say that such an explanation would have been out of place at this moment, when it is my obvious duty to say nothing which would obscure the statement of the Government's general desire for a settlement. But with regard to the second point which I know will be alleged against me, that I have not given any clear and precise outline of the Government policy, I can at once say that the Government propose to ask the House to give a Second Reading to this Bill. If, after the Second Reading, an agreement can be come to satisfactory to the House in general, and that agreement can be incorporated in Amendments to the Government Bill, these Amendments will be most carefully considered, and, as far as possible, they will be grafted upon the framework of the Government measure. Surely there are grounds for hoping that an agreement or adjustment of our difficulties is not impossible; but failing such an agreement the Government propose to proceed with their existing Bill as it stands. That I trust is a sufficiently clear and definite statement of our policy. I hope the House will be able to come to such an arrangement as will make the future stages of this matter a matter of agreement and not of controversy. It is, I repeat, the most earnest desire of the Government that a settlement should be arranged. It is the one condition on which the educational policy of the country can go forward with the hope of securing educational efficiency. It is not, I hope, too sanguine to believe that since the First Reading of this Bill the atmosphere has grown favourable to peace. Authoritative voices have been heard in both camps expressing an earnest desire that an end should be made of this quarrel. There are other counsellors, I know, who say that Parliaments are fleeting things, that the time can be tided over, that they have only to present a stubborn front to keep all that they have in perpetuity, but that is a political speculation which, even if well-founded, entirely underrates the objections taken to the present law. It matters not what Government is in power: great interests at stake in this country, religious as well as political, must steadily lose if by resisting a settlement we prolong strife. It cannot be a gain to the Church of England that she should successfully assert a privilege which inflicts a rankling sense of injustice on those who are not of her communion. On this line she stakes not only her own interest but the whole cause of religious education and resists the forces and tendencies which must more and more prevail as time goes on. If I may give the House a text for discussion on this subject, it would be in the words of Burke: "I will not" said he "enter into the question how much truth is preferable to peace. Perhaps truth may be far better, but, as we can scarcely have the same certainty in the one as we have in the other, I would, unless the truth be evident indeed, hold fast to peace which has in her company charity—the highest of the virtues."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) moved that the Bill be read upon this day six months. He said the right hon. Gentleman had not attempted to defend the Bill before the House. They had been told that there was no change whatever in the policy of the Government, and the main portion of the right hon. Gentleman's speech had been devoted to a series of nebulous discussions about Amendments which might or might not be moved, and which might or might not be accepted in the Bill introduced in another place—a Bill which had not received a Second Reading there. They ought to limit themselves at this stage, at any rate, to the general discussion of the Bill before the House. The right hon. Gentleman had assured the House that the policy and principles of the Bill remained unchanged. He was glad of that, because, he presumed, it involved the withdrawal on the part of the right hon. Gentleman of a rather daring phrase he used a few months ago about a sword. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that he had absolutely ignored from beginning to end the fact that this Bill, quite apart from any religious difficulties, had raised a storm of indignation from the purely educational point of view. They were told by the Prime Minister that this Bill was to be brief, simple, and drastic. Drastic was a word well chosen, but brevity was not inherent in a Bill which was going to arouse and exacerbate religious strife, and simplicity would certainly not be found in the Bill which was going to strike a blow at the very heart of educational efficiency. He would ask the House to allow him to deal with the Bill before the House. He had not a copy of the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill. The truth was that they could not discuss the two Bills concurrently, because they were far more divergent than the right hon. Gentleman would wish them to suppose. The Bill before the House was the only thing which on this occasion they had a right to discuss. The Bill was dual in its aspect. In the first place there was its effect upon secular education, which could not be other than widespread. It introduced, for no special reason which he could detect, a wholly new financial system foreign to the structure of the Bill, which must require and receive elaborate discussion by itself. Of course, the animating motive of the measure was no doubt the religious difficulty so-called. He was ready to admit that this difficulty existed in single-school areas whether that area was in a country village or in the town, but when all was said and done, every practical man knew that this difficulty existed more on the platform than in the school itself. It was practically unknown in the vast majority of the schools. He admitted, however, that to measure the grievance was not easy. He thought that the history of the grant of £100,000 made last year gave a rough and ready system upon which they could test the prevalence of the difficulty. The House would remember that in February last year the £100,000 grant was announced. By the end of March—that was the end of the past financial year—in England, only thirteen counties out of forty-one made application to receive a grant of this money to solve the single-school area difficulty, and not 2 per cent. of the parishes in England and Wales had proved their appreciation of this difficulty by asking the Exchequer for a free grant of money to set it right. In England up to 31st March last, all the applications had been refused except nine, while in Wales more than half of the applications made had already been refused. Devonshire with 300 single-school areas, Lincolnshire with 380 single-school areas, and Norfolk with 460 single-school areas, up to 31st March had made no application for a share of the fund. Of course, he knew that applications would come in. In these parishes new schools were being erected next door to them out of Government money, and it might be readily understood that they would desire to share in the bounty of the Exchequer. He had himself thought that £100,000 was insufficient, but the result had shown that the Board of Education made a good forecast and had analysed the difficulty successfully, and to that extent he was wrong. This Bill was not going to solve the single-school area difficulty, especially when it was concurrent with a tax upon the training colleges and the harsh administrative measures of the Board. If they wanted to solve the single-school parish difficulty they would have to analyse, or rather revise the analysis of the agreements. He would take an illustration in connection with the £100,000. It was meant purely for the single-school area and was limited to them. In the county of Norfolk, the number of single school parishes was almost identical with the number in the whole of Wales. Wales had sent in over sixty applications, while

Norfolk had sent in none. Historical and political causes accounted largely for the disparity, but there was another cause which they were all too apt to overlook. That was the cause involved in the parish itself. The Nonconformists living in a single-school area where there was a church school had no grievance whatever if an alternative school for the child of the Nonconformist existed within a reasonable distance. Mileage was the test, and that had nothing to do with the area. The single-school child was the difficulty, and not, as indicated in this Bill, the single-school parish. While people for one cause or another magnified the single-school parish aspect of the difficulty, they overlooked the fact that the multiplication of the schools in the proximity of any residence was in itself solving thousands of those individual cases. As it had been unified, nationalised, they had got a wider outlook on education. Its efficiency had been increased enormously, and the whole tendency had been to minimise these small parochial responsibilities, and to make an educational rather than a parochial area. The parochial area was not the boundary of the parish, which was determined by old dynastic, historical, geographical, and geological considerations or by a watershed. It was an area which was irrelevant to the question of education altogether, and, as such, ought to be abandoned. What did the Bill do? Its first weak point, from an educational point of view, was that it was based upon the parish as such; on a small and irrelevant unit. The parish became the unit again under conditions of special hardship and cruelty. He would refer to the transfer of the school in the single school parish. The average rural school was to be transferred bodily to the local education authority. If that was compared with Clause 3 of the Bill of 1906, it was obvious that the stringency and severity of the present Bill far exceeded anything proposed two years ago. If that clause were insisted upon the Board of Education would make a grant of property which did not belong to it. It made itself judge, jury, and beneficiary as well. Property worth millions of money would be confiscated. The Board of Education would determine the nature of a trust without the possibility of appeal. The Board of Education in the last eighteen months had no longer been quite impartial in the interpretation either of its administrative or of its judicial duties. The facilities offered were wholly illusory. After school hours the teacher was not allowed to give the scholars religious instruction. In fact religious instruction was treated like an extra and pushed outside like music or calisthenics or any other extra. Finally the managers were excluded from the schools during the week day evenings. They had no right to go into them, although everybody knew that clubs, concerts, lectures, and all kinds of classes went on in those schools night after night throughout the year. In future the managers were not to have the right to use the schools on the first five days of the week; but not only that, the local education authority would be entitled to charge rent for confirmation classes on Monday and Tuesday evenings. That was absurd; it was needlessly harsh; so much so that he assumed that this had been merely thrown into the Bill at the last moment in order to provide an opportunity of making a graceful concession later on. Of course, it was said that on Saturdays and Sundays the managers might have, as a favour, the use of the buildings when the local education authority did not want them. Well, that was a fictitious consideration for the immense benefits which the Board of Education and the local education authority were going to secure. Grave injustice would be done under this system of transfer. There was a school in Surrey just built at a cost of £2,500—a Church school. He believed there was scarcely a Nonconformist child of school age in the parish. That Church school was going to be handed over on the appointed day to the local education authority. There was a similar case in his own constituency. It was difficult to justify such a course as that. Even if the religious difficulty were settled, it was impossible to justify such a course of procedure. They knew perfectly well not only that they were not going to settle the religious difficulty, but that they would produce all other kinds of difficulties as well. Then as to the financial aspect of the question, there were hardships and great anomalies under this Bill. A wholly new system was being devised. As he had said before, it was alien to the primary object of the Bill, and ought to be separately discussed. If the House would allow him he would quote a phrase from the speech from the First Lord of the Admiralty on the new system of the distribution of the grant. The right hon. Gentleman said that—

> "After prolonged examination he had come to the conclusion that the only certain factor which he could find at the present time for the new grant was the expenditure for buildings."

Now, that factor, as he called it, was absolutely honeycombed by anomalies. Let the House consider the disparities that already existed. In Hornsey the annual charge per child for maintenance, sinking fund, and interest on buildings was 30s. a year. In Durham it was 1s. 3d. That showed that the building grant was not a certain factor; and if the new system of grants was based on so uncertain a factor as that, it was inevitable that inequality of payments would be produced. The new statement just issued reflected that unequal incidence; and he had no doubt that many local authorities, certainly many in the North, would receive it with dismay, because it showed how badly they would be used under the right hon. Gentleman's scheme. West Ham, which he thought was the kind of place that ought to have a grant under any revised system, would receive only one-third of a penny in the £. Tottenham would get only one-tenth of a penny in the £. But Ebbvale, an urban district in Wales, instead of receiving one-tenth of a penny, would receive eighty times as much, or 8½d. in the £. The right hon. Gentleman said that the scheme was temporary, but with absurdities of that kind it could be nothing else. But a far more serious question was that of contracting out. It was a tax on efficiency, co-ordination, inspection, and organisation, of which the First Lord of the Admiralty seemed to be utterly unconscious. It was perfectly fatal to all the good work which had been built up since 1902. Again, public control, the right hon. Gentleman had told them, was one of the principles of the Government to which they wanted to adhere. Did the House realise that the more successful contracting out was under this Bill the greater would be the reduction of public control under the Act of 1902? Everybody remembered the justification given for it by the Chief Secretary for Ireland and that all the objections to it were fudge, fustian, and so forth. The Secretary to the Local Government Board was equally emphatic. But now, hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite said that the public control established under the Act of 1902 was only inadequate in amount. He would not argue that now. But what had it done in the past five years? It had formed public opinion: it had enlisted and trained all over the country a great number of zealous, hard-working people in the cause of education; it had created enthusiasm where apathy had existed before. In short, it had raised the standard of elementary education. So far as the contracted-out schools were concerned they would sweep all that away and destroy it entirely. The second principle to which the right hon. Gentleman proclaimed his adherence was that there must be no tests for teachers. In the first place, as regarded the actual teaching and the facilities to be given in the transferred schools, he did not understand why the teacher was not allowed to teach on the ordinary week-day while he was allowed to volunteer to teach on Saturday. Why not allow him to volunteer on Monday and Tuesday as well? As regarded the *status* of the teacher as an official, the Government saw the danger which threatened them. They had, therefore, inserted Clause 4, subsection (1) which took over the teacher on the transfer of the school. That was right. But subsection (2) said that if a man lost his place he was to be entitled to contribute for twelve months to the Annuity Fund. That, again was like the clause about the user of the schools in the evening: it was harsh, absurd, and inequitable. That clause must go or be modified later on. But what about the teacher in the contracted-out school? On that point the National Union of Teachers objected very strongly from the point of view of the teacher. An hon. Member of the House, now a Member of the Government, speaking two years ago said—

> "The proposal now brought forward by a Liberal Government was to push them (that was the State-aided schools) outside, and the parson was once more to become the one-man manager, and the teacher was to be appointed under religious tests. He was elected to see that religious tests were abolished in the case of teachers; and he was going to get them abolished."

Another hon. Member opposite, also a Member of the Government, speaking on this Bill said—

> "Unless we can have clearly placed before us in the provisions of the Bill a definite assertion that these provided schools should spend a similar amount per child and pay their teachers at a similar rate to the provided schools, I shall oppose this contracting out."

Since those speeches both these hon. Gentlemen had become Members of the Government. The teachers could not be assured that they would receive the same salaries, unless, of course, the charge of 47s. per child was included. Under the Bill as it stood, and the way the grant was determined, no guarantee could be given to the teacher that if he lost his place he would get an alternative place, nothing could prevent managers reducing his salary, his expenses, varying his duties or terminating his engagement. He was sorry for the teachers. He regarded them as the most efficient instrument of education, and thought they deserved better things. The whole difficulty was caused by this madcap scheme of universal contracting out. In 1902 there were three schemes of contracting-out, which were all limited, all wholly exceptional. The hon. Member for the Glasgow University proposed the first of these, and its object was good. It was educational diversity, elasticity of system, variety of schools. It was not an alternative to Clauses 3 and 4, but concurrent with them. It was exceptional. His hon. friend denied that he wanted a general dispensation, and they all knew cases where special local circumstances would make such a scheme useful. One hon. Member who put it very happily, although he opposed the Amendment, said—

> "That which might be a positive tonic and a necessity in a small degree or on rare occasions might become something like an educational poison if it were used in all parts of the country.

Then there was the proposal of the hon. Member for Preston, who suggested that if the managers found they were rich enough to do without State aid, they should be able to contract-out. That scheme was also exceptional, and also largely limited, but it was condemned as absurd and preposterous by the hon. Member for North Camberwell, the present Secretary to the Admiralty. The present Chief Secretary also made some rather illuminating remarks on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "He could not regard without dismay anything approaching a general adoption in this country, as an alternative to our State and rate-aided schools, a kind of school which must be inferior, and his hon. friend would not, he suspected, be much surprised that he could not accept the Amendment."

But the right hon. Gentleman himself made a contracting-out proposal. That proposal was also very limited and compulsory on Clause 4. It first gave certain circumstances to justfy it, and no case was to be permitted without the sanction of his Department. The Government was not enamoured of its scheme, and the right hon. Gentleman called it a melancholy necessity. But the objections to his own scheme were fairly obvious to the right hon. Gentleman. Again, the hon. Member for Camberwell was amazed that the Government should bring forward such a proposal, whilst the right hon. Gentleman himself said—

> "He quite understood the objection on principle, which every educationist must entertain to schools standing out of the national system, but this was an exception grafted on an exception."

The new proposal was not exceptional. It was a proposal that where people in single school areas desired to maintain religious instruction, they were to be able to do so. It was inextricably mixed up with every kind of question of use, of teachers, public control, and so on. This was a portion of the scheme which had not found a single defender either in the House or outside; a scheme which at least they expected the Board of Education was going to explain and defend. The National Union of Teachers expressed fifty things against this scheme before expressing a favourable opinion on the other features of the Education

Bill. Contracting-out was the mainspring of the measure. It was put in to satisfy a certain class of the community. It dodged the difficulty, and was a reactionary proposal. Nobody had a right to contract out under the repealed clause. The Board of Education reserved to itself the right to impose any kind of condition before the school was allowed to contract-out. One difficulty of contracting-out was the paucity of the money to be allowed. What was the average cost now per child in the non-provided schools? One Member of the Treasury Bench, on the introduction of the Bill, said 50s., but that figure was much too low. The Secretary to the Admiralty in 1906 had taken out the figures very carefully. The hon. Gentleman then said—

> "He would give figures to show how absurd the proposal was. The proposal had evidently been made in the interests of Catholic schools, therefore he would take the figures of the Catholic schools in three districts. In Manchester the children at such schools cost £4 4s. each, and of that only £1 19s. 7½d. came from the Government grant. Was it conceivable that the poor Roman Catholics of Manchester could raise voluntarily the sum of £2 4s. 4½d. per child, which with the Government grant would be the sum necessary to maintain these schools at their present level of efficiency. Similarly in Southampton each child cost £4 6s. 11d., and only £1 19s. 9d. was contributed by the Government; and in Bristol each child cost £3 12s. 1d., of which only £2 0s. 6½d. came from the grant. The House would thus see how much the supporters of these schools would have to raise from voluntary contributions. It would be absolutely impossible for people interested to maintain their schools efficiently with the present Government grants. The proposal was perfectly preposterous, and its sole effect would be the shutting of the schools."

That was to say, in 1906 the hon. Gentleman estimated the cost of efficiency of each child in the Roman Catholic schools to the Roman Catholics as 44s.; in Southampton, 46s.; and in Bristol, 32s. a year. The figures of the London County Council, as issued in their Paper on 28th March last, were these—

> "The average cost of non-provided schools is £3 16s. 8d. per child, or 29s. 8d. above the 47s., the possible grant under the Bill. The figure £3 16s. 8d. per child is for London only, and is the gross expenditure other than administrative and general charges to the Council. This figure, however, does not include manager's charges, and it has no regard to the fact that teachers' salaries are on a rising scale."

*Lord Balcarres.*

In London 30s. was the average. In Lancashire it was rather less, but the average cost throughout the country was 61s. a year. There was a Church school in South London, called St. John's, in the parish of Camberwell. To maintain that school in its present state of efficiency the managers would have to make an addition to the grant of 40s. per child of no less than £1,350 a year, which would amount to probably 37s. per child. He also found, from a calculation made for Lancashire by the *Manchester Guardian*, that it was estimated that the Roman Catholics would have to raise £10,000; the Roman Catholics of Liverpool would have to raise rather more, and those of Southwark £50,000 a year. What was there to meet that? There was 47s. per child. But that 47s. was the maximum. No minimum was fixed in the Bill. There was no guarantee that every school will get 47s. The President of the Board of Education might make it 40s. or 30s., or he would be entitled to refuse it altogether. But fees up to 9d. a week might be charged, whilst concurrently rates would have to be paid, of which the man who paid fees *ex hypothesi* disapproved. That was the actual cost, but what about the prospective cost? Mr. Forster said a threepenny rate would be enough. The cost had increased largely. The strain in and about the year 1902 was not more than 10s. or 12s. a child, but since then it had increased enormously, and it was going further to increase at once. The tendency of the Board of Education to enlarge accommodation from 8 to 10 feet per child would raise the cost enormously. Then the endowments and so on which might have met this cost were already very largely pledged. The county council said that many of these voluntary schools had already drawn upon their endowments in order to bring their buildings up to the standard required by the council. These schools had raised mortgages upon their buildings, incurring an annual charge, not only for sinking fund, but for interest for the same purpose, the enlarged buildings of course involving increased cost. Then the House must not forget that before the appointed day under this Bill hundreds and probably thousands of voluntary schools would have to surrender to the local education authority all the plant, furniture, and equipment which had been raised since 1902 at a cost of thousands of pounds, and the managers would be left with empty schools. Salaries were higher. They were still rising. Classes, for a very good reason, were being reduced in size; consequently, a bigger staff was required. The right hon. Gentleman and his friends were asking them to go back to the 'nineties when education was starved and inefficient. He would quote a member of the Government on that very point—

> "Where is the money to come from? It means in quite small schools £400 or £500 a year. It goes back to the system we have heard denounced again and again in the House, of supporting national education by the old-fashioned system of bazaars and jumble sales, the unclean combination of jugglery and charity."

He implored the House to remember that this was not merely a question of finance. The unity of our system, the homogeneity of our schools, inspection, organisation, everything which could be brought within the purview of the word "inefficiency" was involved in this system of contracting-out. Let the House take the inspection of schools. Was there a single Member familiar with educational questions, personally and practically, who could say that the inspection of the contracted-out school would be the same as the inspection of a county school? Of course not. It was impossible, and was put in a very terse way by the President of the National Union of Teachers when he said the other day that the hope that the inspection would remain at its present standard was illusory. The experience of the past was that this was not likely to be the case. "You cannot attain equal educational efficiency without equal funds." What was the effect going to be upon organisation? There were two kinds of co-ordination between various grades of schools and between various schools on the same grade. He did not mean to refer to the former, but Lord Stanley of Alderley had written an article recently in the *Fortnightly Review*, in which he said that under the Bill hopeless, inextricable confusion would be caused in the present system of dealing with scholarships, with pupil teachers, with examinations, with reports, with inspection, and with teachers' salaries. The Government was spoiling the ladder which had been laboriously erected since 1902. The individual school was too small for all the purposes of education. The people who were working education in the country—the educationists he meant, and not the politicians—had long ago realised that the single school was too small an entity, and therefore they had co-ordination between these individual schools The whole system of that co-ordination was at stake. What about the supply teacher under the contracted-out school system? What about the peripatetic teacher, the man who taught a special subject—physical drill, cookery, hygiene—what was to happen to him? And the correlative, the centre, the collective institutes, for grouped or joint teaching—what was to happen to them? These buildings could not be multiplied. Costly and very special plant for carpentry, swimming, gymnasia and play centres—all this was threatened under the Bill. All these advantages were to be denied to the children in contracted-out schools, and, moreover, he begged the House to remember that the movement was only five years old. It was in its infancy. It was treated with grave suspicion at first. The cost was grudged. But people understood it now, and because they understood it they appreciated it. This was not merely threatened. It would be absolutely stopped under the scheme of the Government. Contracted-out schools could not afford these luxuries. Children in contracted-out schools could not use the play centres or the gymnasium or the peripatetic teacher belonging to the local authority, because that would involve assistance from the sacrosanct rates. That was what they stood to lose. The whole thing was pitched upon the Table of the House in a light-hearted, almost in a wanton manner. They had got a unified and a national system. They were offered a dualised system. The present system might have shortcomings The new system was going to have undeniable and unquestionable shortcomings. The London County Council Report said—

> "The whole tendency in the future will be to gravitate towards the minimum standard of efficiency. We are abandoning our efforts."

The hon. Member for West Ham wished him to quote him. He said—

> "It is foredoomed to failure. I can only hope that if it is withdrawn it will be withdrawn upon our own initiative, and that other people will not get the credit of destroying such a thing as that."

He did not mind who got the credit of destroying this scheme. If the Prime Minister would withdraw it he would promise not to make too close inquiries into a much more pertinent point, viz., who was responsible for its conception. The Bill ought to be withdrawn, as the colleague of the Prime Minister had stated, and it ought to be frankly withdrawn. It could not be amended. It had been drawn so as to preclude the possibility of amendment. It was a repealing Act. It was negative in its scope. Every operative clause in the Bill began with the word "unless." Payment covered everything, and everything, *vice versa*, was governed by payment. The title of the Bill was to regulate the conditions upon which public money could be applied. It was purely a conditional Bill. It was impossible to graft a constructive educational scheme upon a purely conditional measure. Moreover, they could not omit the contracting-out clauses. If they did there was nothing left but the supplementary provisions and the repeal of the Defaulting Authorities Act which, under the right hon. Gentleman, was in operation to-day. Contracting-out was the essence of the Bill, and he hoped the Government would withdraw it as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board had suggested. He found it difficult to believe that the scheme was seriously put before the House. It could not solve the religious difficulty where it now existed, and it was bound to create religious difficulty where none existed to-day. The solution was never going to be found in making the Cowper-Temple system of teaching the sole permanent element, rate-aided, State-aided, preponderant, established, and endowed. Neither would they find the solution of this difficulty in any Bill which had running through every line the fault that it denied equal opportunities for secular instruction. Such a Bill as that could not pass. It had no driving power. It excited no enthusiasm. There were not fifty men on that side of the House who were convinced supporters of the scheme. He was sure of that, and he was perfectly certain that outside the House there were not twenty. They all knew that the worst enemies of the Bill sat upon the Treasury Bench. The Government seemed to him to be living in a world of unrealities. They had to justify their position. They had to explain the Bill if they seriously meant the House of Commons to give a Second Reading to it. In order to raise a clear and concrete issue upon a point of this vital importance he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed—

> "To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the question to add the words 'this day six months.'"—*(Lord Balcarres)*.

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question.'"

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I do not know whether the Members of the Government will regard the tone of the speech of the hon. Member as indicating any approach towards that concordat of which we have heard so much.

Lord BALCARRES: May I explain? I do not understand what the concordat is; it was not indicated by anything that came from Government Benches. I limited myself purely to the discussion of the Bill before the House.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: The conclusion at which I will arrive will, I am afraid, be practically the same as that of the noble Lord, but I hope I may be able to address myself to the matter in a somewhat more conciliatory tone. My colleagues upon these benches and I have been looking forward with the greatest possible interest to this debate. We have all along been anxious for conciliation and for settlement. I may say there were none of us who did not deeply regret the final disappearance of the Bill of 1906. And although in that Bill all those interests we represent did not obtain everything they were entitled to, still, on the ground of compromise, of what was likely to bring about a national settlement and keep our schools in the national system, we came to an agreement as to the Bill, and we deeply regretted that the settlement broke down. And to-day, we are as anxious as any men in or out of the House, whatever may be their party or creed, that a settlement should be arrived at which would give us some certainty for the future, and keep our schools inside the national system. That position is perfectly natural in our part, because the interests we represent in this matter are the interests of the smallest, the poorest, and the most defenceless section of all the population of this country, and we practically stand alone. We know it, and we deeply regret it. We know that our view upon the question of religious instruction in our schools is quite abhorrent to the views of a large number of hon. Members opposite, and we know also that there is an impassable gulf between our position and the position of the Church of England upon this matter. That is the view we take so far as the Church of England is concerned. We say there is an impassable gulf between us and them, because what is to them a matter. of degree is to us a matter of principle. With that section of the Church of England which objects to Cowper-Templeism it is a question of degree. Over and over again it has been said in this House by representatives of the Church that Cowper-Templeism is in their opinion better than nothing, but that it is totally inadequate. Our position is entirely different from that. We consider it, rightly or wrongly, inimical to our religion. I am not arguing whether it is right or wrong—because it teaches a different religion from ours. Therefore we stand alone and we are the smallest, poorest, and most defenceless of all sections of the population, and consequently we have most to gain by arriving at some settlement which we can regard as a permanent settlement. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman on the Government Bench that we will take up no attitude of irreconcilability so long as some settlement is proposed which has the one saving condition—that it will preserve our schools from destruction. A great deal has been said and written lately upon this idea of compromise—compromise between the Church of England forces and the forces of the Nonconformists. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty, in moving the Second Reading of this Bill, made it plain that he was under no misapprehension whatever as to our attitude towards this suggested concordat. He knows perfectly well that so far as we are concerned all these questions of right of entry and so forth are of no use whatever. As I have pointed out, we object to the Cowper-Temple foundation, and it does not help us in the least for the Government or for anybody else to come along and say that they are willing to super-impose upon the foundation of Cowper-Templeism the teaching of our own particular religion now and again. A concordat upon these lines has nothing whatever to offer to us, and therefore, speaking for the particular interests we represent, I did not hear one word from the right hon. Gentleman that conveyed any hope whatever that we were to gain anything out of this proposed concordat which he thinks is coming up. Now, we have looked forward to this debate with the greatest possible anxiety. I hoped myself that we would get some further information from the Government, and that we would have been told something more about their proposals for the future. But we learned nothing, and for my part I find it utterly impossible—I here approximate to the position of the noble Lord—to discuss anything else except this Bill. So far as our position towards this Bill as it stands is concerned, I can very briefly explain it. We, as I have said, represent in this House—I will not say the Catholic body in England, because there is a certain section of the Catholic party in England for which we have no right to speak at all; we do not attempt to speak for them, and I am not sure that we desire to speak for them—but we can speak for the overwhelming majority of the Catholics of this country who are either Irish people born, or the children of Irish parents, and whose interests in these schools are at stake, and whom we feel we represent upon this question. Speaking for them we object to this Bill, and our objection is two-fold. In the first instance we object to the principle of contracting-out.

Disguise it as you may the system of contracting-out means the creation of two different classes of schools—one inferior to the other. Our claim has always been a claim for equality. That is the position we have always maintained. We say it is a monstrous injustice that the Catholics, who have to pay the school rates the same as everybody else, should not be entitled to their share of those rates. The answer given is that we are not entitled to a share of those school rates unless there is to be public control. I make this rejoinder; who objects to public control? Public control in what? No man on these benches would object to whatever control is necessary to prove that you are getting value for your money and that the teaching in our schools is efficient. That public control we have never objected to, and we say we are entitled to our share of the rates which we pay. We go further and have authority for the statement I made in 1906, which was regarded with some suspicion at the time, but which has been confirmed by further investigation and figures—I made the claim that the school rates paid by the Catholics of Great Britain if pooled together would be sufficient to pay for all the Catholic schools in the country, and that therefore, under the present system, no Protestant is asked to pay one farthing towards the Catholic schools, because the amount of rates paid to those schools are contributed by the Catholics themselves; and we say it is unjust that the rates of the Catholics of Great Britain, so contributed, should be diverted altogether from the Catholic schools and given over to the sole use of the schools of other denominations, while Catholic schools are obliged for the future to rely entirely upon voluntary aid for the increasing and growing expenditure which is not covered by the proposed Imperial grant. We believe that the establishment of this system of contracting-out must inevitably lower the *status* of the schools and the standard of the teaching. It means, undoubtedly, going back to cheaper teachers and reducing the number of teachers. I listened with interest to the quotations of the noble Lord from members of the Government and others. Of course, if he had liked he could have multiplied these upon this question of contracting-out. I will only make one citation from the Chief Secretary. When discussing this question in 1906, he met the argument that contracting-out would not mean deterioration of the schools and of the teaching in the schools, because the inspectors would go there from the Government Board, and that no school would continue to get any grant unless efficiency was maintained, by saying—

> "It is all very well to say inspectors will keep up the schools. It is impossible. The inspectors of the Board of Education undoubtedly have two standards, although I do not suppose anyone authorised them, but we know, as a matter of fact, that the inspectors do not press so heavily on voluntary schools as they do on board schools, because they know that the latter, if pressure were put upon them, could effect the necessary alterations, whereas the former would have to close their doors."

That is our point. If these schools are put into an inferior class and there is not sufficient means to maintain them at the present standard, then no amount of Government inspection will keep them efficient. You will have brought into existence and stereotyped two classes of schools—one of them professional, well-taught, well-managed, and a credit to the country, and the other starved and inefficient. Therefore, on these broad grounds we enter our protest against this system of contracting-out; and we say that our demand is a demand for equality of treatment. If we are driven, not by argument, because I do not think we can be driven by argument; not by justice, because I do not think that justice would drive us in that direction—if we are driven by force, as being a small minority in this country, and having to bear that suffering which we were told in 1906 was the fate of all minorities, to consider the possibility of this system of contracting-out, then what I have to say is this: that this Bill (and, of course, I am only dealing with this Bill; there is nothing else before us) does not provide an adequate Imperial grant to enable these schools to continue in existence. The grant of 47s. per child in Catholic schools will mean their starvation and, finally, their destruction. There are one or two preliminary considerations, it may be said, that ought to be borne in mind. It is hopeless to expect any large increase of voluntary help for the Catholic schools. It is not necessary for me to emphasise the poverty of the Catholics of this country. They have out of their poverty contributed in proportion far more to education than, I think I may safely say, any other section of the community of Great Britain. They have contributed vast sums in the past and it is impossible for them to-day to provide the money that will be required if the standard of 47s. is stereotyped in this Bill. Our schools, further, are mostly in large towns, where, of course, the cost of education is far more than in the country parts. In places like London, Liverpool, Manchester, and so forth, the cost falls necessarily upon us, because that is where our children are congregated, and it ought to be remembered that out of the voluntary contributions of the Catholics within the last few years enormous sums had to be spent. Will not the House be astonished and to some extent edified when I say that since 1902 out of the voluntary contributions of the Catholic people of London about £130,000 has been spent in the improvement of the schools, and bringing them up to the standing of the County Council without weakening the efficiency of the teaching? More than half of that was raised on loan, and the interest is a permanent charge on the schools. I point out this to show that it is useless to say that the difference between the 47s. and the cost can be met by the voluntary contributions of the Catholics. There is a provision that fees may be charged. I do not know how that will work with the Church schools. [OPPOSITION cries of "It will not work."] I do not know whether it is a valuable provision or not. I take it from hon. Members that it is not, but so far as our schools are concerned, it is an absolute delusion to think that that sum of money could be raised by imposing fees. The cost of education has increased very much since 1902, and must go on increasing. How is the increase to be met? In the council schools by increasing the school rate. But in the voluntary schools the Imperial grant is stereotyped. They are cut off from the school rate; they cannot rely upon voluntary contributions. The only hope that they have of meeting this increase would be by effecting some sort of economies in the internal working of their schools. What does that mean? It means inevitably a worse body of teachers and fewer of them. The classes which since 1902 have been broken up, so as to afford them more efficient teaching requiring more teachers, will have again to be amalgamated. It is only in the teachers that economies can be made. The increase in the cost of upkeep, light and fuel, cleaning, equipment, books, etc., since 1902 has not been large, and in any case economies cannot be made in that direction. The only possible economies are in the number and salaries of the teachers, and I think it is a monstrous injustice, where Catholics are called upon to pay the full school-rate for the council schools where a system of religion is being taught which they rightly or wrongly regard as being abhorrent to their faith, that their schools should be condemned to starvation and inefficiency. If the 47s. per child is not sufficient to enable them to carry on their work efficiently this Bill would mean starvation and destruction. Let me consider whether the 47s. per child is sufficient or not. I received to-day from a well-known educationist in London a short memorandum from which I will read a paragraph. After considering how the cost of education has risen since 1902, and explaining that it was due to better salaries, smaller classes, more teachers, and better equipment, he says—

> "But all this has meant expenditure, and while the Government grants have not increased much the income derived from rates in the voluntary schools has risen steadily since 1902. This increased cost has been almost entirely due to improvement in the teaching staff. There are more teachers to each school than before and they are more highly qualified and better paid. Obviously this is the quarter in which the money has been spent for the most part."

He gives the figures of one school as an example, and says—

> "The following figures taken from the official returns of St. Anne's Catholic School, Vauxhall, London, are very striking, and show at a glance how great the expenditure in salaries has been. Cost per head for salaries 1896, £1 11s. 4d.; 1901, £1 14s.; 1903, £1 17s. 2d.; 1908, £3 6s. 3d; average salary for all teachers, including pupil teachers for 1903, £42 7s. 2d.; average salary for all teachers, including pupil teachers for 1908, £82 13s. The above figures

show that the effect of the Act of 1897 which gave the aid grant was to increase the salaries steadily until they reached the figure of 1903, the year before the school passed under the control of the London County Council. Since then it will be seen that the average salary per teacher has been more than doubled, having risen by £42 6s. 2d."

Then he goes on to say—

> "It will be readily seen that the effect of limiting the income of the school to 47s. must at once be felt by the teaching staff, and a school could only be carried on at that figure of income by reducing the number of teachers, increasing the size of the classes, and lowering the salaries of such teachers as were retained upon the staff."

Now, there is a concrete case, and does any educationist (let us put aside the question of religion and look at it from the educational point of view) is there any educationist in this House who will advocate a system whereby a school like that will go back to the position before 1902, with a small number of badly paid teachers and the expenses diminished by half? That is only an isolated case. I have here some figures not official in the sense of being Government figures, but they are compiled by the authorities of the Catholic Church in this country with great pains and trouble, and as I am in a position to use them on their authority I think I may almost be permitted to use the word official in relation to them. Here are the figures from the various dioceses and the working out of the 47s. per child—

> "The immediate loss of income to Catholic schools which would be caused by Mr. McKenna's 47s. limit of grant would be as follows:— In the dioceses of Westminster and Southwark (which include London and six home counties) the loss of income would be, £52,392; in Liverpool, £28,872; Salford, £29,735; Leeds, £10,550; Hexham, £9,432; Portsmouth, £3,062; Northampton, £2,508; Nottingham, £1,784; Middlesborough, £4,714; Clifton, £1,668; and Birmingham, £9,507."

That made a total loss of income immediately consequent upon the adoption of this 47s. limit in all these various dioceses of £154,244. If these figures are correct then this Bill means undoubtedly starvation and destruction to a large number of those schools. Even if these figures are exaggerated—and no hon. Member will be quick to say that figures of this kind would be deliberately magnified—even if it is necessary to make an allowance, even if you diminish them by one-half, what a monstrous injustice this Bill would inflict upon the whole Catholic body, and how impossible it would make the situation from the point of view of maintaining the efficiency of the Catholic schools and teachers. I object to this Bill on the two grounds of principle: I object to contracting-out, because it means putting Catholic schools into an inferior class, and it means the degradation and deterioration of the education given in those schools. But if I were driven by the force of circumstances to consider contracting-out at all, then I say that 47s. per child is a ridiculously inadequate limit, and it would be necessary very largely to increase it before there was any possibility of the schools, even under contracting-out, being able to continue in existence at all. Those being our views we must, of course, vote against the Second Reading of the Bill. I do not know why the Government have brought on this Bill at this stage, but I gather that they are engaged in a great effort to provide a compromise. I wish them God-speed with it, and I will say nothing that will put any difficulty in the way of effecting a compromise so long as our schools can live under it. We shall, however, fight the suggested compromise as bitterly as we shall fight this Bill if we see in it the destruction of our schools. I do not know why, when this great effort at compromise was on foot, it was thought advisable to go forward with this Bill. That, however, is a matter for which the Government are responsible, and of which they are the best judges, but our position no man can misunderstand or complain of. We cannot discuss this possible compromise now, but as far as we know it is one to leave us out altogether, and leave us on the broad of our backs. Even if there was a hint that we were to come in under this compromise we could not discuss it; the only thing we can discuss is the Bill before the House. If the Government brought forward this Bill to elicit views and explain how far they were willing to go no one would complain, but I am face to face with a division on the Second Reading of a particular Bill, and I cannot vote for that Bill anxious as I am for a settlement and a compromise. I must vote against the Second Reading, and when the division is called I shall walk into the lobby in support of the noble Lord's Amendment.

MR. PERKS (Lincolnshire, Louth) said the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had said that Catholic schools would lose £150,000 a year if this Bill were passed on the 47s. basis, and he had also stated that in the country at large the Catholic schools were almost entirely in the urban districts. So that practically the portion of the Bill dealing with contracting-out—which was the principle to which he especially objected—in no way whatever affected the single school areas, which was the system in the villages of the country. The Roman Catholic Church was a very rich church in many parts of the country. In the rural districts especially some of the little Catholic schools were supported very generously, even lavishly by the landed proprietors. But he was sorry to say that they had very little sympathy with Nonconformists on that side of the House. He was sorry indeed that the Roman Catholic Church in this country did not see its way to come into line with its fellow countrymen in adopting a system of national education, because he felt sure that there was no local education authority, municipal or otherwise, that would ever dream of appointing a Protestant teacher to a Catholic school.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): How is the local authority to know that the teacher is a Protestant?

MR. PERKS said he had not overlooked that point; he was coming to it. He was against any inquiries of that nature himself, but, as they were well aware, there were methods of ascertaining. Unfortunately, in the rural districts they had only too great reason to know that there were methods of ascertaining, apart from any statutory enactment to the contrary, what the religious persuasion of the teacher was, if he were a member of the Church of England. Knowing the enormous power of their training institutions, and how they turned out from those institutions an overwhelming proportion of the teachers in the elementary schools, he would be the last to fear any inequality to the Established Church in the schools of this country because there was no permission to inquire into the religious opinions of the teachers. He had listened with the greatest possible disappointment to the speech of the noble Lord who had moved the rejection of the Bill. They had had, it was true, no explicit statement at the moment as to how the Government might deal with the various suggestions which would be put forward with the view of harmonising their difficulties on this particular issue, but surely when they had had recently not merely an important Bill, but a much more important speech in the House of Lords from the head of the Anglican Church in this country, and when more recently still clearly defined propositions had been put forward by the leaders of that Church supported by a large proportion of the bishops—personally he was no very strong believer in bishops, but the right hon. Gentleman could not be in that position, for did they not know how in 1902 the Leader of the Opposition almost took his marching orders, or was reported to have taken them, from the Episcopal Bench—he certainly hoped that the noble Lord who moved the rejection of the Bill would have explicitly stated what were the distinct proposals of the Opposition with the view of adjusting this Bill and possibly securing some lasting settlement of this controversy. He had never been a very strong believer in the principle of contracting-out. He took the opportunity, like his friend on the Treasury Bench, to put in, possibly in milder language and in less carefully chosen phraseology, a small protest against contracting-out when this Bill was originally introduced, and he had never varied the view which he then held. The noble Lord had admitted that there was a grievance to be dealt with in the rural districts. He had expected the noble Lord to tell the House how he meant to deal with that difficulty, but he passed the matter airily by and made no suggestions in any form whatever. In all public gatherings—municipalities, teachers' meetings, governing bodies of the many religious denominations in this country, Convocation the other day, and the Representative Church Council, which spoke, he supposed, with some authority—there were two general propositions apparently admitted by everybody. First of all they said: "Popular control is what we are yearning for; give us a unified system throughout the country; it is what we want." Furthermore, the majority of the speakers seemed to admit, although he knew that the noble Lord, the Member for Marylebone, did not take this view—

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I am not a member of the Representative Church Council.

MR. PERKS: I am speaking of Convocation.

LORD R. CECIL: Neither am I a member of Convocation.

MR. PERKS begged pardon; he was speaking of the noble Lord's accomplished brother. The majority seemed to admit that there should be no test imposed on the teacher. He wished to limit his remarks to the single school districts and to the question of the right of entry. Might he say in passing that the Methodist Church, to which he personally belonged, which was a far more powerful Church than the Catholic Church in this country, had never asked for preferential treatment; they were perfectly willing to come into a general national system. Their policy of late years, a policy which he hoped would go on, had been to abandon their sectarian schools and put them under the control of the public authority. That policy had conduced to the educational efficiency of those schools, and it had also tended to relieve the financial burdens imposed on many of the members of their Church. With all respect he commended that policy to the Anglican Church if they wished their schools to grow in efficiency, to be more popular, better managed, and to have a higher type of teacher. If they also wished to relieve their own pecuniary burdens, let them turn over their schools to the public authorities, freely and frankly come into line with their fellow citizens, and not claim exclusive privileges either in town or village. It appeared to him that there were two distinct portions of this Bill. There was the portion which dealt with the single school areas,and the portion which dealt with those districts, chiefly urban, where there was a choice of schools, and where there would be a contracting-out policy or principle applicable. The single school area must be regarded as a separate question. There were over 6,000 elementary schools in villages where there was only one school. In Lincolnshire there were about 380 schools in villages where there was no choice of school.

SIR GEORGE DOUGHTY (Great Grimsby): And in which there is no grievance.

MR. PERKS said his hon. friend must have forgotten his old Liberal days. He would give the hon. Member a grievance from his own district, near the hall in which he lived. In the village school of Binbrooke in the wilds of Lincolnshire there were 166 children on the register, and of these 46 were children of Church of England parents, and 120 were children of Nonconformists. In that school the Church of England catechism was taught, and the clergyman went in twice a week to give special religious instruction. There was not a single teacher in the school who was a Nonconformist.

SIR GEORGE DOUGHTY: I was there only a few weeks ago, and I could find no person who found fault with the present system.

MR. PERKS said he could give another instance, namely, the village school of North Summerscolt. There were 144 children on the register, and of these 120 were children of Nonconformists. Seventeen were children of Church of England parents. The Church of England catechism was taught in that school also. In that school there was only one pupil teacher who was a Nonconformist. It was perfectly idle for his hon. friend to say that Nonconformists had no grievance because they did not pour their troubles into his ear. The problem of single-school areas was different from that of urban areas. The contracting-out question did not arise. It did not affect Roman Catholics or Jews. In these villages there also appeared to be a greater disposition among the laity to take a rational view of this question than in some of the towns. He thought objections to portions of the scheme of contracting-out might be met if the Bill were limited in the first instance to the single-school areas. He came now to another very important question, and he might mention that it was coupled with a very material point, namely, the creation of smaller governing bodies for schools in the rural districts. He did not know whether the machinery of the Bill provided scope for such a reform. Certainly the schools in the great counties of the country could not be efficiently administered from a distant county town, and the co-operation, the length of experience, and the deep interest which ought to be enlisted in the cause of education would be wanting if small governing bodies in the districts were not appointed for the control of education in the single areas. As to the right of entry, he observed that most of the speakers in the various gatherings held recently in the Church of England claimed the right of entry in school hours for their clergy to give distinctive and dogmatic instruction. It seemed to him impossible to reconcile that claim with the theory that no test should be imposed on the teacher, because it must be assumed that the teacher was capable of giving in the school board schools the ordinary Biblical instruction outlined in the curriculum of the London School Board. That did not necessarily or primarily require, in his judgment, any religious test.

LORD BALCARRES: Why not?

MR. PERKS said he was only speaking of what had been the practical experience of the last thirty-eight years during which no religious test was required from the teacher. But if the teacher was to be entrusted or authorised to give special sectarian instruction in the dogmas of the Anglican Church or any other religious community, it would almost necessarily entail an inquiry into the religious opinions of that teacher; and consequently he thought the Government had been remarkably well advised in providing not merely that there should be no religious test for the teachers, but that the teachers should be absolutely prohibited from giving anything beyond the ordinary Bible instruction which could be imparted without any such test. With regard to the question of reconciling in a conference conflicting opinions upon this long-fought out struggle, he had little doubt that when the time came for the Methodist Churches to consider these questions in a few weeks' time in their Church assemblies, they would do their very best to arrive at some conciliatory basis of arrangement with the dignitaries of the Church of England who had held out the olive branch, and that they would endeavour to remember that a permanent peace would have to be secured to some considerable extent by compromise and concession which, in the first instance, perhaps they, the Nonconformists, would not have proposed.

MR. JOYNSON-HICKS (Manchester, N.W.) said he wished to congratulate the hon. Member for Louth on the speech he had just delivered; but he happened to have an extract from a speech made by the hon. Gentleman within the last six weeks in which he said—

> "That there are a multitude of Nonconformists in England to-day who feel not only that the Bill of 1906 but that of this year are not what we might reasonably have expected. They feel that they have been sold."

What had happened in the meantime to enable the hon. Member, notwithstanding the fact that he had been sold, to support the Second Reading of this Bill?

MR. PERKS said he had not said a single word in favour of the Bill as a whole. In fact, he was opposed to some of the proposals in the Bill.

MR. JOYNSON-HICKS said that he assumed then that they would have the hon. Member's support in the lobby against the Second Reading of the Bill. He had ventured to intervene in the debate because the education question played a very prominent part in the recent election in North-West Manchester. He little thought that in his first speech in the House of Commons he would find himself in accord with the hon. Member for Waterford. That hon. Member opposed his election, but he had entirely expressed the views which the Church of England in Lancashire took with regard to the monstrous injustice of this Bill. Speaking for

Lancashire, he declared that they would have nothing whatever to do with this Bill. They declined to accept contracting-out as a substitute for the rights they now had. They considered that they paid their rates exactly in the same manner as the Nonconformists, and they demanded, therefore, a share of the rates they themselves had to pay. It was not so long ago since the Government, through the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was not indisposed to grant them such a right in regard to the religious teaching of their children. The Chief Secretary said at Lowestoft in January, 1906—

> "He hoped it would be possible to have in the public elementary schools of the country simple religious teaching for those who were content with it, and also to give facilities that those people who wanted more definite dogmatic instructions should have it so that their children might enjoy the benefits of it. Therefore as far as possible he would give free scope to parental wishes and desires."

Why had the Government never tried that policy? They had now been responsible for three Education Bills, all different from one another, but in none of these Bills had they given "free scope to parental wishes and desires."

AN HON. MEMBER: Clause 4.

MR. JOYNSON-HICKS said that, if he remembered rightly, Clause 4 of the Bill of 1906 gave the four-fifths majority, and that was put into the Bill with the express purpose of meeting the views of a certain section of the House below the gangway; but it gave very little free scope to the Church of England schools. The more one thought of it, the more was one astonished at the confusion of hon. Members as to what really was the mandate they had in 1906. Was it the Bill of 1906, the Bill of 1907, or the Bill of 1908—three totally different Bills, setting up three totally distinct methods of education and educational organisation? At all events, the present Prime Minister had no doubt whatever as to what "the will of the people" was in 1906. On the Second Reading of that Bill the Prime Minister said—

> "As regards the education question, I venture to say there is no one that followed the course of the election who will dispute that the remedy for the grievances was to be found, in the opinion of the majority of the electors, in the adoption of the two principles which are called popular control and the abolition of tests."

The Prime Minister went further by saying—

> "If there is to be popular control in an effective sense that clearly involves the management and direction of every elementary school which depends on the State for its support, from a private to a public authority."

Now they were entitled to ask why that definition of popular control had been abandoned in the present Bill. He would be willing, as a representative of Lancashire, to stand under complete popular control if they might have it, but the popular control proposed by the party opposite was popular control in the direction of their own educational ideas, but no popular control in the direction of the ideas held by the Opposition.

> "Complete popular control,"

said the Secretary for Ireland on the Second Reading of his Bill in 1906—

> "Was the inevitable outcome of the result of the general election."

The meaning of the words "popular control" he took to be that the authority elected by the ratepayers should have the right to say what kind of education should be given to their children in secular and religious matters. There were many educational authorities who were very largely composed of representatives of the Church of England, believers in Church of England principles, and why might they not, being the direct representatives of the people, in the sacred name of popular control, establish schools of a Church of England character? If 99 per cent. of the representatives and 99 per cent. of the ratepayers should chance to be Roman Catholics, then popular control, according to the right hon. Gentlemen opposite, consisted in compelling the 99 per cent. of the ratepayers to establish schools with practically Nonconformist teaching. One might use a homely illustration. A friend of his was recently tried for not having his motor car under proper control, and with running into a lamppost. He pleaded as an excuse that he had the car under perfect control, but that there was a slight defect in the steering gear.

The machine was under perfect control so long as he did not turn to the left. So popular control in the eyes of the Treasury Bench would allow the representatives of the ratepayers to turn in the direction of Nonconformity, but not in the direction of the Church of England. Contracting-out in this Bill was the essence of this popular scheme. In 1906 it was clear that control meant control as it affected tax as well as rate money. He wondered what the feeling of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite must be when they realised that their own Government was endeavouring to put through the House and force on the Nonconformist portions of the country, a scheme which cut directly across popular control. Of course popular control formed no portion of the Bill of 1906, or the Bill of 1907. There could be no contracting-out with popular control and all that popular control meant. It was only an after-thought and was only to be used in exceptional cases. But so far as this Bill related to the towns it was the substance of the scheme; it must be the general rule and not the exception. He would say little of the pledges of the Government and their followers that "where public money is taken public control must of necessity follow." That was a question for them and their supporters to settle. They might be able to distinguish now between "rate-aid" and "State-aid": they might be able to quiet their supporters by some subtle reason why schools, both rate-aided and State-aided, must be under popular control and State-aided schools need not. But these stern Cromwellians chopped no logic in 1906. Let them recall the questions put to candidates at the general election by the Free Church Council. They were asked—

> "Are you in favour of immediate legislation in order to secure: (1) Complete popular control for the elected representatives of the people over all schools maintained by the State."

Did this Bill profess to give "complete popular control for the elected representatives of the people over all schools maintained by the State"? Could any Member on the benches opposite who favourably answered this question go back to his Free Church constituents after voting for this Bill and say: "I have been steadfast to the pledge I gave"? That was the first question. The second was—

> "Are you in favour of the abolition of sectarian tests for all teachers employed in schools maintained by the State?"

Did this Bill carry out that pledge? The third question was—

> "Are you in favour of the omission of sectarian teaching from the curriculum of State-supported schools?"

Why this Bill perpetuated "sectarian teaching in State-supported schools" in every city and town in the land. He was informed that some 330 Liberal candidates returned satisfactory answers to the Free Church Council on these three questions. They knew too well how strenuously and fiercely the Free Churches had for some six years fought for the establishment of the principles laid down in their questions. They had had experience of their determination not to budge from this position, and he invited them into the lobby with the hon. and learned Member for Waterford. From the political aspect the Bill violated the principles of the supporters of the Government; from the aspect of religious education it failed absolutely to meet the desires of those who wished for definite religious teaching in the schools. From an educational aspect, the Bill could not be regarded as other than wholly unsatisfactory. The Act of 1902 so far as efficiency of education went was a great step forward. That was generally recognised. The Bill of 1906 left undisturbed the education system inaugurated by that Act and dealt wholly with the religious question. But this Bill upset that system and carried them back again to the "intolerable strain" of the ante-1902 days, so far as the urban and many rural schools were concerned. That was felt to be a false step by all educationists. And if the Government persisted in this measure they would be putting back the education clock to a serious extent. They read that at the Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers at Hastings this year the President, himself a teacher in a council school, said—

> "This provision for 'contracting out' is about the worst possible solution that could have been found . . . . It is dead against the best educational interests of the children who will be taught in 'contracted-out' schools.

> If such a provision should ever become law it would deal the severest blow to the progress of popular education which it is possible to conceive, and it is diametrically opposed to our fundamental proposition that every child of the State has a claim to the provision by the State of equal opportunities for secular education."

This was not the opinion of a partisan: it was the opinion of one whose first and only concern was the progress of education. He did not stand alone. They might ask the Government whether they were prepared at a time when all persons acknowledged the need for increased efficiency in education, to proceed with this Bill, which was universally condemned as retarding educational progress? He would just show the House how the Bill would affect Lancashire. In that county 77 per cent of the schools were voluntary and 66 per cent. of the scholars were educated in them. There were only 100 of the single school areas to which the hon. Member for Louth had referred. In Lancashire there were 1,415 voluntary schools and 410 council schools, showing a majority of 1,005 voluntary schools. [AN HON. MEMBER: How many scholars?] There were 461,000 scholars in the voluntary schools and 230,000 in the council schools. There were eight large boroughs in Lancashire, and there were no council schools in Ashton, Chorley, Bury, or Wigan. In Leigh there was 1 council school with 163 children, and 19 voluntary schools with 6,884 children. Preston had 1 council school with 467 children, and 37 voluntary schools with 18,000 children. Warrington had 3 council schools with 581 children, and 19 voluntary schools with 11,500 children. Where was the money coming from at £1 per head? The cost to Lancashire Churchmen would be nearly £500,000 a year. They declined to ask the parents to pay fees, for it was sufficient for Church of England parents to pay the same rates as the Nonconformists. They were told that there was to be special facilities granted for the Roman Catholic and the Jewish communities. The President of the Board of Trade was not in the House, but he would remind the House that the right hon. Gentleman pledged himself that special facilities should be given to the Roman Catholics and the Jews. He would like to know in what way. Were they to have special rate-aid in addition to 47s. grant? Were Churchmen the only ratepayers of the country who were to be penalised? He would like an answer to that question. In Lancashire they intended to have exactly the same facilities and rights as were accorded to the Roman Catholics and the Jewish community. He did not often find himself in agreement with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman when he said in Manchester last month—

> "If it were right to say that we as Liberals are offering some special terms to either Nonconformists or Jews or Roman Catholics which we are prepared to deny to the Church of England, I say it would be unfair."

The Opposition agreed that any terms offered to Nonconformists, Roman Catholics or Jews which did not apply to the Church of England would be unjust and monstrously unfair. He trusted they would be told what those special facilities were. Compromise was in the air, but he did not know that it was to be found within the four corners of this Bill. He did not propose to say a word against Cowper-Temple teaching, but he would like to know how the right hon. Gentleman was going, even if they were willing to hand their schools over, to enforce the giving of Cowper-Temple teaching in them. He did not need to give a list of towns where the Bible was taught without note or comment, and where instruction was given in morality, manners, and customs, which was not Cowper-Temple teaching. How were they going to deal with those large educational authorities in Devonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and various Welsh counties where no religious instruction whatever was given? Was his right hon. friend going to mandamus all those local authorities? He said he should make a bargain to insist upon Cowper-Temple teaching being carried out there, but how was he going to do it? The right hon. Gentleman had made a friendly speech in the way of compromise, but it was a compromise in favour of one particular idea, and he had ended up by threatening them that unless they were prepared to compromise, unless they were prepared to give away their schools and see the many sacrifices they had made in the past swept away, they were to be led direct to secularism. All he could say was that in England they were not going to be led to secularism. If the right hon. Gentleman thought that the voters were going to vote in favour of secularism, he asked him to go to the country and say: "We have failed to effect a compromise because the members of the Church of England stick to their schools and we could not get them to give way; so they have forced us into the only alternative, secularism," and he wondered how many of the Party in power would come back. The hon. Member for Louth had asked them what their views were with regard to compromise. Their views were perfectly well-known. Let the right hon. Gentleman withdraw this Bill and have a round-table conference. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the views of some of the bishops, especially the Bishop of St. Asaph and also the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had the greatest respect for the dignitaries of his own Church, but he begged leave to say on behalf of the people of Lancashire, at all events, that they on that side of the House were not an episcopally ridden body, but were elected by the parents of the children, and to them they would go to find out the kind of compromise that was most desired. It might be possible for the other side to force a short Bill through the House, or through the country, largely owing to the votes of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who were elected by a portion of Great Britain which was not affected by this Bill. At all events they refused it on that side of the House. Whatever might be their position in the House, outside they were supported by an increasing body of opinion. While they were willing, absolutely willing, to consider a scheme of conciliation or compromise which would preserve the rights of Churchmen, as were preserved the rights of Roman Catholics, they would not compromise in any shape or form as to any proposal which gave one iota less to the Church of England than was given to Roman Catholics, or Jews, or Nonconformists. The Government might force the Bill through the House if they liked, but he would tell them that if the Opposition had not a majority outside to-day they very nearly had it, and it was not for them to suggest terms of compromise. They would wait until the time came when they could dictate terms to the other side, and they would not accept any compromise which did not meet all forms of rights, or, as it had been shortly put, which did not provide that every man should have his child educated in his own religion out of the rates he himself paid.

*MR. WALTERS (Sheffield, Brightside) said that any Member coming into the House for the first time would have come to the conclusion that this was a measure for the purpose of contracting-out all the schools of the country, and that the aim and object of the Government was that everybody who had a denominational school should adopt the practice of contracting-out; whereas the object of the Bill, if he understood it rightly, was to establish universally, if possible, council schools throughout the length and breadth of the land. The contracting-out clauses were placed in the Bill simply for the purpose of preventing injustice to the managers of such schools as refused to come into the general system of council schools of the country at large. That seemed to him a much fairer description of the Bill than the idea of universal contracting-out. It was very difficult to discover what really would satisfy hon. Gentlemen opposite. In the Bill of 1906 they were offered facilities, and at that time they considered that they made hon. Gentlemen opposite a very generous offer, but when they offered facilities they were asked for contracting-out. When to-day they made them an offer of contracting-out they asked for facilities. The fact of the matter was that whatever proposals they made they always happened to be the proposals which hon. Gentlemen opposite did not want. Perhaps the responsibility for that was not entirely that of the supporters of the Government; it might be that there was a disposition among hon. Gentlemen opposite to find fault with whatever the Government offered. To be quite frank, as far as his own opinion was concerned he really detested the proposal for contracting-out, and he did not think that they would find half a dozen men on the Ministerial side of the House who were really in favour of any considerable measure of contracting-out. It was said: "Why make this a provision of the Bill?" But this provision in the Bill for contracting-out was not made in the interests of Nonconformists. It was introduced into the Bill entirely for the purpose of satisfying members of the Church of England and members of the Roman Catholic Church. He had always been in favour of the maintenance of religious education in schools; but when he followed the course of education debates in that House, when he remembered the concessions they made in 1906 with a great strain on their own convictions, when he saw the Bill of that year rejected, and when, now, he saw their efforts to meet them in regard to contracting-out and witnessed the difficulties and objections raised, he had come reluctantly to the conclusion that they should have at last to take the advice of hon. Gentlemen below the gangway, and offer to the House and the country the secular solution. If hon. Members opposite would not take facilities, if they would not take contracting-out, then what would they take? ["Parents' rights."] He had never heard yet any clear exposition of what the rights of parents involved. As far as he could understand, if they were really consistent and logical in their opposition, then if they had parents with hundreds of different theories of religious questions, they would have to provide hundreds of different methods and curricula for instruction in them. The matter could only be dealt with on some basis of compromise. He had hoped that after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in introducing this Bill, made in a spirit full of compromise and conciliation, they would have had something in the nature of a reciprocal disposition on the other side. When he listened to the truculent speech of the noble Lord who proposed the Amendment, and to the excellent maiden speech of the Member for North-West Manchester breathing threatenings and slaughter against them, he had not at all the feeling that they were in an atmosphere of compromise. The fact of the matter was, the more they suggested compromise the more hon. Gentlemen opposite suggested strife. The more ready they were to make concessions the less willing were hon. Gentlemen opposite to receive them. If supporters of the Government insisted on what they considered would satisfy their friends, if they asked for what they considered a national system of education and then offered concessions, they were told that they were afraid of their own Bill and afraid to face the country. They must, then, frame their measure as they thought best, and carry it through the House with the help of their majority; and if the Bill was carried through that House and rejected by the other House, the responsibility rested upon the other side and not upon the supporters of the Government. A word or two about the contracting-out clauses. He hoped he had made it clear that, as far as contracting-out went, in his humble judgment the case for it was not favoured by the Ministerial side of the House. He did not believe that contracting-out was in the interests of education; on the contrary, he believed that it was contrary to the best interests of education. Though he opposed the Act of 1902 he could not help recognising that it had led to the unification of education, and he would be extremely sorry to see any considerable system of contracting-out adopted. It would mean that a large number of schools would be governed by narrow sectarianism or by a board of education faddists; he did not know which was the more objectionable dilemma to be placed in. As a Nonconformist he was surprised that his co-religionists had looked with any kind of favour on contracting-out. Under contracting-out, a school which was unable to keep up its efficiency under the Board of Education would find it difficult to raise money from the denomination. It was difficult before 1902; it was impossible now. What happened in a case like that? All extra subjects, all special subjects, would form the ground of an appeal to the Board of Education for a grant, and they would find the contracted-out school receiving special extra grants for medical inspection, for training colleges, for agricultural education, and for all sorts of things of that kind, so that imperceptibly they would find that instead of a 47s. grant

*Mr. Walters.*

it would steadily creep up by extra grants for special subjects. That would go on even under the present Government, and it would all be outside of popular control and the healthful stimulating opinion of the local public. A continual demand would be made on the national exchequer from time to time without any kind of popular control. Then after the next general election, if hon. Gentlemen opposite came back into power, at a stroke they would add to the grants from the national exchequer a sufficient sum for maintenance, and the net result would be that they would have these denominational schools entirely maintained out of the national exchequer without any kind of public control in their administration. That he maintained would be a new endowment of the Church of England and of the Roman Catholic schools. The National Union of Teachers, and the Education Association, consisting of 163 borough and county borough committees, had unanimously condemned contracting-out, and he had not come across any body of educationists in favour of it. He had not come across a practical educationist in favour of it, and he therefore suggested to the Government that they should drop the contracting-out clauses altogether. Let them put this plain issue before the House. They asked for a national system of education entirely controlled by the local education authorities. They did not want any contracting-out at all. If those who were not satisfied with that wanted facilities let them propose them as Amendments in Committee. They would be in a much stronger position if the Minister of Education would take up a firm position. It was impossible to conciliate their enemies whatever they did, but that would at any rate rally their friends. Let those who objected to their proposal put down their counter proposal. They were making a great mistake in offering a proposal for contracting-out. The Opposition had fastened upon that at once. They had good educational arguments against it. They despised it on financial grounds, and they distrusted it on religious grounds. If they put themselves in a strong position of advocating a universal council school only, they would have had much more chance of carrying the country with them, and he believed they would prepare the way for conciliation, concession, and compromise. If he was negotiating with a man he would rather that he plainly put down on the Table what it was he wanted, and he would rather himself suggest what he wanted as a concession than that the other man should offer him something which he did not want, and which was no use to him. He hoped they would stand firmly on their position, which they had consistently put before the country, which they had advocated at their elections, and on which many of them had been returned to the House, that they would have a universal council school entirely controlled by the local education authority.

VISCOUNT MORPETH (Birmingham, S.) said the First Lord of the Admiralty had made a speech which he believed he sincerely intended to be one of compromise, but he was not very explicit. He accompanied his suggestion of compromise, however, with a menace which was perfectly explicit. He was one of those who had not been indisposed to welcome a compromise, but he had not been much encouraged by this extraordinary Bill or by its even more extraordinary history. The right hon. Gentleman in days of greater courage had told them that the Bill was a sword. His predecessor had always been careful to say that his endeavour was to meet the case of the denominationalists. They understood that the olive branch was to be substituted for the sword. There were various signs of that, but they were only able to draw inferences. The right hon. Gentleman was promoted, and they understood that a conference was to be called. Nor could they be very certain of the causes, but it might be assumed that bye-elections had something to do with it, and they were told that the bishops were to be rewarded for the support they had given to the Government on another measure. It might be conceivable that it struck even the Government as not very consistent that they should attempt in the same session to run through a denominational University for the Irish and to deny the same privileges to the humbler classes of people in Great Britain. Whatever the reason might have been, it was not very important now, because apparently the policy was reversed again and the sword was introduced once more, with this exception—that the right hon. Gentleman told them that the sword was an olive branch, and that this Bill, if they looked at it carefully, was really exactly the same for all practical purposes as the Bishop of St. Asaph's. Anxious as he was for a settlement of this question, he was somewhat mistrustful of the right hon. Gentleman. If they came to the Bill itself he did not think any speaker contended that it was an Education Bill. Nobody had pretended to discuss it in that aspect. It was purely a Bill to settle the religious controversy. That was very well worth doing, and if the Bill would settle the controversy they would welcome it on that ground, even if it did not deal with the question of education; but no person who was not either very optimistic or very intolerant would imagine for a single moment that this Bill was going to end the long chapter of controversy that began even before 1870. The Government said that they based their proposals on three main grounds—first of all, that as the teachers are practically a branch of the Civil Service, there must be no tests for teachers; secondly, that as public money was involved there must be public control; and, in the third place, that as all ratepayers paid there must be undenominational teaching. With regard to tests, he thought a great many persons had rather hastily assumed that there should be no tests whatever with regard to the teaching profession. He was quite aware that it was a very difficult matter, but he thought a good many members did not quite understand what was meant by no tests. Two years ago the then Under-Secretary at the Education Office made a very illuminating speech with regard to the appointment of teachers, and how tests might be evaded, and how for all practical purposes they could test a teacher without putting the explicit words before him. The hon. Member for Louth had now done the same, but he thought he must have confused between tests in regard to the denomination of the teacher and tests with regard to whether he could give religious education at all. It was suggested that, if a teacher was unwilling to give religious education, the local authority could appoint what was called in the language of some educationists an *ad hoc* teacher for that purpose. But was it likely that the education authorities were going to pay extra money in order to pay supernumerary men to give for three-quarters of an hour teaching that the ordinary teacher declined to give? As a private person who was employing a teacher for his own children was entitled to inquire what the teacher's religious opinions were, so the community, which in this case was *in loco parentis*, if they desired their children to have a specific and definite religious teaching, were entirely within their rights if they inquired whether the teacher was able and willing to give it. To set up an extreme doctrine of no tests was to put the interests of the teachers before the interests of the whole community, which were more important, and if the community desired religious teaching they were absolutely justified in the so-called tests for teachers. He would not deal with the question of control, because he believed that most persons conversant with the administration of education would admit that over four-fifths of the field there was absolute control already under the Act of 1902. With regard to the third principle on which the right hon. Gentleman based his Bill, that teaching must be undenominational, that was an exceedingly double-edged weapon. The difficulty which the party opposite had never succeeded in surmounting was that it was obviously, in the minds of the people of the country, unfair that people should pay twice over, and that Roman Catholic and Anglican and Jew should be called on to pay for the teaching of their own religion while at the same time they were rated to pay for the teaching of another denomination. That was a difficulty which had been a stumbling-block ever since 1870, and none of the ingenuity and none of the arguments and none of the sophistry that had been expended in trying to demolish it had ever succeeded in disestablishing that idea from the minds of the people. The First Lord of the Admiralty had endeavoured to carry out his principles by making all schools council schools, to which he, for one, would not dissent. But he had proceeded to say that the council schools should give no teaching but Cowper-Temple teaching—where he must dissent, and where the right hon. Gentleman began to raise up difficulties for himself, because he was forced by that position to allow contracting-out. It would be impossible to throw it over altogether, because he had to meet the case of the Catholics. He put contracting-out in the Bill although it was denounced by every single Member who spoke on either side. There was no Member who sat on the Front Bench with him who did not denounce it. Everyone knew the reason why the right hon. Gentleman had changed. It was not at all dishonourable to him, but rather honourable, but there was no reason why they should not remember that when he spoke with full liberty as a lover of education rather than as a servant of the Government he denounced this proposal, which was the main essence of the Government Bill. Contracting-out then stood condemned without need of any further words from him, because there had been no person yet found bold enough to deny it. With regard to the concessions which were put in the schedule, he was no opponent of the London County Council syllabus, which, to a certain extent, represented the wishes, roughly got at, of the majority of the parents. He supposed, looked at ecclesiastically, it was roughly Congregationalism. But in the past the syllabus could be modified. It was open to the parents either to increase the amount of dogmatic teaching given under the syllabus, or to lessen it. But the right hon. Gentleman took a certain part of the syllabus issued by the London County Council and set it up as an immutable, hard-and-fast creed which could neither be altered, lessened nor increased in the future. That was a very different matter from allowing the local authority to make its own syllabus of religious and Bible-teaching for the children in its own schools, and it was certainly going a very long way in setting up an establishment side by side with the establishment that they had already. One could only regret that the Free Churches who for many generations waged war against establishment, had been seduced by the loaves and fishes of, at any rate, seeming establishment, if not full establishment, into an endeavour to set up a system so unjust to Catholics and the Church of England as the present one. The right hon. Gentleman, in his endeavour to gain some support for the Bill on grounds other than religious, offered them an increased grant. He knew that throughout the country there were many authorities who cared far more for the rates than for creeds and syllabuses. He thought if he could secure the support of the great army of economists, he might hope to enlist the assistance of the educational authorities. He remodelled the system of grants and told the House that by his system large help would be given out of the rates. What had happened? So far from relieving the burden on the rates the right hon. Gentleman would throw a serious extra burden on the counties. Inquiries had shown that the terms laid down by the right hon. Gentleman with respect to his grants would cause an extra burden of 2½d in the case of Derbyshire, graduating down to 1d. in other places. It was true the right hon. Gentleman had given a large sum in relief of rates, but that sum, owing to the way it was given, was absorbed by the boroughs and the counties, instead of getting any advantage, had a very serious burden thrown upon them. He did not think the right hon. Gentlemen's bait was likely to be very attractive or that he would gain very much support to the other parts of his Bill by his financial proposals.

MR. McKENNA asked whether the noble Lord had included the transfer from the parish rate to the county rate in his figures.

VISCOUNT MORPETH: Yes. It was true that by the re-shifting of the burden it would be made to spread all over the county. But quite apart from that the right hon. Gentleman would see that his proposal did not relieve the counties.

MR. McKENNA: Has the noble Lord overlooked the fact that under the proposal for the counties there is to be paid out of the Exchequer a minimum of 4s. per child more than is paid now?

VISCOUNT MORPETH said he had not overlooked that fact. The figures he was using were not his own. They had been got out by the clerks to the education authorities throughout the counties of England. The right hon. Gentleman would have a great work to perform if he was going to ingratiate himself by these means with the education authorities of this country. In conclusion he would say the Opposition had been challenged again and again to put forward their own scheme. Their solution had been repeated again and again in the House. The solution they advocated was one under which all churches, where there were a sufficient number of persons in the parish or in the schools, should have the teaching of their own particular doctrines. They were told that that was impossible, but it was nothing of the kind. It was done every day, both abroad and in this country—in our Army schools, our industrial schools, and in some cases our day schools. It was not an impossible solution, but one hon. Gentlemen opposite did not desire. If it was desired it would be the easiest possible thing to put it into practice, and he believed it was only in some such way as that, where equal justice was done to all, and no attempt was made to proselytise, that we should obtain a settlement and religious peace.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said in the course of these debates he had been struck by the absence of any consistent attempt on the part of the Opposition to appeal to the right of the parent. They had now fastened on contracting-out, which was not of the essence of the measure, but a concession to the laudable desire of those who sought the full treatment of their own particular denominational opinions in the schools of the country. But he would have thought, after the speeches delivered up and down the country upon the sacred right of the parent to determine the religious education to be given to his own children, that the one standard that would have been brought to the judgment of this Bill was the right of the parent, and nothing else. It was true that the Member for North-West Manchester did allude to it. He had only one criticism to pass on that gentleman's maiden speech, and that was in regard to his statement that he spoke authoritatively on behalf of Lancashire. The Member for the Walton Division had forestalled the hon. Gentleman as speaking on behalf of Lancashire, and it was somewhat puzzling to another Lancashire member to know to which of these two authorities he was to appeal. One thing was certain: they could not continue to build up an educational system for this country upon the sole basis of the right of the parent. Examine it as they might, they were forced to the conclusion that that was too unstable a foundation. For the State to content itself with merely purveying to every sect the particular dogma which it desired, would end in confusion and the destruction of such religious teaching as they had. If they were to make any progress in elevating the moral and spiritual atmosphere of the schools, it must be done by the State and on behalf of the community. He intended to give the Second Reading of the Bill, with certain reserves, his most hearty support. He would consider that the Government were guilty of almost dishonour if they went out of power without dealing with the education problem. He held most emphatically that the Government was the trustee of a legacy of a most unfortunate character from the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. It was perfectly true that in 1902 the right hon. Gentleman co-ordinated education, but he only coquetted with popular control, and he left a large number of parents and teachers with a deep and abiding sense of grievance. Hon. Gentlemen opposite in an earlier stage of this Bill had agitated themselves to discover what was called its spinal cord. That might be a congenial study to hon. Gentlemen who desired to sever that cord and see how much vitality rested on that part of the measure. But the supporters of the measure would rather adopt the language of the Spiritualists if they might and say they wished to see such portions of the Bill materialise as were most capable of being materialised, if it was impossible to get the whole Bill, and in proceeding on these lines the Government would be well advised to trust rather to the enthusiasm of their friends than to the forbearance of their enemies. In an earlier portion of the debate the hon. Member for Leicester had described the clause dealing with single-school areas as a proposal amounting to the secular solution.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD said his point was that if parents desired to accept special facilities, which were provided for outside school hours, and did not accept Cowper-Templeism, that to all intents and purposes would satisfy those who advocated the secular solution.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR said he was surprised that any form of settlement could be regarded as paving the way to the secular solution which provided for the establishment of Cowper-Temple teaching by statutory bargain on behalf of the trustees when they transferred the schools to the local authority. If a local authority took over a school in a single-school area on the basis that they would give Cowper-Temple teaching, that was a statutory bargain, and he did not see how any compulsion should be required for such a transfer. The only comment he wished to make on that was that it was a violation of the discretion of the local authority. It was only an approximation to the right of the parent which they were giving under the present system of education, because in the single school parishes which had been transferred they had Cowper-Temple teaching compulsorily established, whereas in the other schools, which were not in single-school areas, they had such teaching merely at the option of the local authority. He had no doubt that that point had received the attention of his right hon. friend, and that he was satisfied it could be adjusted. He had been struck with the speech of the gentleman who moved the Resolution condemning this Bill at the Representative Church Council. He was much impressed with the statement made in that speech in favour of separate types of schools. That gentleman seemed to be of opinion that the best solution of the education question was that every sect should be housed in its own special building. That was an ideal which would not be acceptable to the majority of Liberals. It was true that some of them voted in favour of the Irish Universities Bill, which embodied the principle, but no doubt they did so in the belief that the principle could hardly be translated across the water. Certainly in England the true ideal of elementary education was not the separating of children into different schools according to their denominational differences, but rather, as far as possible, bringing them together in one school, and accommodating, on the best terms possible, their religious differences. The two problems of the town and the country were distinct. The Bill itself was a proof of how entirely different, both historically and actually, the question of the single-school parish was from the question of the school of the urban area. The question of the teacher, for example, was much more easy of solution where they had one school in which all the denominations were accommodated than where they had separate types of schools, with teachers attached to each denomination, and whose pay and prospects it was extremely difficult to reduce to a single common denominator. Therefore he urged that the Government should consider whether it would not be desirable, whatever became of the rest of the Bill, to proceed with the clauses affecting single school areas. His right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty said on the First Reading of the Bill that he was ambitious. Ambition was the leading vice of politicians, but he thought that the field for its display ought to be carefully chosen. The Liberal Party had to deal not with a social evil, but with a social inequality, and it could not, as in the case of the licensing question, summon the assistance of the great moral and spiritual agencies which had sustained it in many a stormy battle in the cause of social reform. The question was urgent, and he was keenly anxious that the Government should not go out of office without having done something to redress the grievance in the single-school areas. The present Opposition, if they came into power, would do nothing to deal with the question, or to vindicate the right of the parent, which was violated in these single school parishes, and which in 1902 they absolutely refused to touch with the tips of their fingers. He suggested that the Government should if necessary divide the Bill into two, and, at all costs, proceed with that portion which dealt with the single-school parish school. The practical advantages of so doing were extremely great. Might he say without cynicism that practical advantages were not to be despised in politics? There would be this advantage, that by dealing separately with the single-school areas, the Government would gain the support of the Irish Party, who would have no cause for intervention. That would be a distinct gain to them. It would also be a gain to the Opposition, who, while they had not scrupled to receive the votes of Irish Roman Catholics, were extremely loth to endure too close an embrace from their representatives in the division lobbies. It would probably be a gain to the Irish Party themselves, who on this question were at issue with some, at least, of the priests of their own religion in this country. He believed that on educational grounds there was amongst the great body of men and women of the country a sincere desire for a settlement. By pressing forward the question of the single-school areas they would not prejudice the settlement in the urban areas. No doubt there was some idea of compensation as between town and country, but if a settlement could be achieved of the difficulty between the Church and Nonconformity in the single school areas, then he believed they would have settled the major portion of the controversy, and would have done something to get rid of the spectre of religious difficulty in the schools, in which the education of the children shrank and was stunted. He hoped the Government would not go out of office leaving, at any rate, one of their pledges dishonoured, and that the one which affected most vitally the future of the children of the country.

*SIR JOHN RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth) said that from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who moved the Second Reading down to that of the last speaker it did not seem to him that any strong argument in favour of the Bill had been advanced. The speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty himself was directed chiefly to the question of compromise, peace and conciliation, or, in the alternative, threats. It was assumed that Nonconformity was hostile to the Church. There was Nonconformity and Nonconformity. He himself was a Nonconformist, but he was in no sense desirous of settling the controversy in a spirit in any way antagonistic to the Church to which he did not belong. He was satisfied with Cowper-Temple teaching, but at the same time he saw no reason why ratepayers or taxpayers belonging to other Churches should not have every facility he would desire for himself. The hon. Member for the Louth Division of Lincolnshire had illustrated the attitude of mind of many Nonconformists when he referred to the fact that no Protestant teacher would be appointed to the school of the Roman Catholic. Such a thing was not at all likely, and yet the very essence of the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty in moving the Second Reading was that there would be no test for teachers. He himself was quite convinced that no body of men associated with the Wesleyans would ever tolerate the presence of a Roman Catholic teacher in their school. The matter would, therefore, work both ways. They might make a great virtue by saying that there should be no tests for teachers, yet underlying it all was the fact that in some form or other the teacher would be stamped with the creed of the school to which he was appointed. The difficulty of the question centred round the single school area. In the urban districts and large towns the difficulty was non-existent. The Bill of 1902 was a great advance. It removed grievances, but not every grievance. It did much for education; but the legislation which was to follow did not deal so much with education as with the religious aspect of the question. He was not at all unfriendly in his attitude to the £100,000 grant to the necessitous districts. If there was a grievance there let it be remedied; but the grievance was greatly exaggerated. After the Act of 1902 it was thought by the authorities of the Church referred to by the hon. Member for Louth that grievances would arise, and they issued a circular to every superintendent minister throughout the country asking that they should draw attention to any grievance that arose either to parent or child in consequence of that Act. A report was made to the Conference, at which he himself was present, which stated that no case that constituted a grievance had arisen in the Church. That showed him that the grievance which was alleged to be so acute by some hon. Members was, to a large extent, a grievance of political Nonconformists rather than of religious Nonconformists. He did not say that there was no ground of complaint, but it was exaggerated, not in the interests of education, but in the interests of political Nonconformity, and he did not think that that was helpful to the settlement of the controversy in which they were engaged. The great object he had, as a Nonconformist and as a citizen, was that whatever the Bill, if carried through the House, did or did not do, it should not put a single child outside the scope of a national system of education. No matter how small a number of children were put outside the scope of a national system, they would create a grievance which could not be easily met, a grievance which would grow, which would strike at the children of any section of the community, whether Roman Catholic or Anglican, and which they could not tolerate as a nation for any length of time. Contracting-out or any device designed to get round a particular corner or difficulty would fail and have to be undone, because it would strike a blow at the children of the land and be injurious to the best interests of the nation.

*MR. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS (Carmarthen District) said that no one could have listened to the course of the debate and contrasted it in his mind with the tone and temper of the debate two years ago without feeling that here at last they were within approximate distance of arriving at some basis of settlement. They were discussing that night not so much the Second Reading of the Bill before the House, but as to whether its provisions afforded a basis for the negotiations which they understood were about to take place for a peaceful settlement of a controversy that ought to have been settled long ago. The time was opportune. The passions which flared up five years ago had gone down. The firebrands had become olive branches. Dr. Clifford and the Archbishop of Canterbury vied with each other as to how they could attain some effective way out of the difficulty; and he thought it would be a reproach and even a tragedy if under these circumstances they in the House of Commons, when everything seemed to point to a peaceful solution, failed to find some effective way towards a settlement of this much-vexed question. He thought the first thing to do was to understand and appreciate as far as they could the standpoint of the other side. He did not think a single Member on the opposite side of the House would deny that there was a real and genuine Nonconformist grievance in the single-school areas. That opinion had been admitted by none more heartily and sincerely than by Lord Hugh Cecil. The noble Lord had said that there was a grievance and it ought to be removed at the first possible opportunity. In so far as this grievance was concerned did this Bill provide an effective remedy? The Bill, in his view, would leave no trace behind it of this grievance to the Nonconformists. But was it quite certain that in removing the Nonconformist grievance in the single-school districts they might not be creating another form of grievance, though not so heavy or quite so objectionable, as the grievance they sought to remove? They on that side of the House had in moments of heated controversy said, and said quite truly, that the Church schools in the rural districts had been too often established and maintained, not so much for educational or for sectarian purposes and for the purpose of evading a school board rate. That was true. But there could be no doubt in the mind of any candid man that at all events a large number of these Church schools in rural districts had been built in the first instance, and maintained subsequently at great sacrifices, by men whose only object was to secure Church of England teaching for the children of Church of England parents; and unless they accepted that he did not see how they could come to any permanent or speedy settlement of the matter. What did this Bill offer to the Church of England owners of Church of England schools? It gave them no return for the surrender of their schools to the State. This was one defect in the Bill which should be remedied in the negotiations outside. Something ought and must be given as an equivalent or compensation to the Church of England people who were asked to consent to the alteration of the whole character of the schools by their being changed into State schools. What was the Nonconformist grievance in the urban areas? The reality of that grievance was sometimes disputed, but in his opinion it was none the less there. The cardinal tenet of Nonconformity—the cardinal principle of its existence—was that the State had no right to interfere with any man's religion at all; that no State, no matter how high-minded its individual members might be, could be trusted to teach religion in the schools or anywhere else; that religion was beyond the scope of the State itself. That was the view taken by Mr. Richard and Mr. E. Miall, and that was why they fought for the secular solution in 1870. And few Nonconformists looking back on the past thirty-eight years would deny that had Mr. Richard and Mr. Miall had their way a great deal of this unhappy controversy would have been eliminated from the social life of the country. It had been said that they could not understand or appreciate the conscience which, while it could tolerate the support of denominationalism out of the taxes, revolted actively against the endowment of that denominationalism out of the rates. He thought that that was a very unfair criticism of the Nonconformist position. Those who knew the history of this question knew that the Nonconformists from the start refused to accept the compromise of 1870 and that one of the things which led to the defeat of the Gladstone Government in 1874 was the defection of the Nonconformists. The compromise of 1870 was entered into without their consent and against their protests. Whereas in 1870 for every penny the voluntary schools received out of public funds another penny was contributed by the denominationalists, by 1902 the compromise was so whittled down that the proportion of voluntary contributions to State aid stood at 2d. to every shilling. Nonconformists had no opportunity of making their protest except at the polls, and immediately the Act of 1902 gave an opportunity they did protest more than vocally and in such a way that they refused the payment of the rates until the leaders of the Opposition were at last convinced that there was a strong Nonconformist opposition to the Act of 1902. Neither was it fair to say that Cowper-Temple teaching meant Nonconformity. He should have thought that anyone that knew anything about Nonconformity knew that Nonconformist doctrine transcended the syllabus of the London School Board. He instanced the case of the Baptist denomination. The one point of doctrine of that denomination which differentiated it from others was the doctrine of adult baptism by immersion. But that was a doctrine that could not be taught under the Cowper-Temple Clause. It was absurd and unjust to say that all that Nonconformists wanted was provided for them in the Cowper-Temple Clause. He admitted that during the last thirty-eight years since the great debates in 1870 the position of the Nonconformists had greatly changed, and that their attitude towards State teaching of religion had undergone a revolutionary and disastrous alteration. In those days the cardinal principle of Nonconformists was that no religious teaching should be paid for out of public money or be recognised by the State. Such teaching had to be by voluntary effort alone. From that position they had been lured or driven, step by step, for the sake of peace, until they accepted, at first reluctantly, but with increasing conviction as time went on, that what was called simple Bible teaching should be given in the State schools by State-paid teachers. Nonconformists must bitterly regret that now, because ever since they departed from the standpoint of their predecessors they had never ceased to be taunted with having sold their principles. The consequence was that the solution of this difficulty became much more difficult and complicated than it otherwise would have been. What was the grievance left to the Nonconformists in urban areas where there was a choice of schools? So far as he could see the only grievance that now existed was that denominational teaching was paid for out of public money and taught by State-paid teachers who had to submit to tests. It was almost impossible to reconcile the position of the Nonconformists who believed in and advocated Cowper-Temple instruction in schools by State-paid teachers to children compelled by the State to attend, with their being opposed to denominational teaching in an Anglican school. So long as Nonconformists agreed with Cowper-Temple teaching in the schools of this country they could not refuse to the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches the right that their religion should be taught at public expense by State-paid teachers. They objected to dogmatic teaching, but every article in the Christian faith was a dogma. The first words of the Lord's Prayer were a dogma which could not be accepted by those who did not believe in the Christian faith. The answer to the statement that the Cowper-Temple syllabus provided the fundamental teaching of Christianity was that that was not the case, as the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had said. Cowper-Temple teaching was something quite inconsistent with the religion of the Roman Catholics, and was repugnant to that religion; it was a new religion quite distinct from that taught in the Roman Catholic schools. The attitude of the Nonconformists in this matter was not a reasonable attitude. So long as there were members of great religious communities in this country who said they could not accept Cowper-Temple teaching as an essential part of their religious teaching, by endowing Cowper-Temple teaching the State was endowing a religion with which these people were at variance, and they had a right to say: "You have endowed a religion which is not Nonconformist, but which is not inconsistent with that religion, and therefore you must endow our form of religion in the same way." The conclusion he would like the House to arrive at was that come to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, whose absence from the House they deplored. The conclusion come to by the right hon. Gentleman, and that which he now respectfully urged on the House as the only way out of the difficulty, was that they should recognise that the State had nothing to do with religious teaching, and that State-paid teachers as such should not be required to teach religion of any kind, but that there should be a universal right of entry to the schools for all denominations. On those lines alone would it be found possible to arrive at anything like a permanent settlement of this question. There should only be one system of education, so far as secular education was concerned, and no religious tests for teachers, and whatever religious teaching was to be given in the future should be given at the expense of the denomination who desired that teaching, but there should be universal right of entry into the schools for all denominations. He knew there were difficulties in the way of this, and whether the right of entry should be inside or outside school hours and whether a State-paid teacher appointed without religious tests was to be allowed to volunteer to impart religious instruction constituted the two great difficulties that had to be met. He differed from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham on both those points; he was of opinion that religious teaching should not be given in school hours. But if that were conceded, he did not see any great danger in allowing the teachers to volunteer to impart the instruction, because he could quite understand that by so doing, they would fasten themselves on the minds of the children far more than in any other way. If there were this overmastering desire on the part of the teachers to take part in the religious instruction of the children, then it was not too much to ask them to come half-an-hour before the school commenced in order to do so. There was an attempt in Wales a few years back to come to an agreement on this education question, and the Bishop of St. Asaph and the Chancellor of the Exchequer met and formed a real concordat, which was accepted by every one of the Welsh County Councils, which were composed of a vast majority of Nonconformists, and the most influential laymen throughout Wales. The religious teaching was given at nine o'clock in the morning, whereas the school hour commenced at 9.45. The teacher during the three quarters of an hour was allowed to volunteer to give religious teaching. That, of course, meant that there would be the right of entry for every denominationalist, not only to Church but also to board schools. There was that concession made to the Church in return for the concession they made. It was a real concordat. He was sorry, therefore, that through circumstances which he need not relate to the House that concordat was not put into operation. The fault was neither that of the Bishop of St. Asaph nor that of his right hon. friend. If it had been put into operation, they would have had a very valuable object-lesson in the ease and facility with which the question, which had been unnecessarily invested with difficulties, could be solved by the exercise of a little commonsense and a sense of fair play.

LORD EDMUND TALBOT (Sussex, Chichester): If the hon. Member who has just sat down will allow me, I should like at once to recognise the very liberal tone of his speech, and to thank him—firstly as a Catholic—for the very kind words he used in reference to my own persuasion. I cannot agree with the suggestion he made that this controversy should be settled by religious instruction being given outside school hours, but I none the less appreciate the kind tone of his remarks. But it is remarkable that every speaker who has yet spoken from the Government side of the House, with the exception of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty, while expressing willingness to vote for the Second Reading, has remonstrated, and remonstrated strongly, about the terms of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down—I think I am not unfairly criticising the whole of his speech—spoke not on the merits of the Bill before us at all. I should like to call attention to one point which I do not think has yet received much attention, and that is that this Bill entirely repeals the Free Education Act of 1891, and I think it is somewhat startling that the Government—the Liberal Government of to-day—should destroy that great charter of free education to the poorer classes of the country. It is, of course, true that under this Bill free education can still be obtained for those—but for those only—whose parents are content with the establishment in this country of one religious form of education. I speak with some feeling on this point, because, when the Free Education Act of 1891 was passing through this House, it was argued in favour of its passage, and from both sides of the House, that those who would benefit most by its becoming law were my own co-religionists, the Catholics of this country. Now in this Bill that grant of free education is repealed, and my co-religionists in place of it are told that they may pay fees, while at the same time they have to pay their share of the rates for schools to which they cannot send their children. Whether that was intentional or unintentional, I do not know, but I must, on behalf of my co-religionists, say that in my humble opinion that is nothing less than an insult to the poorest of the Catholics in this country. It is not necessary for me to go into the question of the insufficiency of the 47s. grant, in reference to the contracting-out scheme. That has been dealt with by the hon. Member for Waterford, and I hope by this time it is conclusive to the Government, and to hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, that this scheme, whether or not it was intended especially and alone for my co-religionists, is absolutely impossible, and one which under no circumstances whatever can we possibly accept. I do not really understand—considering the speeches we have heard, and what we know to be the feeling outside in reference to this question—from what motives the Government have brought forward the Second Reading. It is palpable and evident that this Bill cannot pass even if forced through this House. And even if it became law, it could not be worked and would not be worked. Certainly, so far as children of my co-religionists are concerned, their parents will not pay the rates for schools to which they cannot send their children, and at the same time pay fees to the schools to which they can send them. To prophesy, I know, is dangerous, but I think on this occasion it is safe to prophesy that this Bill will certainly not become the law of the land.

*MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said the Bill might be regarded from two points of view. It might be regarded, as the hon. Member for Louth a little while ago regarded it, from the point of view of the single school districts, or it might be regarded from the point of view of the urban areas. As a London Member, he desired to regard it from the latter point of view. He did not propose, therefore, to traverse the whole field of the Bill, but to limit his remarks to one portion of it, viz., the provisions regarding contracting-out. From the point of view of educationists, contracting-out was absolutely bad and reactionary. He never thought that the Liberal Party, when the community had once acquired control over the schools, although it was true that that control was partial and incomplete, would go back upon that principle. It always seemed to him that the natural and almost inevitable course of development would be in the direction of complete control of the schools. It was that belief which reconciled him in some degree to the Act of 1902, because it seemed to him to be a kind of halfway house. He was sorry, therefore, that now, instead of going forward to get a complete and absolute control—popular control—this Bill contained provisions for exempting an indefinite number of schools from the control which they already possessed. Let them consider what contracting-out meant from the practical and administrative point of view. It was becoming more and more the tendency not to treat a school as a separate and independent unit, but to group schools together for various purposes. It was becoming quite common, for instance, to send a teacher round to a group of schools to give special instruction. It was obvious that under these circumstances the contracted-out schools would be deprived of that advantage. Again, there were laundry and domestic training centres, manual training schools, and similar institutions under common management; and there were the questions of the feeding of school children and medical inspection. In all these respects the contracted-out schools would be at a very serious disadvantage. Then, from the financial point of view, if these proposals were to take effect, the ante-1902 position would be repeated. The strain would again become intolerable. It was true they were proposing to increase the Government grant by some 5s. or 6s., but having regard to the increased cost of all the old services of the schools which were in existence before 1902, and having regard also to the fact that they had imposed upon the schools new services, the deficiency to be supplied from voluntary sources would certainly not be less than it was before 1902 if the contracted-out schools were to be kept up to the level of the public elementary schools. It was now suggested that they were providing safeguards in this Bill for maintaining the efficiency of the contracted-out schools, but those safeguards would prove absolutely illusory. Everyone who was acquainted with the history of the subject knew that in practice before 1902 there were two standards, one applied to the rate-aided schools and another and lower standard applied to the voluntary schools. Under a contracting-out system, they would inevitably revive those two standards. London had always been unjustly treated in regard to the amount of Imperial grants which it had obtained. At present the Government grants which London received were only 29 per cent. of the total expenditure whereas the Government grants which the county boroughs received to aid the education rate were over 53 per cent., and under the proposed redistribution of grants London would only receive 36 per cent. of its total expenditure. In fact, London was harder hit by the imposition of the 6s. limit than any other part of the country, and he strongly pressed upon the Government that in justice to London that 6s. limit ought not to be applied to the case of the Metropolis. But his more immediate purpose was to point out the effect of the proposed redistribution of the grant upon voluntary schools in London. It would be absolutely impossible to maintain the contracted-out schools in London on a level of efficiency with the public elementary schools. The London County Council spent on voluntary schools £3 16s. 8d. per child, and that was entirely independent of administration expenses. If they added, say, 5s. a child, which was a very moderate estimate, for the upkeep of the buildings, they arrived at a sum of at least £4 per child for the maintenance of the voluntary schools.

At most the Government grant would be 47s. per child, and there was no security that it would be at that level. Thus a sum of about 34s. per child would have to be supplied from voluntary sources to maintain the schools even at their present rate of expenditure. But the present rate was considerably less than the expenditure upon the provided school. The staffing and the salaries of the non-provided schools were being gradually raised to the level of the provided schools, and therefore, the present expenditure upon the voluntary schools would have to be considerably increased if their efficiency in respect of staff, both as regarded quality and number, were to be kept upon the same level with the provided schools. He deprecated contracting-out altogether, but if they were to have contracting-out he put in a claim on behalf of London, and having regard to its particular circumstances it would be only fair that London should have special treatment.

MR. LANE-FOX (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash) said the main feeling that a very large number of Members must have had on hearing the First Lord of the Admiralty was one of profound disappointment, because whatever their ideas on the subject of the Bill might be, at any rate they had come to the House with full impression that they were going to learn something they did not know before. They thought they were going to realise what the proposals of the Government were to be after the curious oscillations of policy of the past month, but the speech told them absolutely nothing. To allude to an extremely old story, the speech of the First Lord reminded him of the famous American politician, who said: "These are my principles. If you don't like them I will change them." What he actually said was that he would not recommend the Bill on its merits, but mainly on the ground that it would be of an absolutely different character, that safeguards would be introduced; he recommended it, not because of what it was, but because of what he hoped to make it. Under the circumstances it would have been fairer to the House and certainly more satisfactory to his own party, and more likely to conduce to the success of the Bill if he had given some indication of what the Bill was going to be, instead of this apparently rather disreputable shadow which he declined to bless even in the most modified form. It was to his mind typical of a sort of funeral oration on a rather disreputable relative in which the orator wished to make the most of the best points he could find, but could find very few. The impression left on his mind was that the right hon. Gentleman, fully conscious, as indeed he might well be, owing to the criticisms which had come from his own side, of the defects of the Bill, was only anxious to try and gloss them over in the hope that during the course of the next few weeks some bit of good luck might so transform the Bill that it might pass the House in a different form. It was absolutely useless to wave the secular bogey. The people of this country would never tolerate the secular solution, and the argument was absolutely futile. That was the strength of their position. If the solution of the Government failed, as it was inevitably bound to fail—as it was admitted it would—they would have to come back to their standard, which was to provide fair play for all denominations, and equal and fair treatment without unduly favouring one or the other. The characteristics of the people of this country had always been their strong feeling of justice and desire for fair play, especially to minorities—an almost sentimental desire which had often led them into making great mistakes. It would eventually secure the solution that they all desired, and the absolute failure of the Government proposals. It was perfectly impossible that any Bill conceived in the spirit in which this had been could ever hope to pass through the House of Commons, and if it did it was impossible that it could ever be worked in the country. The right hon. Gentleman made a most amazing statement when he said the Bill introduced by the Bishop of St. Asaph's was to all intents and purposes the same as the Bill of the Government. He had deliberately left out two or three of the most important differences. He had made no allusion to teachers being allowed to give religious instruction, or to the right of entry into council schools, or to the giving of denominational teaching in school hours. These were three points of essential difference, and there were many others. The argument that, because a certain but very much misguided favour was accorded to the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill, the whole of the party which opposed the Government were committed to the Government Bill was absolutely absurd and was not likely to commend itself to anyone who had studied the question. The right hon. Gentleman had given a caricature of the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill, and when the Bishop read it he would begin to see even more than he did now what a great mistake he had made in delivering himself into the hands of the enemy, and proposing a compromise of which he could not have thought out the full purport and meaning. They were in a great difficulty, he admitted, owing to the absolute impossibility of discussing, not the Bill as they had it, but the Bill with the shadowy gloss which the First Lord had endeavoured to place upon it. It seemed to him that he had put his successor in an extremely difficult position by the speech he had made. He would be extremely sorry if he were the President of the Board of Education to have to carry out legislation on the lines which had been laid down. He believed that, particularly in rural districts, there were two main points on which the last general election turned. They were the questions of whether the education rate was to be maintained, and there was a strong grievance against it as being a new payment which they had not had to make before, and among a certain section there was a feeling of grievance. The Liberal Party denounced the education rate on the ground of its being sectarian and unfair. A large portion of the rural ratepayers took that to mean that the Liberal Government would reduce or abolish it. In the same way a certain number voted on the question of the religious grievance and religious freedom as they called it. But the Government in the two main Bills which they had brought forward had deliberately broken both these implied pledges. They had largely increased the possibility of the education rates going up and had made the religious question infinitely more difficult. In rural districts where there was a large urban population they were suffering under a very great grievance. In the village where he lived they were paying over £100 a year over and above what the school cost to maintain, and in excess of the benefit they actually got for elementary education. That was due to the fact that the school board debts which were almost entirely incurred by urban districts had been put on the county rate instead of on the district rate, and also owing to the extravagant administration in urban districts. It was obvious that in rural districts where they were not so much needed as in urban districts the rates would be very much higher. In the West Riding of Yorkshire there were 85,000 surplus places in the elementary schools over and above the number of children on the register. It was said that this was due to the shifting of the population, but even if that were so it would be in the urban districts where the increase was likely to take place, and they would suffer from an increase of rates in the rural districts. Therefore he was justified in saying that, despite the larger grants to education, as far as the rates were concerned, the rural districts would be in an infinitely worse position than in former years. As regarded the religious grievance, that was patent to everybody, and the Bill which the Chief Secretary for Ireland introduced was very much fairer than the present measure. In the West Riding of Yorkshire it was said there were 1,100 children who required accommodation on account of this religious grievance, but even that number was arrived at by exaggeration. In one village the parents of eighty children asked for a provided school where there was only a Church of England school, but those eighty children were put down as 150; and if that proportion had been observed all through it was obvious that the total would be less than 1,100. That proved how shadowy this alleged grievance was. In his own district there had been no serious religious difficulty, and he did not think it was ever likely to arise. In the Bill of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, although he took away their schools to be maintained during school hours, they had the full right of using the schools out of school hours, but that was now to be taken away from them. In this Bill the Agnostic, the Liberationist, and anyone who objected to the doctrines of the Church of England were all treated on the same lines. The clergyman would have to pay a rent in order to hold a meeting in a voluntary school, and that was not the case under the previous Bill. The Chief Secretary also gave facilities for religious teaching out of the regular hours of school teaching. He thought, at any rate, that he was on firm ground in saying that under this Bill they had very much worse terms than under the Bill of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. A great deal had been said about compromise. If they had been told the basis of the compromise it would have been easier to arrive at a decision before the debate came to a conclusion. The cry for peace and compromise was a dangerous one in many ways. It was at such a time very often that the most vital principles were given away, and the greatest mistakes made. He did not believe that any solution arrived at by such means would be satisfactory or permanent. He did not believe in peace at any price, nor in terms in which one side gave everything and the other side took all. He thought it was extraordinarily bad tactics on the part of his own side to begin to offer terms now, the Government having got themselves into an *impasse*, and being able only to threaten them with the secular solution. The President of the Board of Education seemed to treat that statement as a joke. The Government had introduced this Bill and they had not even told the House what the nature of the compromise was to be. The people of this country would never accept the secular solution, and the Government could not go any further without penalising the Catholic schools. Consequently, they were bound to come back to the position of giving fair play to all denominations. The policy of bullying was never likely to succeed, and it was less likely to succeed now than ever it was. The strength of the Opposition had considerably increased in the constituencies, largely owing to the Government's education proposals. Every day there was a feeling growing that this question must be settled, not on a secular basis, but on the basis of fair play, compromise, and justice to all concerned. He did not believe that this measure was ever intended to pass; it was more or less of a sham adopted to get the opinions of the various sections of the House in order to steer a middle and safer course. Whatever decision the House came to in regard to this measure the only basis upon which the question could be finally and firmly settled was one of fair play and justice to all parties. They had had a great trust handed down to them and they should not throw it away lightly or without due consideration. The Government should recognise that conscience was not all on one side, and they could not expect them to rest content under an even greater grievance by giving up their principles and betraying the trust which had been handed down to them.

*MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester) said that the Labour Party was going to support the Second Reading of the Bill. The two points which commended themselves most of all to the party were the increased Government grant of 47s. to the local education authorities and the clause dealing with the single school areas. Under this clause parents might say: "We do not desire Cowper-Temple teaching," for the assumption was made by the Government that Cowper-Temple teaching was regarded as being denominationalism by a considerable section of the parents. In the transference of the schools, therfore, they might make provision for denominational instruction outside school hours. The parent who viewed Cowper-Temple teaching as denominationalism sent his child to receive secular education at a public school which might be used for the purpose of denominational education to be given by other than school teachers out of school hours. If that was a satisfactory compromise, it was based on a secular solution, and he was prepared to accept it. Right of entry outside school hours with the whole of the national system based on secular instruction, would be perfectly satisfactory. He would also vote for the Bill for a general reason. The Unionist Party when they were in a majority in the House did not show that love of justice and fair play so much spoken about in the debate.

They made a mistake in 1902 when they were in a position to show that they did love justice and fair play as far as the Nonconformists were concerned. Every one admitted that the conditions created by the Act of 1902 needed to be readjusted. It did not matter whether they agreed with passive resisters or not, but they must admit that there was such a thing as passive resistance. The position of the passive resister was, from his own point of view, at any rate, a very reasonable one, and it was the duty of this House to make such an alteration in the educational law of the land as would make passive resistance, if it was to be carried on at all, absolutely irrational. But he could only describe the present debate as one of confusion. What were they really discussing? Nominally the House was discussing that evening the Second Reading of the Bill, but the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty was, in effect, a throwing-over of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman had nothing to say for his Bill. He was not at all surprised at the adverse criticism which had been so plentiful during the afternoon from the other side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman himself had begun it. All he said was—

> "I produce this Bill; whether I stick to it or not is another matter; if I can come to an arrangement on this Bill with the Bishop of St. Asaph or the Archbishop of Canterbury, within certain wide limits, then I am prepared to produce a Bill new in lock, stock, and barrel."

Personally he was not opposed to that method of procedure; indeed he thought that the Government would have been wise had they adopted it in 1906. He was surprised to find that the Unionists thought the Bill of 1906 such a blessed measure. He never knew that they loved the Bill so much until he heard them professing a posthumous affection for it that afternoon. That, at any rate, was a cue to the Government. If the Government were to enter into a conference—which he hoped might be successful—would they revive the Bill of 1906 and propose to come to an arrangement with the other side by reintroducing the four-fifths clause? Would they consult the hon. Member for the Barkston Ash division as to the parts of the Bill of 1906 which he had been blessing in such unmeasured terms this evening?

MR. LANE-FOX: What I said was that this Bill is worse than that of 1906, bad as it was.

*MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD did not think it would be profitable to discuss the actual words employed by the hon. Gentleman. He was bound to say the expressions used by the hon. Gentleman in his speech seemed to him to be infinitely more lavish in praise of the Bill of 1906 than the words he now used. Was the conference into which the Government was about to enter to be a religious or a political one? Was it going to be a conference, the result of which the Government would accept as satisfactory if it came to an arrangement merely with the Archbishop and the Bishop of St. Asaph, or would the success of the conference be measured by how far the Government was able to secure the assent of the Opposition to the new form of the Bill? He thought the House ought to have some information as to what the scope of the conference would be. Who was going to be at the conference? Were the representatives of the Government and of the Established Church alone to be at the conference, or was it going to be also attended by the hon. Member for the Louth Division? Was it going to be attended by political representatives? Was the Front Opposition Bench to nominate a representative, or was the House itself to be at the conference at all? It was true the Government could come to an arrangement with the Archbishop and then put on their Whips to carry the arrangement through the House by a majority. But he would point out that the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party Conferences, and Labour organisations of all kinds had shown a burning desire to settle this question and had instructed every Labour Member to adopt a certain policy. If the conference was going to result in something that would be carried by the House practically by consent, surely the opinions of the great organised labour movement of the country must be consulted and allowed to voice themselves at the conference just as much as the representatives of the Church of England. They were particularly interested in the controversy as their people were vitally interested in the educational efficiency of the public elementary schools. They were specially interested because if the Bill emerged from the conference in a new form they would have less power than they usually had in Committee to make changes in the Bill, since it would then be no longer the proposal of the Government subject to modifications, but it would be a Bill which was the subject of previous agreement, and no alteration could be accepted by the Government outside the scope of that agreement. Therefore, it was necessary that all parties should be represented at the conference. The religious difficulty, unfortunately, was the main cause of trouble in this matter. They might talk about education, but they knew that, at the back of their minds, was sectarian strife. It was a historical inheritance, and they had to make the best of it. He begged the Government not to talk of Cowper-Templeism as a weapon against denominationalism. He himself might be prepared to accept it as undenominational, but then he must not be asked to send his child to be taught in school the spiritual grace and beauty of the Gospel of St. John by a man who had not passed a religious test. If they were going to teach the most fundamental rudiments of religious ethics, provided that they went beyond the ethical border into the domain of religion, the man who taught them ought to be just as subject to a religious test as the man who taught the dogmas and tenets of Roman Catholicism. He thought the Government would have been wise to have faced an educational propaganda in the country for a unified national system upon secular lines, allowing denominationalists to come in before or after school hours. This Bill did not affect Roman Catholic schools; they would have to be dealt with separately. He would suggest that a solution or a semi-solution might have been grafted on to the four-fifths clause. They had sacrificed the denominational claim, but only by a method of jumping out of the frying-pan of 1902 into the fire of 1870. He supposed the day would come—he hoped it was far off—when hon. Gentlemen sitting above the gangway would be able to get a majority from the country, and the educational history of 1902 might be repeated. They were only playing a game of battledore and shuttlecock, and not presenting a solution of the religious difficulty. The Labour Party were strongly, definitely, and decisively committed against the contracting-out system. They did not believe in it, and they would not accept it. They would divide the House, in and out of Committee, every possible time against contracting-out, because they did not believe that any contracting-out system would be effective; but, as compromise was in the air, if contracting-out was to be forced upon them against their hopes, might he suggest that the Government should protect them against its worst evils? Everybody who had been a member or a manager of a school board, or education authority, knew the truth of the admission made by the Minister of Education himself which had been read by the hon. Member for Waterford, that they could not keep up the efficiency of the contracted-out schools merely by sending to them Whitehall inspectors. These could not bring the same pressure to bear on contracted-out schools as on ordinary public schools. That being so, and one of the causes of the inefficiency of the contracted-out schools being the low salaries paid to the teachers, would not the Government insist on adequate salaries being paid to them? Would they not rigidly insist upon a standard of efficiency for all teachers in recognised schools, and upon efficient apparatus being used in those schools? The result would be that instead of a grant of 47s. it would become more like 57s. Forty-seven shillings was a purely hypothetical figure, and had no relation to the needs of the school. It would not keep them up to their present standard, for, as soon as they were contracted-out, down would go the standard, and the gain in improvement made in the last ten years would be lost. He, therefore, begged the Government, if they did not stand out against contracting-out, to protect the children by seeing that the contracted-out schools were kept up to the efficient standard by giving them out of the national purse a sufficient sum to enable them to keep up to the standard. Another point which had been brought home to him very forcibly by a deputation from certain denominational teachers the other day. They said that they were prepared to accept lower salaries, to teach larger classes, to sacrifice flesh and blood to carry out their principles; but that the greatest grievance they would have to suffer if the Bill passed in its present form would be that they would have to go back under clerical domination. Therefore, would the right hon. Gentleman give security to those teachers and put them on a minimum wage, and supplement that by granting them absolute security of tenure even if contracted-out? If the right hon. Gentleman would thus temper the wind to the shorn lamb, the lamb would still object to being shorn, but would be grateful to the right hon. Gentleman all the same if he accepted the suggestion now made. The point the Labour Party felt most upon was contracting-out. They were going to hold to the secular solution. The right hon. Gentleman might say it was impracticable and would not be accepted by the people. He was not quite so sure of that. The country was much more intelligent than a great many imagined it was, and he was certain that it was thoroughly sick of the un-Christian and disgraceful squabble which had so retarded our educational progress during the last century. Some people talked about tariff reform to protect us against the Germans, but there would be more sound reason in the argument that a settlement of the religious difficulties and the securing of real educational progress would do more to protect us against the Germans. His party were not going to accept contracting-out, but if it was going to be forced upon them he asked the Government to realise that it would settle nothing at all, unless at the same time they secured efficiency in the contracted-out schools, so that their children should not suffer and the denominationalist might not feel so aggrieved as he was bound to feel in its present form.

*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University) congratulated the hon. Gentleman on his very interesting speech. They always listened to him with pleasure. Of course the hon. Gentleman would not expect him to agree with his solution, though he did agree with many things he had said. He did not agree that the solution of this matter would be the secular solution, because he thought that the intelligence of the country was rising, and that the people were more sensible and took a wider view of these things than they used to do. It could not be denied by anyone who watched the present condition of things that the secular solution would never commend itself to the bulk of the people of this country. [AN HON MEMBER below the gangway: No.] The hon. Gentleman said "No"; he represented a large number of the working classes of the highest intelligence in this country, but there were a large number of the working-classes whose sentiments were not those of the Labour Members, and he thought that the hon. Member would find when there came to be a real conflict over this question between the religious and secular solution, that it would not be the secular solution that would prevail. However, he might be wrong, and the hon. Gentleman might be right. He cordially agreed with the hon. Gentleman in his repudiation of contracting-out. Of all the miserable expedients which had been suggested for the settlement of the education question, that of putting a certain number of schools, whose managers and supporters happened to differ from other people in the country in their religious views, on a lower educational basis was the most miserable. Therefore, if the hon. Gentleman would accept his support, he would be very glad to go into the lobby with him on any Amendment which would destroy the contracting-out clause. As to the Bill itself, he had had the honour of a seat in the House for a very great number of years, and had heard a large number of Bills of various kinds introduced and speeches delivered in their favour, but he had never heard so unsatisfactory a statement on behalf of a Government Bill from the representative of any Government as he had heard that day. The right hon. Gentleman was a very able man and could speak very well, but he had unfortunately had a task put before him which it was absolutely impossible to fulfil, for he was moving the Second Reading of a Bill which was not intended to pass. Whoever heard of that before? There was a Government, with the greatest majority ever known, proposing a Bill on a cardinal matter of policy which was to be sent to the other side of the House and they were to propose the Amendments. This was a Government with an enormous majority, and when it came to one of their great Bills, one of the great planks in their platform, they proposed the Second Reading of a Bill which the Opposition was to amend for them. If that was all the strongest Liberal Government could do all he could say was: "Save us from a strong Liberal Government." It was said by the right hon. Gentleman that there was no change in the policy of the Government, whilst at the same time they were told that they were in accord with another Bill of a different character. The right hon. Gentleman said, as he understood, that he was delighted with a Bill brought in by a Bishop in another place; that the Government Bill was the same as that of the Bishop; that the Bishop's Bill followed that of the Government; that its first clause was copied from that of the Government. So that what the House was really asked to do was not to support a Bill brought in by the Government, but one that had been introduced by a Bishop in another place, which the Government were going to take up, and which the right hon. Gentleman said contained the two great principles of public control and no religious tests for teachers. Public control they had always had. Public control meant that the State took care that the schools were administered in the way the State laid down as the proper means of educating the children of the country. That was already done by the attendance of His Majesty's inspectors, but what he supposed hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite meant was that the managers ought to be elected by some local body. Whether that would contribute to educational efficiency he took leave to doubt. With regard to religious tests for teachers, the hon. Member for Leicester had said that if religious instruction was given at all in a school outside school hours it ought to be given by a person who was convinced of its truth. He was very much struck with that remark. He could not understand this phrase, "No religious tests for teachers" so often repeated by hon. Gentlemen opposite that they had almost come to believe in it themselves. Before teachers taught, surely they should be tested as to whether they believed that which they were teaching. Hon. Members were led astray by this phrase. Everybody who undertook a public or private duty had to be tested. It could be no hardship to a cook that she should be tested as to whether she could cook, and therefore a teacher must be tested as to what he could teach. That was admitted so far as secular education was concerned, because the teachers were compelled to pass several examinations. But for the highest teaching, religious teaching, for that and that only, they were not to be allowed to have any tests. Who could possibly object to a person called upon to give religious teaching being a religious person, being tested as to whether he believed the teaching which he was called upon to give? That was all that was asked for. He objected quite as strongly as did the hon. Member for Leicester to contracting-out. We were acting under a law, which, though not perfect, with certain modifications worked extremely well. He was one of those who cordially supported the plan of giving facilities for Nonconformist teaching in single school areas or wherever Nonconformity pressed for them. That plan was not accepted at the time it was suggested, although it was possible of course that an arrangement of that kind might be made now. All he desired to say upon that question was that as a Member of the Opposition he declined to take the work of the Government into his hands. The position of himself and those who were acting with him was that they had one Act of Parliament which had worked for six years, and with which they were satisfied; the Government were not satisfied with it, and it was for the Government to show how they wished it to be amended. Then the Opposition would meet them and assist them, if possible, to settle these points. They had heard of a conference. If such a thing were to take place all parties alike would have to be represented. He was not sanguine that such a conference would take place before these debates closed, but, whether it met or not, of one thing he was certain, and that was that this educational difficulty would never be settled until it was recognised by those who attempted to settle it that the claims of conscience must be dealt with equally by all who had religious convictions. They had been accused of not having recognised sufficiently the Nonconformist grievance of former days, and of having trampled on Nonconformist consciences. Even supposing that that were true, and he would be sorry to have any share in such an offence, surely it was a wrong way to remedy a grievance which was acknowledged by imposing another grievance on another set of people. That was the cardinal vice of all these educational propositions of the present Government. They had ignored the fact brought home by the hon. Gentleman who had delighted the House by his maiden speech, and had forgotten that the Church of England had as deep religious convictions as the Roman Catholics, the Jews, the Nonconformists, and other religious bodies. Until that was recognised this controversy would never be settled. In order to meet the demands of the Board of Education, large sums of money had been contributed by members of the Church of England for the repair, renovation, and in some cases, the rebuilding of schools, on the faith that when those schools were put in order they would be maintained in the same way as other schools. The proposition now was to take them away from the denomination which built them, in order that they might be made the property of the county councils and used as provided schools. Was it possible to settle the difficulty in this way? He had racked his brain to find out how it was that men who were moral, honest, and just could have come to this conclusion. Some of them, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the extreme Nonconformist view and thought they could advance their cause in this way. It was a measure which absolutely ignored the elementary rights of at any rate one of the most important denominations of the country. He did not know whether it was a fortune or a misfortune; but, because the Church of England was an Established Church, was it to have no rights at all? If their consciences were not to be respected more than those of any other people, they ought to be respected as much. It should be remembered that it was the Church in the past which only provided for the elementary education of the people; and the reward Parliament was now asked to give to that body was to take away the schools she had built and maintained for all those years. Was that treatment which any fair body of men would mete out to those who had served the State as he claimed the Church had served it? He could assure the House and right hon. Gentleman opposite that if they wanted to settle this question, they must in the first place and from every point of view regard the religious convictions even of those most opposed to them as of equal value with their own. Whether they were to have a rearrangement or not, nothing could be a suitable or permanent settlement of the question which did not take that into account.

*MR. NAPIER (Kent, Faversham) said he rose to support the Bill, not because he felt any great affection for it, and not because he liked it as well as the Bill of 1906, but because he believed it would create some improvement upon the existing condition of things. It seemed to be rather a severe attempt to translate into law principles which he believed the country decided at the general election of 1906, and to which he believed the country still adhered. He was greatly pleased to find that the First Lord of the Admiralty delivered a most conciliatory speech in moving the Second Reading. He was induced by that speech to hope that the severity of the letter of the Bill would give place to a spirit of sweet reasonableness on the part of the Government in dealing with it, and that that spirit would spread across the floor of the House so that they might be able in Committee to elaborate a compromise which, if not satisfactory to everybody, would at all events meet with the general approval of reasonable men on both sides of the House. Did the elements of a compromise exist? It was useless to talk about compromise unless the elements did exist. The principles embodied in the Chief Secretary's Bill of 1906 had often been referred to. They were: Complete public control, abolition of tests for teachers, and, he thought he might also say, the establishment of the rule that public money should not be devoted to denominational teaching. Those were also, he thought, the principles decided upon by the country at the general election. He asked himself whether those principles, which were accepted by all Members on that side of the House, were not accepted to a great extent by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. They might not be accepted precisely in the same manner as they on that side accepted them, and, if hon. Gentlemen opposite had to draw up a Bill, it would probably not be the Bill as drawn by the Liberal Government; but still he ventured to submit that as a matter of fact a substantial agreement existed between the two sides of the House upon the principles to which he had referred. One need not go into the history of the question of complete public control. The fact that the Act of 1902 was believed by many hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House to embody, though not properly or fully, the principle of public control, that the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill had a very large backing by the Church of England and was supported to some considerable extent on the opposite side of the House, and the declarations of the Archbishop of Canterbury that he was willing to acknowledge the system of public control—all pointed to the fact that hon. Members on the opposite side of the House would accept the principle provided only they could obtain securities that it should not be used to the detriment of the denominational teaching to which they attached themselves. He did not gather that the principle that there should be no tests for teachers was repudiated by hon. Members on the opposite side of the House. He thought they with them believed that the teaching profession was after all a branch of the Civil Service, and that the members of it should be entitled to the benefit of the same rule as other members of the Civil Service. They said, however, that they were entitled to have some security that the teachers should be able to teach that which they professed to be able to teach. No one, he believed, had ever disputed that proposition. They believed, as hon. Gentlemen opposite believed, that they had no right to set a teacher to give either Cowper-Temple or denominational instruction unless they had security that he knew his subject and was able to impart it to his pupils. That, however, was a vastly different thing from inquiry into the personal belief of the teacher. They must trust the elementary teachers of the country, just as they trusted the masters of the great public schools of the country, not to play the hypocrite in relation to the religious teaching. They had no right to test a man's personal belief. It was a thing of the spirit and conscience and could not be satisfactorily subjected to any such tests. The Church of England said that they did not object to their money being devoted to the teaching of Wesleyan, Congregational, or Primitive Methodist forms of Christianity, but if those denominations felt that they could not conscientiously vote public money for the purpose of teaching the form of religious belief held by the Church of England, then he believd the Church of England were willing to consent to a rule that no public money should be given for the purpose of denominational teaching. If Church people could not make a sacrifice for peace by consenting to pay for the teaching of their own religion, he thought they did not rightly interpret the meaning of their religion. If these three points were conceded, points which formed, he thought, the verdict of the general election, then they had made some progress towards a settlement. All three points were comprised in the Bill. But there were two other principles on which, unless they could come to some agreement, they would not arrive at a settlement, and to which the people of the country attached very considerable importance. One was that they wished in any national settlement that there should be adequate security against secularism. He did not believe for a moment, as was suggested by the hon. Member for Leicester, that within any measurable period this country would decide in favour of a secular system. In that House they might be wearied of the discussion of the religious question in relation to education. People who attended Church congresses and Nonconformist conferences and gatherings of that kind were no doubt weary of the subject by this time, and perhaps if left to themselves would turn to the secular solution. But the great mass of the people of the country were not sickened with education debates as they were. In his view, if any responsible statesman were to propose a secular solution, the country would give the unmistakeable answer that it would have none of it. The second thing which they would have to provide in any settlement which they might hope would be adopted, was that there should be proper facilities for denominational teaching. He had often wondered whether the demand for denominational teaching was as great as was represented, and he doubted if it was. He doubted whether there was any very large number of people who really did want it. He thought the Bishop of Birmingham was probably correct when he said that his view of the general establishment of Cowper-Temple teaching was that people would not avail themselves of facilities for denominational teaching for their children. But they had not exhausted the matter when they came to that conclusion. The point to which they should pay attention was that there was a very large number of people who did not themselves want denominational teaching for their own children, but who were strongly of opinion that for those who did want it there should be ample facilities. They were constantly told that Cowper-Temple teaching would satisfy members of the Church of England to a very great extent, and so he believed it would, but they were leaving out of consideration the important point that it would not satisfy those members of the Church of England who thought that those people who required denominational teaching should be able to have it. He felt he was very presumptuous, after so many persons of authority had spoken, in suggesting that the elements of a settlement existed, but he would not be doing his duty to the great cause of peace which he had much at heart unless he were to suggest what he thought were the outlines of a possible settlement. Assuming they had got these five things which it was necessary to satisfy in order to bring about educational peace—the three requisites upon which the general election was fought—public control, the abolition of tests for teachers, the establishment of the principle that public money should not be applied to denominational teaching; assuming also that the secular system was out of the question and that they had to satisfy this demand for denominational teaching—in what way was it possible to combine all these requisites in one system? They could not possibly establish a system of local option. He doubted whether the House would desire to do it. He thought they would all shrink very much indeed from the constant local conflicts about religion in connection with education which would follow upon the adoption of anything like a local option system. In his opinion the only way in which they could reconcile these five requisites, which in certain respects conflicted, was by establishing a national system of undenominational or fundamental Christianity which would be taught in completely publicly controlled schools at the expense of the State, supplemented by reasonable facilities for denominational teaching at the expense of the denominations in school hours. That was a logical system, complete undenominationalism as a State religion in education, complete and universal facilities for all denominations at the expense of the denomination and in school hours. Why national undenominationalism, he would be asked. Because it was necessary to guard the State against sectarianism. If they left religious teaching to be done only by the denominations there was very grave risk that in many parts of the country at various times they might be unable to get that religious teaching done. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham once pointed out how that system had failed in Birmingham. He believed that if they wished to ensure that there should be a religious system in the schools they would be bound to provide that it should be carried on at the expense of the State. He thought undenominationalism was not only necessary but advisable. In many parts of the country people would be perfectly willing to agree upon an undenominational syllabus, and if at the same time they gave facilities to the denominations, they would bring an additional lever or motive for driving the denominations to agree upon an undenominational syllabus which would be satisfactory to all of them. Probably on both sides of the House they were agreed that if they could get a common agreement upon religious subjects—if they could get the denominations to agree on a common order of teaching—it would be infinitely better for young children than to pen them in different rooms and to give different children different instruction in the various forms of Christianity for the different denominations. Then he would be asked, was it fair to pay for undenominational Christianity when they declined to pay for denominational Christianity? He thought it was fair. In the first place, they were admittedly adopting it as a security against secularism. It would be adopted by the nation as a whole, as the only possible form of Christianity which it was possible for the nation as a nation to teach in the schools. Therefore, he thought it would be fair that the nation should pay for it. In those cases where there was an agreement on a common syllabus, where the only form of religion taught was undenominational, it was clearly fair that it should be paid for by the State. He did not, however, for a moment admit, as had so often been stated, that undenominationalism was the religion of Nonconformity. All Nonconformists held specific doctrines which could not be taught under the ordinary Cowper-Temple teaching. It might be said with justice that Cowper-Temple religion was more agreeable to Nonconformists than to the majority of Churchmen, but even to that he could only give a very qualified assent. Cowper-Temple religion was the teaching of those root notions which lay at the root of all Nonconformity as well as Church doctrine. If he were asked whether simple Bible teaching led to dissent or not, he should say that it did not. They would probably be told that the local authorities would never consent to the right of entry being given into all the provided schools of the country. He would rather the right of entry were not given, but he did not believe that the local authorities would set themselves against anything which might possibly prove to be a settlement of this question. If this House should agree to a system under which there should be a general right of entry into provided schools he had little doubt that local authorities would approach it from the same point of view. He believed that, although this arrangement might interfere with administrative efficiency, the local authorities would agree to it because it was the only solution at the present moment that had any chance of being accepted. What could be more proper than that in the towns the Church of England should have the right of entry into all the schools, and in the country Nonconformists should be able to obtain the education that was acceptable to them? If by an alteration of the Cowper-Temple Clause they could provide that the Christian religion from the Bible should be taught in the provided schools, the Church of England would feel that there was much greater security that the doctrines of Christianity to which they attached importance would be taught, and in every part of the country the parents would have the choice between Cowper-Temple teaching and denominational instruction. He knew there were administrative difficulties in the way, but he thought the local authorities would be able to solve them. There were village schools in which there was only one schoolroom, but at the present time there were more classes in that schoolroom than one. Either by a shifting of the hours, by taking a room in some adjoining house, or by some other device the local authorities, when they were told that they had to solve the administrative difficulties would find some way of doing it. There was one question which he thought would be difficult of solution, and that was whether they would allow the teachers to give special denominational instruction in denominational schools. He would allow the teachers, other than the head teachers in village schools to give denominational instruction. Where it was impracticable for other persons to give the religious instruction he would consider its being given by the head teacher. If this solution were adopted the Nonconformists would obtain complete public control, all tests for teachers would be abolished, no public money would be given for denominational purposes, and the Nonconformist grievance would be redressed.

Churchmen would get the right of entry into all the schools of the country, and there would be practical equality as between Nonconformity and the Church of England. He hoped that the issue of this debate might be that some practical arrangement would be entered into whereby this dispute which was doing so much injury to both religion and education might be brought to an end.

*Mr. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Central) said he did not dispute the seriousness of the proposals of the hon. Member for Faversham in reference to compromise on this question, but they were somewhat lacking in actuality unless they heard the opinion of the Government in regard to them. If they were acepted, they would be worthy of serious consideration, but at present they had nothing but the Bill, and such light as they might derive from the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty. He did not think there ever was a Bill the substance of which afforded a greater contrast to the title. Its two great predecessors in 1870 and 1902, whatever their controversial provisions, were large constructive efforts. In the first case the need was to get children into school; and in the second case to co-ordinate and unify education, and to prevent the waste and overlapping that existed before 1902. There was no secular reason at all for this Bill. Indeed, there was a strong argument against it from the financial point of view. With the financial liabilities which the country had incurred for next year, the prospect of the Bill was alarming. In connection with old-age pensions they had to provide an extra £5,000,000; the Post Office service would require an addition of £250,000; the automatic increase in the Navy would take £750,000; and at the very least £3,000,000 more would be wanted for construction—and then on the top of all this £1,500,000 was to be the cost of this Bill. He presumed the object of the measure was to compose religious difficulties, for he could not suppose that any Government would foment them. But they deliberately gave a preference to undenominationalism, as to which he would only put one point. He instanced a village in which there could only be one school, and where one half of the children were Christian, and the other half Hebrew and in which they offered to teach both the Old Testament alone. What an absurdity that would be. Yet what was true in that case was equally true of schools where the children were of different denominations of Christians. The teacher would have to do one of two things. He would either have to teach some of the children doctrines which their parents did not want to be taught, or he would have to omit the teaching of doctrines which other parents considered essential parts of religious education. He objected entirely to the contracting-out proposals. He protested against the name contracting-out as a misnomer. There was no contract about it at all; there was a compulsory alternative. A contract was a free bargain. Not only was it no contract, but those who refused to take the maintenance offered in the Bill were to be put upon an inferior *status*. But what was more serious than the question of expense was that the schools were robbed of their statutory position and rights. At present schools which supplied the wants of the population had a right to maintenance by the local authority, but this Bill sought to strike that away. Even if they did not expect to vote the money, they would attach impossible conditions to the grant. For instance, the Board of Education might say that the teachers must be trained at a particular kind of college or the school would not be recognised, or they might say that no teacher should belong to a religious Order, or they might force religious instruction to be given in impossible hours. In fact instead of being an integral part of the great educational system of the country, the schools would drag on a precarious and starved existence by the grace and favour of the Minister in Whitehall. It must be obvious that if this Bill passed there would be nothing but war. He was not at all sure that passive resistance as it now existed might not be ended by putting in a clause that anyone who objected should be allowed to ear-mark their rates for the council schools alone. That was an administrative matter. But if this Bill passed, all sorts of methods of resistance in all probability would come into existence. The example had been set, and it was a game which two or more could play at. He was sure, however, that his friends would not be driven to any such method except in the last resort. He shared the sentiments which had been uttered in favour of peace, if possible, but it must be peace with honour. He had never heard of a court-martial which decided that fatigue was an excuse for surrender. They, too, must keep their powder dry, and forget neither their principles nor their friends. There was, no doubt, fatigue, but a good deal of it was the fatigue experienced by unhappy writers of leading articles on the subject who had nothing fresh to say. After all, the work of education was going on in the country very efficiently, and when they heard of a breach of Christian charity, he believed the disputants were very good friends, as witness the sinister conjunction of certain ecclesiastics in favour of another confiscatory measure which it was charitable to suppose they did not properly understand. They were told that there was no other alternative than that proposed by the Government, but even that had not been put before them except in the most shadowy way. The First Lord of the Admiralty had told them that there was not much difference between the present Bill and that of the Bishop of St. Asaph. He said there would be some difficulty as to facilities, and that that Bill provided that the facilities should be universal. If the Government meant that these facilities should be given in school hours, and that the teachers should give the instruction, then the question entered upon a new phase. He observed that there was an ominous silence on the benches opposite in regard to that point. Or again, could it be supposed that a secularist solution would solve the question? It would simply lead to just as much agitation as now and to a universal demand for the right of entry in school hours. Rather than have this Bill he would infinitely prefer the plan for the separation of secular and religious instruction as proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. There was a danger when it was suggested to them on that side of the House that they should make a proposal, for the Government would take it as a maximum and proceed at once to whittle it down. If hon. Gentlemen desired a settlement they must do more than say so. It was not for those who were satisfied with the existing system to formulate proposals to change it. If the Government was serious in desiring peace the first thing to do was to withdraw the Training College and Secondary School Regulations. Assuming a conference and a settlement to be in sight, what principles should be acted upon? He would say: "Beware of logic, or any hard-and-fast system, but recognise existing facts." After all they must recognise that schools had associations and traditions. It was not a question of mere bricks and mortar, of codes and syllabus, of class-rooms and cubic feet. That was a very narrow view to take. And so it was also with higher education. He had seen it in his own experience at the Oratory School, where the buildings and surroundings were of little account, and he would not change the lessons he had learned there for all the glorious traditions of Eton or Winchester. There were elementary schools which were animated by the like patriotism; it would be cruelty and folly to extinguish such places, for the spirit they had bred was an asset of the nation. The whole question lay in alternative accommodation. In those towns where alternative schools were doing their work with no harm to others, why, in God's name, could they not let them alone? He thought the grievance in single-school areas was greatly exaggerated, and he did not believe the clergyman who abused his position in one of these village schools was one in 100; but there was a theoretical grievance, which in rare cases might amount to an actual grievance, and there the just solution was to be found not in destroying the rights of one set of people, but in separate religious instruction and united secular instruction. The strength of the nation lay in the diversity of the elements which could be called into being for the purposes of national life. But, although, diversity was of the essence of a settlement, they could rear their educational structure on a basis of true equality as well—equality of treatment for the teacher; equality of choice for the parent, equality of opportunity for the child—and, above all, the dominating principle—to "render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's."

*Sir J. COMPTON RICKETT (Yorkshire, W.R., Osgoldcross) said that if there was really such a desire for a settlement as the hon. Member for Barkstone Ash had suggested there ought to be no danger in assuming that it could be complied with. Party lines were blurred by differences on religious subjects, but he did not think that those supporting the Government had much to fear from a party point of view, even if this question were left open until the next election. Both sides appeared to use the general terms, public control and no tests for teachers, but public control as it now existed was half-hearted and even Anglicans hardly objected to see it made real. With regard to tests for teachers, at this time of day it must be very difficult to imagine that they could secure the right kind of teacher by means of a test. The value of tests had been proved to be of little account, even in securing the purity of the doctrine of a Church, and at a time when opinion was fluid on religious subjects the attempt to obtain declaration of conscience could not be accomplished by legislation. To import a test was even beyond the power of that House. There could, in no real sense of the term, be a test for teachers. In these circumstances they could only ask that the man who taught should know something of that which he taught. Some knowledge of the Bible ought to be required. All they asked and expected from Bible instruction, so called, of a simple character, was to lay the foundation for the subsequent teaching of the Churches through the Sunday school and the home.

And, it being Eleven of the Clock, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

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## PUBLIC OFFICES SITES (EXTENSION) [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any Expenses, so far as not otherwise provided for, incurred by the Commissioners of Works under any Act of the present Session, to provide for the Acquisition of Land for the extension of certain Public Offices in Westminster and of the Patent Office, and for certain other public purposes."—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

Adjourned at eight minutes after Eleven o'clock.

[APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX I.

# PUBLIC BILLS

## DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CLXXXVIII.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the House of Lords.

### (A.) House of Lords.

| Title of Bill. | Brought in by | Progress. |
|---|---|---|
| *Companies (Consolidation) [H.L.] | *Earl of Granard* | Read $2^a$ 7th May (385) |
| *County Courts [H.L.] | *Lord Loreburn* | Committee 14th May (1293) |
| Education (School Attendance) [H.L.] | *Lord Stanley of Alderley* | Second Reading (defeated) 12th May (875) |
| Importation of Plumage [H.L.] | *Lord Avebury* | Read $1^a$ 5th May (11) |
| *Land Values (Scotland) [H L.] | *Lord Herschell* | Committee 13th May (1067)<br>" 14th May (1264) |
| Official Directory of Nurses [H.L.] | *Lord Balfour of Burleigh* | Second Reading (defeated) 6th May (178) |
| Prosecution of Offenders (Amendment) | | Read $1^a$ 14th May (1264) |
| Registration [H.L.] | *Lord Alverstone* | Read $1^a$ 11th May (654)<br>Read $2^a$ 14th May (1294) |
| *Small Holdings & Allotments (Scotland) [H.L.] | *Earl Carrington* | Report 13th May (1101)<br>Read $3^a$ and passed 14th May (1294) |
| *Statute Law Revision [H.L.] | *Lord Loreburn* | Read $1^o$ 18th May (1528) |
| Sunday Closing of Shops [H.L.] | *Lord Avebury* | Read $3^a$ and passed 7th May (382) |

## (B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

| Title of Bill. | Brought in by | Progress. |
|---|---|---|
| Access to Mountains | *Mr. Trevelyan* | Read 2° 15th May (1439) |
| Association of Port Sanitary Authorities (Expenses) | *Mr. Ferens* | Read 1° 14th May (1356) |
| Cheap Trains | *Mr. Bowerman* | Read 1° 11th May (742) |
| Coroners (Ireland) | *Mr. Ffrench* | Read 1° 13th May (1160) |
| Corporal Punishment (Restriction) | *Mr. Lloyd Morgan* | Read 1° 5th May (76) |
| Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal | *Mr. Haviland Burke.* | Read 2° 8th May (365) |
| Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) | *Mr. Ellis Griffith* | Read 1° 6th May (263) |
| Cruelty to Animals (No. 2) | *Mr. Luttrell* | Read 1° 5th May (76) |
| Dogs (Exemption) | *Mr. Ellis Griffith* | Read 1° 6th May (263) |
| Education of Afflicted Children (Ireland) | *Mr. Charles Craig* | Read 1° 5th May (76) |
| *Education (Scotland) | *Mr. Sinclair* | Read 2° 5th May (77) |
| *Elementary Education (England and Wales) | *Mr. McKenna* | Second Reading 18th May (1676) |
| House Letting (Scotland) | *Mr. J. M. Macdonald* | Bill withdrawn 15th May (1439) |
| House Letting (Scotland) (No. 2) | *Mr. J. M. Macdonald* | Read 1° 12th May (944) |
| Housing, Town Planning, etc. | *Mr. John Burns* | Read 2° 12th May (947) |
| Infant Life Protection (No. 2) | *Lord R. Cecil* | Read 1° 11th May (742) |
| *Irish Universities | *Mr. Birrell* | Read 2° 11th May (765) |
| New-Born Children (Protection) | *Lord R. Cecil* | Bill withdrawn 6th May (262) |
| *Port of London | *Mr. Lloyd-George* | Read 2° 6th May (263) |
| *Post Office Savings Bank | *Mr. Sydney Buxton* | Read 2° 13th May (1203) |

## (B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—*continued.*

| Title of Bill. | Brought in by | Progress. |
|---|---|---|
| *Prosecution of Offences (Amendment) | *Sir W. Robson.* | Read 3° and passed 13th May (1161) |
| *Public Offices (Sites) Extension | *Mr. Harcourt* | Read 2° 13th May (1176) |
| University of Durham | *Mr. Hills* | Read 1° 11th May (742) |

# APPENDIX II.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1908.

List of Rules, Orders, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

[*In Continuation of List given in previous Volume.*]

| Title of Paper. | Date from which the Period runs. | Period to lie upon the Table. |
|---|---|---|
| Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Dewsbury, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3) ] | 5 May | 40 days |
| Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Urban District of Llanelly, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3) ] | 13 May | 40 days |
| Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Darlington, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3) ] | 18 May | 40 days |
| Union of Benefices Act (St. Luke, Charlton, and St. Paul, Charlton),—Copy of Scheme under The Union of Benefices Act, 1860, for effecting an Union of the Benifices of St. Luke, Charlton, and St. Paul, Charlton [23 and 24 Vic., c. 142, s. 15] | 18 May | Two months |
| University of London Act, 1898,—Copy of Amendment of Statutes 4, 26, 120, and 127 of the Statutes of the University of London, and of Statute 11 of the Statutes for the management of University College, London [61 and 62 Vic., c. 62, s. 5 (1) ] | 22 May | 40 days |

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TO THE

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION].

## SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1908.

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### EXPLANATION OF ARRANGEMENT AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills : Read First, Second, or Third Time = 1R., 2R., 3R. [*c.*] = Commons. [*l.*] = Lords. *Amendt.* = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. *As.* = Answers. *Com.* = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. *Rep.* = Report.

Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that stage of the Bill, or on that Vote.

Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

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**President of the Board of Education**
*Rt. Hon. W. Runciman.*

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**Secretary of State for India**
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**Secretary of State for Scotland**
  *Rt. Hon. J. Sinclair.*

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